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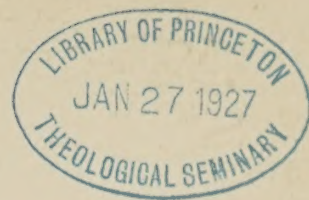
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PUBLICATIONS OF
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

EDITED BY
ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE

CURATOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN ART



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS
AT THEBES

PART I

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL BY
H. E. WINLOCK

THE LITERARY MATERIAL BY
W. E. CRUM

NEW YORK
MCMXXVI

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EDWARD S. HARKNESS AND AN APPROPRIA-
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PREFACE

THE present work is appearing after a delay of more than ten years from the completion of the excavations which it describes, but the authors feel that their explanation of this circumstance will be readily accepted by the reader.

The preliminary study of the material from the second season, that of 1914, had scarcely been started when the War broke out and all of those who were to have been engaged in the preparation of the book soon found themselves drawn into activities of a very different nature. Thus passed more than four years, and at their conclusion it was found no simple matter to restart the interrupted undertaking, and almost impossible to surmount the difficulties which then beset any large undertaking in printing and publishing. Particularly was this a handicap to the preparation of the texts, translations and commentaries on the documents which constitute Part II of this book, holding up the completion of Part I, which of necessity is largely founded upon it. Furthermore, the three original collaborators in the undertaking—Winlock, Crum and Evelyn-White—were widely separated by diverse activities, in Egypt, in America and in England, and even when the work was resumed exchanges of view between them by post were naturally slow and cumbersome. To this cause the reader must lay repetitions and possibly even apparent inconsistencies between their various contributions, and—more to be deplored—the lack in Part I of any comments upon the Greek elements from the pen of Evelyn-White, whose untimely end has thrown upon Crum the task of attempting some estimate of this phase of the subject.

On the other hand, while such have been the drawbacks inherent in the delay, this very delay has had its compensations. Thus it has made possible the correction or amplification in Part I of various statements made in Part II; and furthermore, since important material has been unearthed, even during the very last stages of the preparation of this book, such material has been incorporated into it whenever feasible. In fact, thanks to the deliberation possible in collecting data, it has seemed advisable to extend the work to cover a much wider field than simply the little, restricted community of Epiphanius.

PREFACE

In regard to the scope of the book the reader's attention should be called to two points. Firstly, the settlement at the tomb of Daga was evidently one of hermits rather than a regularly organized monastery and hence the book throughout aims at describing the conditions of the *hermit's* life, as distinct from that of the *monk*. It is true that a good deal on this subject had already been said in 1902 in the Introduction to Crum's *Coptic Ostraca*, but what has been gathered in the interval from new material, both published and still unpublished, has allowed of the information given then being considerably amplified. Secondly, the reader may take it that, if nothing to the contrary is said, the literary documents here cited are of "Theban" origin; restriction to this material has been, so far as practicable, among the objects kept in view. We may add that, as in Part II, figures printed in heavy type refer to the Coptic texts there published; further, that the abbreviations listed in that volume are those employed also here and that the Appendices here incidentally mentioned are those in Part II.

The plans of the buildings in Chapters I-III were made by L. F. Hall, the drawings of objects by Winlock.

Throughout the long period of preparation the authors have contracted many indebtednesses to those who have generously given their advice and assistance on one aspect or another of the material described. It is hoped that due credit has been given to them in the appropriate notes, but especial thanks are due to H. I. Bell for transcripts and opinions on certain of the Greek papyri, and to Prof. F. W. Kelsey, who generously arranged with the University of Michigan that Crum should be allowed to give references to many Theban papyri recently acquired by that institution.

Circumstances have forced upon Crum the greater part of the labor of guiding the book through the press and in this task, especially upon the Coptic texts and the Indices, an assistance which can hardly be estimated has been given by M. H. Davis, in Part I as in Part II.

We would also express our thanks to the Cambridge University Press for the care and accuracy with which a long and troublesome piece of printing has been carried through.

H. E. W.

W. E. C.

June, 1925.

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INTRODUCTION

DURING his spare time in December, 1911, N. de G. Davies, of the Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition, began a small excavation on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, with the object of publishing the tomb of the XI Dynasty Vizier Daga. The undertaking proved to be a larger one than it had promised to be at first, and the Coptic remains, in which the site turned out to be very rich, warranted a fuller study than would have been appropriate to the publication Davies had in view. The clearing of the whole site was therefore taken over by the Metropolitan Museum's Expedition with the permission of Sir Gaston Maspero, then *Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités*,—Davies to embody the results, so far as they dealt with the XI Dynasty tomb of Daga, in his then forthcoming *Five Theban Tombs*, and the Expedition to publish for the Metropolitan Museum the antiquities of the Coptic period.

Excavations
of the season
of 1912

From February to April, 1912, the Expedition worked on the Tomb of Daga and the Coptic remains, which in course of time turned out to be the Monastery of Epiphanius. A part of the gang of workmen employed at the Palace of Amenhotep III was transferred to Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh by H. E. Winlock and Ambrose Lansing, the latter taking charge of the laborers on the spot and making many of the notes during the progress of the work. The plans of the excavations, as far as they were completed in that year, were made by W. J. Palmer-Jones. At the end of the season the entire Tomb of Daga had been cleared and with it all of the "Original Monastery" as shown on Plate III. Since the object of these excavations was to uncover the dynastic remains as well as those of the Christian period which overlay them, all of those Coptic remains which were built in such a way as to mask the XI Dynasty tomb had to be removed after being planned and photographed. The two Towers, and in the second season's work, most of the East, and Lower East Buildings, as well as the greater part of the outlying cells, could be left as they were found, but a part of the Vestibule and most of the adjoining buildings—where they had not already been destroyed by Maspero in 1883 (see p. 26)—had to be removed before

INTRODUCTION

the end of the first season's work to clear the important façade of the dynastic tomb. The Tomb of Daga appeared in Davies's *Five Theban Tombs*, pp. 28-39 and Plates XXIX-XXXVIII, XLI and XLII, and a preliminary note on the excavations of that season was given in the *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1912, pp. 189-190.

Excavations
of the season
of 1914

During the following season no work was done on the site, all the attention of the Expedition in Thebes being devoted to the excavations in the 'Asâsîf, but in January, 1914, it was possible to put the entire force employed in Ḳurneh on the Epiphanius work again and to carry it through to a conclusion by the end of April. The remaining XI Dynasty tombs on the north side of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh, both east and west of Daga, were cleared and Cells A, B and C found. Excavations were then conducted on the east face of the hill in an attempt to trace the boundaries of the Monastery as given by Jacob and Elias in their will (see Part II, Appendix III), and here was discovered the "Monastery of Cyriacus." During this second season the work was superintended and the field notes written by Winlock and H. G. Evelyn-White, the latter being continuously in charge of the workmen on the site, and the former taking the photographs and drawing the objects. The plans of the new work were made by L. F. Hall, who incorporated those made by Palmer-Jones into Plate III, who drew the map on Plate II and who did all of the building plans in this volume. Meantime frequent explorations were made by the members of the Expedition to discover other Coptic sites in the mountain of Western Thebes, the results of this research being given in Chapter I and in the map, drawn by Hall as Plate I. At the end of the excavations the Museum's Expedition prolonged the wall surrounding the "Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh Upper Enclosure" of the *Service des Antiquités*, to take in the site, and to protect part of the Tomb of Daga a brick building with iron doors and grills was constructed at the expense of the Metropolitan Museum and the fund donated by Robert Mond Esq., for the preservation of Theban tombs. The completion of the field work on the site was made the occasion of a preliminary report in the *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1915, pp. 138-150.

During the succeeding seasons, while the work of preparing the texts for publication was proceeding, the members of the Expedition in Thebes have always been on the lookout for Coptic remains and their observations have been incorporated into Chapter I. Especially was this true during the season of 1922-23, when the XI Dynasty tombs north of the 'Asâsîf were excavated and Sites XX, XXI and XXI A were cleared.

Limitations
to the field
records of the
documents

Conscientious attempts were made to keep an accurate record of the finding-places of all of the written documents during the excavation of the Monastery, but circumstances were against this record having the value which might be expected.

The first difficulty—and one inherent in all digging where the work cannot be segregated into well defined divisions or strata—came from the workmen and the basket-boys. The whole place was a mass of broken pottery of which only a comparatively small part was

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inscribed. Many of the latter fragments would escape the diggers and be carried off to the dumps where they would be found by the boys after it was too late to make an accurate record of their original positions. So far as possible we guarded against these fragments being mixed with the others and have given them merely the general designations of "Original Monastery" or "East Buildings," depending upon the season in which they were found.

The second difficulty was made for us by the anchorites themselves. In the course of alterations in their buildings the monks undoubtedly threw some of the earliest ostraca onto the latest rubbish heaps, while during the relaying of floors or the digging of holes for underfloor granaries like the one in the First Tower, they introduced late ostraca into early levels. Again early papyri found their way onto the late East Rubbish Heaps, and another lot were thrown away in Tomb 4, which possibly was occupied as a dwelling only later. Finally there was a wide scattering by the anchorites of the fragments of some documents. Thus, part of **474** was found under the floor of the First Tower, and the rest thirty meters away in Room 10; the papyrus **269** was scattered from under the floor of Room D in the First Tower, to east of the Tomb of Daga, and thence into the East Buildings; and bits of **27**, **189**, **212** and **464** were each found in at least three places, all the way across the front of the Tomb of Daga, and in the case of **27** both above and below the floor of the same room.

The third difficulty in the way of a significant record was still more serious. As will be seen in Chapter II, the site had been frequently ransacked during the last century and there were already in Europe fragments of ostraca of which the rest remained on the site. When our digging began, February 1st, 1912, the greater part of the surface of the Original Monastery was covered with dumps left by our predecessors. One heap covered the West Court; another, by far the largest, extended from near the main entrance of the Tomb of Daga, twenty meters northward, beyond the site of the granary, and was piled against the west wall of the First Tower; and a third, from the clearing of the eastern entrance of the tomb, hid the Second Tower and the open space east of it. The site of the East Buildings was similarly covered with a large heap from excavations at the mouth of the Tomb of Sebeknakht. From these dumps came a large proportion of the ostraca, but having been recently disturbed their finding-places meant nothing, and they also were recorded simply as coming from the "Original Monastery," or from the "East Buildings." Thus of the published texts in Part II no less than one hundred and forty bear the first of these two unsatisfactory labels, although it is unquestionable that at least many of the papyri among them were thrown out from the interior of the tomb by Maspero's workmen and should be classed with those from Epiphanius's own room.

So much by way of warning to the student who uses the notes on the finding-places recorded against the documents in Part II. For his convenience these places are listed

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Alphabetical
list of finding-
places of the
documents

below alphabetically with references to the description of the excavations in Chapters I and II, where the footnotes give full inventories of the documents found at each point except the Original Monastery (140 texts) and the West Rubbish Heaps (90 texts). It will be noted that all of the published documents come from the Monastery of Epiphanius and its outlying cells, except twenty-six found at Sites XIV and XVII and the Cell of Priest Elias.

Above Tombs 65, 66	See Tombs 65, 66
Below First Boundary Wall Pavement ¹	„ Chap. II, p. 36, n. 1
Beyond E. Court	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
Cell A	„ Chap. II, p. 42, p. 43, n. 1
Cell B	„ Chap. II, p. 44, nn. 2-4
Cell C	„ Chap. II, p. 44, n. 5
Cell of Priest Elias ²	„ Chap. I, p. 24; Part II, p. v
E. Buildings	„ Chap. II, p. 37, nn. 3-4, p. 38, n. 4
E. Buildings, near Room 20	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
E. Buildings, Tomb 3	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
E. Buildings, Tomb 4	„ Lower E. Buildings
E. Edge of Tomb	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
E. of Cell C	„ Cell C
E. of Daga	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
E. of Tomb 1	„ E. Rubbish Heaps
E. Rubbish Heaps	„ Chap. II, p. 38, n. 3
First Tower ³	„ Chap. II, p. 32, nn. 3-4
Interior Rubbish Hole	„ Rubbish Hole in 5
Lower E. Buildings	„ Chap. II, p. 39, n. 3
N. of First Tower, under Floor	„ Below First Boundary Wall Pavement
Original Monastery	„ above, p. xxiii
Original Monastery, E. Loom	„ Entrance C, Plate III
Rooms 1-9	„ Chap. II, p. 30, n. 1
Room 10	„ Tomb 2
Room 11	„ Chap. II, p. 38, n. 2
Rubbish Heap S.E. of Second Tower	„ Chap. II, p. 37, n. 2
Rubbish Hole	„ Rubbish Hole in 5
Rubbish Hole in 5	„ Chap. II, p. 31, n. 5
Second Tower ⁴	„ Chap. II, p. 35, n. 1
S. of Tomb 66	„ Tombs 65, 66
Tomb 2	„ Chap. II, p. 38, n. 1
Tombs 65, 66 ⁵	„ Chap. I, p. 16, n. 9
Tomb 95 ⁶	„ Chap. I, pp. 15-16
Tomb E. of Cell B	„ Cell B

¹ The whole paved enclosure of the Original Monastery, except the West Court.

² An anchorite's establishment in the desert toward Ermont.

³ Ostraca, etc., found in the Tower in 1912 were *above* the floors. Those found in 1914 were *below* the floors and

bear the accession numbers MMA. 14.0.00 and Cairo 46000.

⁴ Cf. preceding note.

⁵ So-called Monastery of Cyriacus, Site XVII on Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh.

⁶ Site XIV on Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh.

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Unnumbered Tomb	See Cell B
West Court	„ Chap. II, p. 36, n. 2
West Face	„ Plate III, rock-face above W. Court
West of First Tower	„ Below First Boundary Wall Pavement
West Rubbish Heaps	„ Chap. II, p. 37, n. 1

Had the conditions been other than those described above, it is to be presumed that in many cases indications of value for the chronological classification of the papyri and ostraca could have been deduced from their finding-places. These data, however, not being entirely trustworthy, the classification becomes almost wholly dependent on such internal evidence as can be derived from the documents themselves. But here again we find ourselves on very insecure ground. Not one single document clearly refers to a definite event or change in the monastic organization, and only four are capable of arrangement among themselves as being before, during and after a known historical event—the Persian Invasion.¹ Personal names in the correspondence are scarcely more useful since those most prominent here are often among the commonest names of the period. Finally an arrangement on palaeographical grounds is even less secure. The whole period covered by the documents is presumably a short one and the usually unskilled hands in which they are written can scarcely be classified within it.

Difficulties of a
chronological
classification

There remains but one circumstance which may be significant for our purpose—but even that is one which may be variously interpreted. Nine ostraca mention an Epiphanius in terms which make him clearly subordinate to a certain Moses² or to a group of three anchorites named John, Enoch and Victor³ who are otherwise known as occupants of the site in a considerable number of letters. In Cell A, where Moses appears to have lived, an Epiphanius likewise figures as the writer of a number of letters.⁴ Here again the correspondence seems to show an Epiphanius who was a person of no outstanding importance or influence, usually addressed in terms of no great respect, and who was engaged in the minor activities of the community or in his own family affairs. There is every likelihood that these two groups of documents show us one and the same person. That this person was the influential anchorite Epiphanius may of course be doubted and we did, in fact, attempt to distinguish two individuals—an Epiphanius major, founder of the community, and an Epiphanius minor, a simple member of a later generation—but in doing so we discovered that we were led into a number of inconsistencies difficult to reconcile.⁵

Possible stages
in the career
of Epiphanius

1 200, 433 before; 324 during; 300 after the event.

2 202, 208, 444, and CO. 252.

3 124, 209, 229, 439 and CO. 379.

4 See p. 43, n. 3 and also BP. 4935, Hall pp. 102, 106.

5 A typical difficulty is that between such an E. major and E. minor at least one complete generation of anchorites must have intervened (that of the Will, Part II, Ap-

pendix III); and yet the same individuals correspond with both E. major and E. minor in: 433 (to E. major) and 120 and 336 (to E. minor); 186 (from E. major) and 485 (from E. minor); 475 (to E. major), 463 (to E. major in Cell A) and 124 (to E. minor), 185 (to the contemporaries of E. minor, John and Enoch).

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A tentative
classification

The solution adopted tentatively for this book, therefore—with a full realization that it can not be definitely demonstrated, perhaps—is that the lesser Epiphanius was the better known Epiphanius during the first years of his sojourn on the site. From this working hypothesis may be derived a possible classification of the documents around three groups of names:

- I. John, Enoch, Victor, Moses and Epiphanius (at the outset of his career).
- II. Epiphanius (at the height of his career), Psan, Pesenthius.
- III. Jacob, Elias and Stephen, successors of Epiphanius in the Will. Of Jacob and Stephen there are but few traces in the letters. In them an Elias is often associated with an Isaac, and it may be presumed that the latter joined the community after the disappearance of Jacob and Stephen.

ADDENDUM

On p. 113 the monastery Deir el Kûlah is mentioned. The ms. allows of the reading الكوكه, instead of الكوله. This might point to the Monastery of the Cup (καῦκος), discussed on p. 112, and would thus affect several of our topographical assumptions.

THE
MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS
AT THEBES

CHAPTER I

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WESTERN THEBES IN THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES A.D. FROM THE EXISTING CHRISTIAN RUINS

IN the map on Plate I an attempt has been made to show the Christian establishments in Western Thebes of which the Monastery of Epiphanius was one, so far as they have left traces which the members of this Expedition have been able to find.¹ The map makes no pretense at being a complete presentation of all the ruins which may have been known to Europeans, even during the last few years, for only too often have excavators searching for dynastic antiquities cleared away impatiently the overlying Coptic ruins without making the slightest mention of them, and the few meager notices published on the Christian antiquities of Thebes are so scanty that reference to them is all but valueless. The natives of medieval and modern Kurneh have undoubtedly reoccupied many of those dwellings of the monks which were built in easily accessible tombs, and finally the anchorites themselves so often sought out distant and hidden retreats, and built such modest structures for their shelter that their inconsiderable ruins are discovered today with difficulty. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that contemporary Coptic documents make mention of many more monastic establishments than those we are familiar with,² or that excavators in the Necropolis should often meet with Coptic mummies bearing small bronze crosses entwined with necklaces of beads,³ or occasionally with funerary stelae from the more pretentious graves of the little cemeteries which must have dotted the hills.⁴ That the community was much more populous than the map would lead one to believe, is evident therefore, and the reader must regard it as showing but a fraction of the sites occupied in the days of Epiphanius.

Map of
Western Thebes
in the 6th and
7th centuries
(Plate I)

¹ Most of the sites shown have been identified as having been occupied in the 6th and 7th centuries by surface finds of pottery; some few by the handwritings of the graffiti in them and, in the case of Deir el Medīneh, by the nature and contents of the graves.

² See Chapter v on Topography by Crum.

³ In the middle of the last century they seem to have been common. See Rhind *Thebes* p. 50. In the private collection of the late Mr. Hood, who dug for several years

in Thebes in the fifties, there are many crosses. Athanasi *Researches and Discoveries* (1836) p. 102, describes a coffin "from a Christian Church at Thebes" containing a body wearing "a small belt ornamented with several red crosses."

⁴ Mr. Mackay found a stela (MMA. 14.1.459) built into a native's house near Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh in 1913. See also Lefebvre *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* no. 381.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

The town
of Jême

The center of the Christian community of Western Thebes was the town of Jême. In dynastic times the southern part of the Necropolis was called the District of Jamut or Jamat,¹ a name which may have comprised the whole neighborhood from Deir el Medîneh to Medînet Habu, but which especially belonged to Medînet Habu, where temples were built from the XVIII Dynasty down to the end of paganism. Roman documents in demotic frequently mention Jamu or Jama, or in Graeco-Coptic παχυμις, παρεμις or παρεμεις, as identical with the "Memnonium" or the "Southern Memnonium"—the district of the temples and monuments of Western Thebes.² In Coptic the name became ⲉⲙⲉ (Bohairic ⲉⲙⲓ),—Jême—the "*Castrum* of Jême" becoming the whole of Western Thebes, and the "Mountain of Jême," or the "Holy Hill of Jême," probably all those parts of the Theban desert hills in which the anchorites of Jême lived.³ In the same way when Western Thebes was known as the Memnonia, the "Holy Hill of the Memnonia" was the whole desert mountain of the neighborhood.⁴


Its ruins at
Medînet Habu

The town proper, however, remained in that part of the district to which the name Jamat originally applied—Medînet Habu. Here, in all likelihood, a village existed from the XVIII Dynasty to Roman times, and with the rise of Christianity it invaded the temple precincts and finally even the temples themselves. At least it is the only spot where there could ever have been a considerable Byzantine town on the western side of the Nile for many miles. Modern Ḳurneh and Ba'arât are villages of scattered hamlets among the tombs and on the mounds of the Birket Habu, marking the site of no compact ancient town, nor are there any mounds in the cultivation or on the desert which could be accepted as an alternative position for the ancient Jême, other than those of Medînet Habu.

Its church
and its houses





On the overthrow of paganism, and before the temples of Medînet Habu had been buried to any considerable depth in the rubbish of the Christian town, a church⁵ was built within

I Written with many variations, as, for instance,



&c. See Brugsch *Geographische Inschriften* pp. 185-6, and *Dictionnaire Géographique* pp. 988-991; Goodwin *ÄZ.* 1869, pp. 73-75; Stern *ÄZ.* 1884, p. 55; Daressy *Ann. du S.* iv p. 179 and ix p. 68, and the demotic forms given by G. Möller *Todtenpap. Rhind* p. 76* no. 546. Goodwin first identified *D̄imut* with 𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣, in which he was followed by Brugsch, by Stern, by Maspero *Struggle of the Nations* p. 507 note 3, and by Amélineau *Géogr. de l'Époque Copte* p. 151. Stern had noted an early 19th century Arab name *Shama* or *Tama* for the region behind the colossi, recorded by Minutoli, and Amélineau (*loc. cit.* p. 421) gives the Arabic form, as often in the *Synaxarium*, شامة, which he suspects is 𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣. (Crum notes that the pronunciation should be Shēma—not Shâma—the *alif* in such positions often representing

Coptic **н**.) Cf. also the paragraph on Ape (**ⲁⲡⲉ**), p. 106, below.

2 "Memnonia" from  or    *mennu*—funerary or religious foundations (Maspero *Enquête judiciaire* p. 60 note 7). Hence probably the Greek "Colossi of Memnon" as the name of the colossi of Amenhotep III to this day.

³ In their will, Jacob and Elias, dwelling in the Monastery of Epiphanius, which was located on Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh Hill, nearly two kilometers away from Medinet Habu, are said to be of the *Castrum* of Jême and to live upon its Holy Hill. See Part II p. 347.

4 In the will of Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis and head of the Monastery of St. Phoebammon at Deir el Bahri (7th century A.D.), the monastery is described as "situated below the Holy Hill of the Memnonia." See BM. Gk. i pp. 231 ff. no. LXXVII.

5 Called a "cathedral church of St. Athanasius" by Sharpe *Hist. of Egypt* ii p. 311 Fig. 125 (an echo of Athanasius's and Catherwood's errors, noted below, p. 25 ?).

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the second court of the Temple of Rameses III, an ancient pillar being removed on the north-east side to make room for the sanctuary; large monolithic granite columns being erected to support the roof of the nave and chambers behind being appropriated to the uses of the priests, as Wilkinson judged from the circumstance of his finding in one a gilded cross.¹ On the columns of the church many Christians scribbled their names—Victor, Germanus, &c.—and others wrote such short prayers as “Everyone who enters into this place pray for me, Abraham, the servant of Jesus Christ. Amen,” or “Jesus Christ, Emmanuel, the Angel of this Holy Place and the Lord God of Might, help Joseph thy servant.”² Round about the church houses two and three stories high grew up on the ruins of the buildings within the ancient temple enclosure walls, and at last, with the accumulation of rubbish deep enough almost to hide these walls, the houses were built right over them as well. The compactly clustered dwellings of the Christian period covered an area something more than 300 by 400 meters in extent, with the inevitable rubbish mounds of an Egyptian village stretching beyond all around. In those days when Egypt’s population was at its lowest ebb in numbers, Jême must have ranked as a considerable provincial town.

Westward from the ruins of the town, on the first low terrace of the desert plain between two of the dry water-courses that lead down from the hills, was the cemetery of Jême.³ Nearly every grave must be plundered out by now, for the surface of the ground is littered with broken red brick and pottery of the Coptic period, with here and there a bit of mud-brick wall showing around a few of the more recently opened tombs. Some of these latter are oblong graves cut in the rock to a depth of a meter; others are pits about two meters deep with small side-chambers below, and all seem to be oriented north and south.

In the desert plain a kilometer west of the ruins of Jême and beyond the cemetery is the little Deir el Moḥâreb,⁴ the Church of Theodorus the General,⁵ that has served the still existing Coptic community of Ḳurneh and Ba‘arât since medieval times and possibly occupies the site of one of the still earlier establishments of Jême.

Beyond rose the terraces and peaks of the Theban Mountain, riven with dismal, silent canyons that are haunted by jackals and foxes alone, and riddled along its eastern faces and even in its distant recesses with cave-like tombs inhabited only by generations of pagan mummies, who would lie quiet within their coffins at a word of absolution if so

Its cemetery

Deir el
Moḥâreb

The mountain
of Jême

¹ Photographs taken some years ago showing the church and Coptic houses are in Mariette *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte* ii. Mention is made of the church in: Wilkinson *Modern Egypt and Thebes* ii p. 167; Lepsius *Letters from Egypt* xxviii, and Somers Clarke *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* p. 189. Wilkinson (*ibid.* pp. 167 and 269) says the town was abandoned at the time of the Arab invasion by its inhabitants, who fled to Esne. This seems improbable in the light of the 8th–9th century documents from Jême.

² Stern *ÄZ.* 1885, p. 97. Other, ill-copied, Coptic graffiti are given in the *Descrip. de l'Égypte* v Pl. 55

nos. 26–29, perhaps in part identical with those published in Lefebvre *Insc. grecques chrét.* nos. 368–376.

³ Wilkinson recognized the nature of this site and marked it on his *Map of Thebes* as “extensive burial ground, probably of the Christians of Medinet Habu.”

⁴ “Deir Sheḥîd Tadrus el Moḥâreb,” in Somers Clarke *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* p. 116, and Lepsius *Letters from Egypt* xxviii. See below, Chapter v p. 117.

⁵ In the list of churches in *El Luluwâh el Bahîyah* p. 352, this is called “Theodore the Eastern,” properly a different martyr. (W. E. C.)

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

sainted a man as Pesenthius came to dwell among them.¹ No town of early Christian Egypt could provide more retreats for the religious solitary. Here especially "whosoever desired to reap (spiritual) benefit" would seek out an habitation of this kind, and for this, like Saint Anthony when he first betook himself to the mountain, he need go "only a short way from his own village."²

Anchorites of
the S.W. hills

In 1916, following the remarkable finds which the Arabs made in the southern valleys and canyons of the Theban hills, Mr. Howard Carter made a painstaking examination and survey of all the shut-in nooks and crannies of that side of the mountain.³ In the most remote corners were to be seen traces of the early Christian anchorites—their rude graffiti on the rocks or the remains of their cells, occasionally in an ancient tomb or usually, in this part of the mountain, under an overhanging cliff. Some of these dwellings were three or four kilometers from the nearest water⁴ and all were in utter desert and solitude.

Of points somewhat nearer the ancient town, but still in absolute desert, members of this Museum's Expedition have examined the following:

Anchorite's cell

I. Passing Deir el Mohâreb and skirting north-west around the foothills of the mountain, an ancient path, now called "the path of Zeïde's window" after a curious hole in the cliff, will be found ascending to the Peak.⁵ After a hard climb of several minutes, where one branch of the path turns to follow the base of the cliff along the top of the talus slope above a little wâdi, there are the traces of an anchorite's cell now almost completely destroyed by the occasional rains, and plundered by natives since 1912. It was a modest shelter built of boulders and perhaps crude brick, cemented with desert clay and Nile mud mixed with straw. Scattered on the surface are quantities of broken, ribbed amphorae and plates of "Samian" ware, straw and bits of wood. On a rock nearby are scrawled three birds in red ink. The spot is almost three kilometers' walk from either Jême or the nearest water, away from all the haunts of men, and rarely visited except by jackals, foxes and hawks, and yet commanding a magnificent view of the whole plain and valley for miles to the south and east.

I A. About a hundred and fifty meters east, and still high up in the foothills, there is a spot which seems to have been an object of frequent visit in the 6th or 7th century and possibly later. On the limestone cliff there are a number of graffiti scratched in the rock and now weathered deeply, and one now obliterated graffiti in red ink. On the ground lie a few bits of broken Coptic amphorae. Several visitors have simply written

¹ Amélineau *Christianisme en Égypte au 7me Siècle* p. 143; Budge *Apoc.* pp. 326 ff.

² Athanasius *Vita Antonii* (PG. xxvi 844 B).

³ *JEA.* 1917, pp. 107 ff., Pl. XIX. Most of Carter's sites are beyond the upper border of the map on Plate I in this volume (drawn in 1914) but can be seen on his map at the numbers 6-8, 29, 50, 74, 80, 90-94, 120 and 130.

⁴ This distance is by no means remarkable. A cell first noticed by us in 1924 in the W. Valley, Tombs of the Kings,

is 6 km. from water; retreats in Khargeh Oasis are easily as far as this from the wells; the literature collected by Evelyn-White on the Wâdi en Naṣrûn is replete with tales of hermits who retired much farther into the desert wastes, and Lythgoe once visited a site six or seven hours' hard walking into the desert due west of Naḥâdeh.

⁵ Sites I and I A are marked 2 and 3 by Carter *loc. cit.* p. 112, Pl. XIX. For "*Es Sikkat et Tâka et Zeïde*," *ibid.* p. 108.

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their names: Joseph (1), Papnoute (2), Panoute (3) and Enoch (4); Abraham wrote his name in the commonest Byzantine cryptogram (5), and two others wrote short prayers, "I am John. I did a turn (of work) in this place. For the Lord Jesus Christ's sake have mercy on me" (6), and "I am Pshoi. I did a turn in this place, (my) mind being at rest in the Lord" (7); others wrote the names of Saints (9-10):

(1) ιωσηφ	(2) παπνοуте	(3) + папoуте	(4) επωχ and επωχк in same hand
(5) θηρθαθζ αβραραμ θηρθαθζ	(7) αποκ πψοϊ αιρ οτα λωτ ¹ μπιμα еρεпгт моти ρμπχοεic	(10) απα ιωραпη[с ³ апа χερεμω[п апа петре апа памотп апа амωпе ама софiа ммартерωс птещта	
(6) αποκ ιω ραппic αιρ ουλωτ ¹ μπιμα етнe пχοеic ic χс па паг	(8) ειc πεχс (9) απα аммωп ² (below, an <i>orans</i>)		

II. Farther east, in a valley which debouches on the plain north of Deir el Moḥâreb, there are a few tombs of the late Empire,⁴ about the mouth of one of which are the vestiges of a small stone and mud hovel with fragments of pottery littering the surface round about—ribbed amphorae, "Samian" plates and bowls, water-wheel pots, and a ribbed cooking pot. The spot is low down near the bottom of the wâdi, invisible from scarcely a hundred yards in each direction, with only a restricted view through a narrow gap towards the distant desert plain.

III. A kilometer back of the town, up on the spur of the hill which divides the Valley of the Queens into two branches, there are the ruins of a little monastery very like that of Epiphanius in size and general appearance, known to the Arabs of a century ago as simply Deir er Rûmi.⁵ This elevation had the advantages of an unimpeded view down the valley to Jême and the plain, and of a large, open, rock-cut tomb which served as a nucleus for the monastery. Across the mouth of the tomb there was a chapel with a round apse flanked with sandstone columns at the east end. The nave appears to have been domed. Irregular

Deir er Rûmi.
Site III

¹ ΔΛΩΤ is not in the dictionaries. It occurs in *Miss.* iv 283, apparently as a "turn, shift" of service; in 4 *Kingd.* xii 9 (a gloss or a misplaced interpolation) it may have a similar meaning; in Budge *Misc.* 207 = MS. Morgan xv 50 (ΠΕΚΕΔΑ ΜΠΠΔΛΩΤ; for ΚΕΔΑ *v.* CSCO. 42, 83, Ryl. 68 cζ, Rossi ii iii 34) it clearly means a "period" or "turn" of forced labor; so too in Tur. *Mater.* no. 6 (receipt for ἀνδρισμός tax), Krall cxlv (contract as to service) and BM. 589. Perhaps a similar meaning in Budge *Mart.* 180. But in *RE.* 3 and *ST.* 378 ΔΛΩΤ seems to be a certain quantity (*cf.* "brace, pair") of beasts seized, or birds caught. (W. E. C.)

² Recalls Ammonius, whose cave is referred to in the will (Part II Appendix III). *Cf.* also p. 19 Site XVIII. (W. E. C.)

³ These six names may be those of the "Martyrs of Teshta" (an unknown place), as the last lines suggest; or

of other saints, not necessarily martyrs or mutually related. A martyr couple, Sophia and Ammon, are commemorated without details, on the 4th Bâbah. Chaeremon is a rare name in the South (Cairo 8240), and this saint was probably not a Theban. A monastery of Apa C., presumably in Middle Egypt (Ryl. 165), may recall him, but the name might equally be that of its founder. A Chaeremon seems to have been venerated at the White Monastery (*Miss.* iv 460, if so to be read). The calendar in Nilles *Kal. Man.*² ii 708 has a martyr C., Bishop of Nilopolis, found in no other list. The Nitrian hermit C. (*PG.* 65, 436) seems unlikely here. On saints named Pamoun *v.* *WS.* 66 n. (W. E. C.)

⁴ Mentioned by Daressy *Ann. du S.* ii p. 136.

⁵ Bonomi, quoted by Newberry *Ann. du S.* vii p. 82 no. 45.

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mud-brick buildings with pillars and arches of stone plundered from nearby temples,¹ and floors of burnt brick tile, opened from the south door of the chapel. The fragments of pottery scattered over the site show it to have been roughly contemporary with the Monastery of Epiphanius.²

“Valley Path”
to the northern
monasteries

From Jême there were two approaches to the anchorites' dwellings to the north in the central hills of the Theban Mountain. One was by any of the numerous paths along the edge of the plain; the other by a path that still leaves Medînet Habu in a northerly direction, enters the valley behind Ḳurnet Murra'î Hill, passes Deir el Medîneh and makes northeasterly through the valleys that separate Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh Hill from the mountain, coming out at Deir el Baḥri. Nature has made a path here with but few hard climbs, and men must have used it uninterruptedly during the life of the dynastic village at Deir el Medîneh and, in Coptic times, during the occupation of the half a dozen little hermitages that were scattered along its way.

Deir el
Medîneh.
Site IV

IV. The first establishment of which traces are to be seen today in journeying northwards on this path, is in the little Ptolemaic Temple now called Deir el Medîneh. Its modern Arab name, the “Monastery of the Town,” seems to have been given it because in it was established the nearest considerable monastery to Jême.³

The monastery
and its
cemetery

The brick enclosure walls of the temple, still standing eight or more meters high, were exactly what the monks wanted. They had only to lower the lofty entrance gateway with a brick arch to make it more easily secured, and few alterations were needed within to change the temple and the buildings of the pagan priests to the needs of a Christian monastery. Along the north wall of the temple a little cemetery, of which eleven graves have been found, became the last resting-place of the monks. Their bodies were prepared for burial so much like those in the Monastery of Epiphanius that there can be no doubt that the two communities were nearly contemporary.⁴ In one or two cases the names seem to have been written above the heads of the graves on the temple wall, and on the façade of the temple were written numerous short memorials on the deaths of others of the inmates.⁵

A list of
the monks

From these sources we can draw up a list of monks who must have belonged to the place in which they were buried:

Apa Theophilus, the Priest; Apa Paul, the Priest; Apa Stephanus, the Archpriest; Apa Stephanus (other than the last); Apa Plêin, the “Steward of this τόπος”; Apa Plêin (other than the last); Apa Matthaius; Apa Peter, the Anchorite; Apa Daniel; Apa Isaac; Apa Enoch; Apa Pebô; and Pjoui.

¹ M. Baraize found blocks belonging to the Temple of Deir el Baḥri here and carried them back to their original source. Some of the remaining blocks seem to belong to Deir el Medîneh.

² It is an important site, excavated by Schiaparelli, whose publication of it has recently appeared.

³ The name Deir el Lûli دِير اللولي (Coptic ελοολε, “the vine”?) recorded by Bonomi in 1830 (Newberry

loc. cit. no. 41) is not heard today, and is less easily explained.

⁴ On the excavation of the temple see Baraize *Ann. du S.* xiii pp. 19 ff., with a plan and photographs of the monks' graves.

⁵ For the Coptic graffiti see *L. D.* vi Pl. 102, 6-27, and Pl. 103, 28-36; *L. D. Text* iii p. 117; Lefebvre *Inscrip. grecques chrêt.* nos. 377-8 and Baraize *loc. cit.* xiii p. 24.

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Also there are names written on the walls, some probably of mere visitors, while others were probably of those whose deaths were eventually recorded above:

Names of
monks and
visitors

Paul, the Priest, the son of Apa Theophilus, the Priest of the Holy Church of Apa Isidorus the Martyr¹ (twice—once in Greek and once in Coptic); Stephanus, the Priest [of the Church] of the Holy Isidorus,² and, Stephanus without titles; Plêin (four times); Matthaius, the Monk; Abraham, the Reader [of the Church] of the Holy Isidorus the Martyr, and the name Abraham in two other places; Paul, the “believer” (πιστός)³; Paul, the Teacher⁴; Mark, the “believer,” the son of Apa Peter, the Priest [of the Church] of the Holy Apa Mark⁵; Mark, Psyrus and his sons John and Philotheus; Solomon and Mena; Solomon and David. One short, mutilated graffito mentions the name Epiphanius,⁶ and another commemorates a woman Tserouhese, a name not met with elsewhere.

Between these two lists there seem to be several names in common, grouped in each case among the first six or seven. For example, the Theophilus and the Stephanus, both priests, of the first list, and their namesakes of the second list, both priests of the Church of Isidorus, were probably the same persons. If this be so, since it is likely that they would be buried in their own church, then the church in Deir el Medîneh was dedicated to Saint Isidorus the Martyr. Abraham, the reader of the second list, would thus be another of the monks of the place, whose epitaph has not been found.

Its church
dedicated to
St. Isidorus

Some of the monks at Deir el Medîneh were employed at weaving⁷ or tailoring, and for their guidance there was written on the walls a set of directions to be followed in their work⁸: “The instructions (λόγος) for the cloaks⁹: 10 handbreadths in width, 21 in length. The large shirts (σαλίκ¹⁰): 7 (? handbreadths) in width, 14 handbreadths and 2 fingers in length, and 10 fingers its neck-opening (? κωτῆ¹¹). The small shirts: 6 handbreadths and 8 fingers in width, 13 handbreadths and 2 fingers in length and 9 fingers its neck-opening.”

Instructions to
its tailors

By an unfortunate accident, part at least of the archives of this Christian community at Deir el Medîneh was discovered in modern times, merely to be dispersed.

Its lost
archives

1 On this Antiochene martyr *v. Lemm Bruchst. Kopt. Mär.* pp. xi, 60 ff. and *Synaxarium*, 19th Bashans. The Calendar of Abû 'l Barakât (*PO.* x 271) appears to connect him with Minyah. He suffered under Diocletian. (W. E. C.)

2 Stephen, archpriest of the Church of Isidor, appears in *Jême* no. 9, which can be dated to the middle of the 8th century. If this is the third in the list above, of persons buried at Deir el Medîneh, it is interesting as showing that the funerary customs which are here identical with those at Epiphanius (early 7th century), remained unchanged for over 100 years.

3 On this designation see 125, 435, and Appendix III. (W. E. C.)

4 On σαρχο = σαξ see 103 and *PSBA.* xxi 249. (W. E. C.)

5 See 84, where ατόπος of St. Mark is mentioned. (W. E. C.)

6 *L. D.* vi 102, 17.

7 See below, p. 68 note 2, in the section on Textiles, for weavers' and spinners' tools found here; also pp. 155, 156.

8 *L. D.* vi 102, 21. Comparable are *CO.* 473; Hall p. 121 (20023). The former is called, as here, a λόγος. (W. E. C.)

9 On the forms of the word λεβίτων *v. WS.* no. 161 n. (W. E. C.)

10 σαλίκ is usually a “sack”: *v. WS.* p. 21 and no. 189, *CO.* 212 n. But it is to be presumed that the instructions in this case are all for tailoring garments, since they begin with measurements for cloaks and the remaining dimensions call for pieces of cloth, smaller but absolutely similar in shape—the length being twice the width. Hence it may be assumed that in this case the σαλίκ is a bag- or sack-like shirt such as was found in the Epiphanius Monastery and is described below, Chapter III p. 71.

11 κωτῆ is a difficulty. It must be a noun formed by adding -ῆ to κωτ(ε) “surround, go around.” If the σαλίκ be a shirt, the only part which could have a measurement of 9 or 10 fingers (16.5–18 cm.) would be the slit for the neck opening—the collar which surrounds the neck. It appears to be a word not found elsewhere.

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Vassalli, writing in 1867, tells of a find of papyri made there by a *fellâh* "many years" before.¹

According to the investigations which I made while I was inspecting those excavations, it appears that he had had the good fortune to find a box full of them. Later, little by little and one at a time, he sold them at a small price to travellers, sometimes cutting up the larger rolls, so that whoever bought them, on unrolling the papyrus when he arrived in Europe, found that part was missing from the beginning or the end, which perhaps had become the property of some Russian or American. Many of these papyri were later recovered by M. Mariette, so that we have in the Cairo Museum all varieties of them—in hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic and also in Coptic writing.

These latter are, for the greater part, deeds of gift of sons made in favor of monasteries and, according to their tenor, the person given became the slave and the actual property of the monastery. Others are testaments or deeds by which personal property was legally ceded to the monastery. Signor Kabis, the learned scholar of the Coptic language and formerly inspector of the excavations, is making a Latin version of them which, let us hope, will soon see the light, together with facsimiles of the originals.

From Vassalli's account it is possible partially—but only partially—to reconstruct a list of this lot of papyri. Three *Jême* papyri, which were in his own possession, Kabis gave to the Propaganda,² while those mentioned by Vassalli as the property of the Cairo Museum are probably among the dedications of oblates to the Monastery of Saint Phoebammon, still in Cairo.³

Further
hermitages on
the "Valley
Path"

V. Just outside of the north corner of the temple enclosure wall there are the ruins of a tower of crude brick built over the entrance of a dynastic tomb and its chapel, with fragments of ribbed Coptic amphorae lying around on the surface.

VI. After leaving Deir el Medîneh, the path crosses the head of the broad valley between the hills of *Ḳurnet Murra'î* and Sheikh 'Abd el *Ḳurneh* and enters a region where the mountain is pierced here and there by the lofty corridors of great tombs of the XI Dynasty. Three hundred meters beyond the temple the path skirts around the bottom of a low spur in which there is one of these tombs with evidences of Coptic habitation in the mouth, and then turns northwards into the narrow pass between Sheikh 'Abd el *Ḳurneh* and the mountain.

VII. Just where the way narrows, a well-defined path ascends steeply on the left to the ruins of a little monastery built in the forecourt of a Middle Kingdom tomb. The site commands a magnificent view down the broad valley below, out over the Ramesseum and the cultivated fields to the eastern mountains. The buildings were of mud brick and rubble. Standing out in front there is a brick tower about five meters square in plan and formerly

¹ *I monumenti istorici egizi* pp. 145–6. Maspero (*Contes populaires*, French ed. 1911, p. vi; English, p. x) refers to the same find: "In 1864 near Deir el Medîneh and in the tomb of a Coptic monk, illicit explorations brought to light a wooden coffer, which besides the cartulary of a neighboring convent, contained" dynastic papyri including the *Satne Tale*.

² Ciasca *I Papiri Copti* p. i; *Jême* nos. 29, 30, 42 and p. iv. Cf. Hebbelynck in *Miscellanea F. Ehrle* v 83.

³ *Jême* p. 362. These documents were "to be deposited in the library of the holy Monastery" (of Phoebammon): v. *Jême* no. 96, 66. Their presence at Deir el Medîneh raises interesting questions regarding this site and the famous monastery. However, two uncertainties make any conclusion difficult: 1st, were they actually found at Deir el Medîneh? 2nd, was the lot of papyri really the remarkable mixture of dynastic and Coptic documents described by Vassalli and Maspero?

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at least twice as high, with a barrel-vaulted room on the lower floor. Inside the tomb there are traces of defaced frescoes and of two or three practically obliterated painted inscriptions. The whole place gives one the impression of being a smaller replica of the Epiphanius Monastery.

VIII. Another well-defined path leads along the shoulder of the hill for about fifty meters at the same level to a second Middle Kingdom tomb with the foundations of rubble walls at the entrance. When excavated in 1921 it yielded fragmentary pottery and other antiquities which showed that it was contemporary with the Monastery of Epiphanius and about the size of one of its outlying cells.

About a hundred meters north-west of and nearly level with this cell, on a rock at the head of a little wâdi, there is the crudely scratched graffito

here facsimiled. The last four lines from the word ΔΙΟΚ have been erased, as has a separate graffito above, written by the same hand in two lines. The following text is from a photograph by H. Burton and from a hand-copy :

ρηπραп ητιγριαс еτοθαаh ηρεη|-тамiωс
 ап пewт мmшнpe м|-пеппау етоθαаh
 мmтeпxаeиc | етоθαаh маpгa тпapρeиoс
 тmпeтoу | ⁵-тepo ηηoεiпaзiа кпeпxаeиc |
 етоθαаh фoтka ηiρη|-пeгaωп eтcωтm aтω
 eтaмaзтe ρηтeμeз|-шmoтпe
 пpампe п | ¹⁰-тмeгmтcпaтo-
 oтc | ηpампe ηпкoклoс aпoк |
 кaмe пшппaтoс пpωмп |
 -xиmе ρηппoмoс | ¹⁴пepмaпт

ely scratched graffiti

“In the name of the holy, uncreated¹ Trinity, the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and Our holy Lady Mary, the Virgin.² (In) the reign³ and (?)⁴ the consulate of our most sacred lord Phocas, the eternal⁵ Augustus and emperor,⁶ in his 8th year, the 12th year of the cycle.⁷ I (am) Kame, the son of Paul, the man of Jême, in the nome of Ermont.”

1 An unusual locution. Cf. *ρευματιο* and *πτατταμιος* *απ* (i.e. *οὐ ποιηθείς*) in the Creed (e.g. Rossi i II 62).

2 The name of the Virgin in this formula seems very rare: Wessely xx no. 219, *Sphinx* x 2.

3 Leg. ? тмперо.

4 The Copt must have intended $\kappa\kappa$ - either for κ -, $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\dot{\upsilon}\pi$ -, or for $\mu\kappa$ -, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\dot{\upsilon}\pi$.

5 *Lit.* "who is in the αἰών."

6 Lit. "who heareth and ruleth," the first being due to confusion of sound between *αἰγνοστος* and some form of *ἀκούειν*, perhaps *ἀκουστός*; the other being comparable with *πενζικοοτε εταμδοτε* *Jême* no. 93, 28, BM. Gk.

iv 1565, 27.

7 Taking κύκλος as equivalent to "indiction," this gives A.D. 609, which agrees with the regnal year here named. Other Coptic instances of the word are: Stern *Gram.* p. 438, *Ann.* viii 92, *Mitth. Rain.* i 18, Krall clxiv, *Miss.* viii 5 and 92 (the former of which gives the equation: 14th of K. = A.D. 431), *Sagqara* no. 307 (where both K. and 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪𐩠 are used of the date); also in the interesting colophon, Paris 132¹, 67, but with a different meaning. The term is used by John of Nikiu; cf. Brooks in *Byz. Zeitschr.* 1895, 439 and, disagreeing with him, A. J. Butler *Arab Cong.* 534.

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This text is interesting for various reasons: it is dated (in the last year of Phocas's eight years' reign, 609–610, corresponding to the 12th of the Indiction), and it shows a unique and very incompetent attempt to translate into Coptic the Greek terms of the imperial titulature. The style imitated would be somewhat as follows: *Βασιλείας καὶ (?) ὑπατίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου¹ ἡμῶν δεσπότης (Φλ.) Φωκᾶ, τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀνγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, ἔτους η ἔτους τοῦ κύκλου ιβ.* (W. E. C.)

IX. Directly opposite the tower, across the narrow pass, on the westernmost corner of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh near the top of the hill, a third Middle Kingdom tomb shows traces of similar rubble walls at the entrance.

IX A. A hundred and fifty meters farther along to the north-east, a fourth tomb has been occupied, as the ruins of a small brick hovel at the entrance show.

Deir el Bahri

X. The path now descends gradually, and leaving the narrow confines of the valleys behind Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh, comes out into the broad open plain in the bay of the cliffs at the head of the 'Asâsîf, and turns toward Deir el Bahri, the "Northern Monastery."²

The monastic buildings

As in the case of so many of the monasteries of Jême, the site chosen for this one was at a sufficient elevation (here the ruins of the Upper Terrace of the XVIII Dynasty Temple) to command a magnificent view across the desert to the green fields beyond. Today nearly all trace of the Coptic ruins has been cleared away, but photographs taken before 1892 show that a lofty, square brick tower, then nearly 8 meters high, and other buildings of the monastery still existed. Fallen *débris* from the cliff had already buried the middle platform of the temple before the Coptic occupation when it was made level with the upper terrace by the destruction of a few earlier walls and the heaping up of ashes and rubbish from the monastery. The buildings were of mud brick and of stone taken from the XVIII Dynasty walls, with here and there a room of the Hatshepsut Temple left intact except for a coat of plaster masking the pagan reliefs. Pococke, in 1737, and the members of the French Expedition, in 1798, found the red granite doorway and the sanctuary coated with plaster and painted with figures of Christ and the Saints, and Naville notes the existence of graffiti, crosses and occasional pictures in the upper chambers.³

About a dozen of these graffiti were traced or copied by Evelyn-White, hardly one of them being more than partially legible. The best preserved is the following homiletic extract, written upon a door-jamb of the Southern Hall of Offerings:

¹ This seems more likely than *θειοτάτου* to have been the original of *ετοσταῶ*.

² The name Deir el Bahri was used by Wilkinson and has been used by most archaeologists since. It seems not to have been known to the members of the French Expedition in 1798, and the writers of the early 19th century heard applied to it the names: "Deir er Rumi" (Bonomi, quoted by Newberry *Ann. du S.* vii p. 81 no. 32), a generic name for any Coptic monastery; "Deir el Assasif" (Champollion *Lettres d'Égypte* xv; Naville *Deir el Bahari*,

Introd. Memoir p. 6) derived from the 'Asâsîf Valley in which it was situated, and "Deir es Sulṭân" (Naville *ibid.*). The application of the term "Northern" to it may be due to some confusion since Coptic times. Cf. Deir el Bakhît, below, p. 21.

³ See note by White, Part II p. 321, under 616. A Greek graffito is published by Lefebvre *Inscrip. grecques chrét.* no. 379, after Peers *JHS.* 1899, pp. 14, 15; another, similar, by W. S. Fox, in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* xxxviii 413.

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[illegible]

“If thou be reprov'd, bear with it; if praised, remember thy sins, (whereof) the first is forgetfulness, the second heedlessness, the third lust, the fourth doth. . . . Wisdom is a grace, virginity great profit, to do unto thyself violence is martyrdom, to forgive with thy whole heart is benevolence, silence is a sealed treasure, quietude (= *ἡσυχία*) is love (*or* is truth).”

Near this were two imperfect copies of the Greek lines from the *Anthology*, found again upon the writing-board here published as no. 616; while written on the same doorway was the Greek alphabet.

The remaining graffiti, mostly in the Southern Hall of Offerings, or in its Vestibule, are varying examples of one type: short invitations to passers-by to remember or to pray for the writers. Of these some are dated, but the numerals are now often doubtful. One is apparently of A.H. 375 (саракепѡѹ тѡѣ) = A.D. 985, another of A.M. 730 (των μαρτιρ Ψλ) = A.D. 1014, a third of A.M. 867 (παουτε σοτηε ϩ ωζζ) = A.D. 1151. The style of script in general accords with these late dates.¹ In two cases the text is written in the ordinary cryptogram (Ϡ for ϡ, η for ε &c.). No local saint is invoked, so far as can be deciphered; the temple may therefore have become rather a place of resort than of pilgrimage, like the dwelling of Epiphanius. The visitors included two bishops: Matthew of² and Jacob, an arch-deacon, a priest Philotheus. Besides these, Colluthus, son of John, and the deacon, Eu. . . , son of Theodore, who both appear to come from Kôs Werwîr.³ Further, one of the texts in cryptogram is by a man from Hou (Diospolis Parva).⁴ (W. E. C.)

One of the principal chapels was the Southern Hall of Offerings, behind the Coptic tower, where a recess for the altar was cut in the wall in the north-east corner. Rubbish was thrown out to the south, over the Mentuhotep Temple and there, in the rubbish mounds among the monastery buildings, have been found ostraca, bits of wooden lattice work and other waste material of the monks.⁵

Just as at Deir el Medîneh, so there was here also a cemetery in connection with the monastery. Pococke found many Coptic mummies in a chamber opening off the upper terrace; a hundred years later Lepsius found three more in the rubbish of the middle

The cemetery

¹ The letter μ has generally the form \mathcal{U} , while "son of" is expressed by $\overline{\text{son}}$, as elsewhere in medieval colophons (Budge *Apoc.* Pl. LIV, *Mart.* Pl. XVII) and epitaphs (Bock *Matériaux* p. 76, Munier in *Aegyptus* iv 133).

2 πτερις|κενη|... , wherein one might be tempted to read τεπορις κενη, for τπορις κρηνη (Kenah); but this is scarcely admissible.

3 *V.* below, p. 119.

4 Ψκρσω ρς ιιρ. *i.e.* τπωλως ρω κρ.. The last three letters might be an epithet. They are followed by **πληλ**
εξωι.

5 Photographs of the monastery are in Mariette *Voyage*

dans la Haute Égypte ii Pl. 60 and Naville *Deir el Bahari, Intro. Memoir*, Frontispiece and Pls. IV, V. References to the usually meager notes on the ruins of the monastery in the EEF. publications of the XVIII Dynasty temple were collected by Crum *CO.* p. xii. Equally scant attention to Coptic material was paid in the excavation of the Mentuhotep Temple, a few objects being shown in Naville and Hall *XIth Dyn. Temple* iii Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV. Passing reference was made to the Coptic buildings by Lepsius in his *Letters from Egypt* xxviii, and *Denkmäler, Text* iii 114.

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platform, and in the final clearing of the temple by Naville many more came to light. Even in 1922 we found an outlying grave of this cemetery two hundred meters south of the site of the monastery. The monks themselves were buried in the vestibule of their chapel in the Southern Hall of Offerings, under rectangular bench-like structures in the corners of the chamber, similar to those in the tomb-chapels of the Necropolis of El Bagawât in Khargeh Oasis. Each grave contained several mummies bearing no other ornamentation than the leathern girdles and aprons placed on the bodies of the monks in Deir el Medîneh and in the Monastery of Epiphanius.¹

Its dedication
to St. Phoeb-
ammon

None of the Coptic inscriptions found at Deir el Baḥri states in unequivocal terms the name of the monastery which was built there. Jême documents in general do not supply definite data for locating the numerous geographical names which they record, but on the internal evidence in the ostraca found at Deir el Baḥri there are grounds on which it can be identified. The recipient of many of the letters and the author of a score of edicts and other documents among the ostraca, was a bishop Abraham² who seems to have bequeathed the Monastery of Saint Phoebammon to the monk Victor, probably the hegoumenus of that place, and one of the persons most frequently addressed or referred to among the Deir el Baḥri letters. The presence on this spot of these documents belonging to bishop Abraham and to Victor would seem to signify that here was their abode, and as they dwelt undoubtedly in that monastery of which they were abbots, the conclusion follows that Deir el Baḥri was the ancient Monastery of Saint Phoebammon.³ This attribution of the monastery at Deir el Baḥri to Saint Phoebammon and a mention of Saint Phoebammon in the will of the monk Jacob and his companion Elias of the Monastery of Epiphanius (Part II Appendix III), hang together perfectly. In the will a road passing near the Monastery of Epiphanius is described as going "in towards⁴ [the Monastery of] Saint Phoebammon." As will be seen below (pp. 27, 28) this road can be only the one leading in towards Deir el Baḥri.

Path in the
plain

The other road from Jême-Medînet Habu to the Christian monasteries to the northward is the one most frequently followed by the natives coming from Ba'arât and the hamlets to the south, and by the tourist parties today. This road skirts the edge of the cultivated fields until it arrives at a point behind the colossi, where one branch follows north-easterly along the desert border to the Ramesseum and Dra' Abû 'l Naga, and the other bears a little more northerly along the foot of Kurnet Murra'î.

¹ See Pococke *Description of the East* i p. 100; L. D., *Text* iii p. 104 (one of his mummies is Berlin 1103); and Naville *Deir el Bahari* ii p. 5 and iv p. 6. Some of the mummies found by the latter on the middle terrace were doubtless at least two centuries earlier than any of the ostraca found on the site, and may even have been pagan, since the description of some of them is identical with Edgar *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins* 33276. A cemetery existed in these ruins from before Saïte times.

² His will was found about 1856 and is now in the British Museum; see BM. Gk. i no. LXXVII.

³ View first advanced by Crum *CO.* pp. xii ff., and generally accepted since. (But *v.* notes, pp. 10 and 22.) Beside the ostraca published in that work a few are mentioned by Naville and Hall *XIth Dynasty Temple* p. 20 and EEF. *Arch. Report*, 1903-4, p. 44, and a papyrus (Berlin 1103, accounts referring to a certain Apa Sabinê, the priest) is published in L. D. vi 122 c, *Text* iii p. 114.

⁴ To "go in" in these texts and generally in Coptic monastic literature, is to go from the river farther toward the "Inner Desert." See below, p. 183. (W. E. C.)

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XI. On the latter road, a hundred yards beyond the fork, there is marked on Wilkinson's map a "Christian ruin," now utterly destroyed.

XII. About a hundred yards farther along, if one turns directly up the side of *Ḳurnet Murra'î* Hill, an Empire tomb will be found with battered graffiti in red (XII A) and above, on the very hilltop, the little monastery *Deir Ḳurnet Murra'î*.¹ The ruins, visible from almost every point on the Theban plain, are those of a compact but irregularly planned mud-brick structure at least two stories high. The walls were built on foundations of desert boulders; some of the rooms were vaulted, others may have had flat roofs; inside they were plastered white, and here and there they had small, arched-topped cupboards as in the Epiphanius towers. West of the monastery, on a little knoll, was a cemetery of a dozen or more graves now, seemingly, all plundered.

*Deir Ḳurnet
Murra'î*

XIII. The road continues in a fairly straight line north-east behind the *Ramesseum*, in the ruins of which there was once a Coptic structure, now totally destroyed except for an occasional cross, a star and a few short graffiti, one of which was written by a certain Macarius. Just beyond the *Ramesseum* the road forks again, one branch leading directly to *Dra' Abû 'l Naga* and the other turning sharp to the north past the foot of *Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh*, in towards *Deir el Baḥri*.

*The
Ramesseum*

This brings us to the heart of the XVIII Dynasty Necropolis, in a hillside literally riddled with decorated tombs which have been a subject of study and an object of research and exploration by Egyptologists for almost a century, and for centuries before, the dwelling-places of the natives of *Ḳurneh*. Practically all trace of the Copts, who undoubtedly built here in considerable numbers, has therefore disappeared. Not so very long ago, however, traces of the Coptic anchorites must have been far more common. About forty years ago Stern found one tomb here in which some ancient Copt had scribbled the usual, banal prayer: "The Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; Jesus Christ, the Lord God, have mercy upon me," and another tomb was marked as "the Dwelling of Apa Elias."² Even today one meets with traces, evidently of early anchorites—an ancient tomb from whose wall-paintings every female figure has been prudishly smeared out, or a grotesque drawing in which a person with a lively imagination can see a horse.³

*Sheikh 'Abd el
Ḳurneh*

XIV. Among the few Christian sites which can still be marked on the map is the tomb of Mery, no. 95, near the southern end of the east face of the hill, half-way up. Here Mr. Mackay found a number of ostraca in 1913 which he presented to the Metropolitan Museum.⁴

The most noteworthy point about these documents is that they mention an Apa Cyriacus a number of times. From this fact it may be inferred that this site and that other some

*Ostraca
mentioning
Cyriacus*

¹ The name was used by Bonomi in 1830 (*Newberry Ann. du S.* vii p. 82 no. 42).

² Stern *ÄZ.* 1885, p. 97.

³ Tomb 56; see Davies *Bull. Met. Mus.* 1922, Dec. 11 p. 56.

⁴ MMA. 14.1.68-80, here quoted by the last two digits—68, 69, &c.

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250 meters away which is described in the following pages as no. XVIII, were both parts of a single community on the eastern face of the hill, similar to that of Epiphanius on the northern side. One of these ostraca shows two fragmentary letters—one by, and both in the hand of, Joseph, the busy scribe of our 245 and many more, and the other by Katharôn, who was perhaps his wife. Both are addressed in identical phraseology to “my holy father, Apa Cyriacus.”¹ In another letter (71) the names Eustochius, Justinus and Cyriacus occur²; in another (78) Isaac excuses himself “to his holy lord father” (? Cyriacus) for being hindered from visiting him; and in still another (69) Cyriacus again occurs, possibly as recipient, as well as Jacob and Hêmai.³ A tax receipt using a not common formula, probably anterior to that so often met with⁴; a contract promising to repay a loan (76), addressing a man of Jême and written by a man from Pmilis; another (77) by Psês, promising to pay (or repay) money and corn; a medical prescription⁵; two Psalm extracts and a fragmentary prayer (68) complete the lot. (W. E. C.)

Other sites
on Sheikh
‘Abd el Kurneh

XV. Less than a hundred meters north-east on the same level of the hill, in the tomb of Amenezeh (no. 84), there are painted crosses and a graffito of Mark, the son of Zacharias, and the interesting note: “The resting-place of the Patriarch Severus. Pray for me, my fathers.”⁶

XVI. A few meters above, in the tomb of Amenemhab (no. 85), there are painted monograms and ornaments on the inner door-jambs, and traces of Coptic rubbish in the forecourt.

XVII A. An old tradition has it⁷ that before the Arab invasion there was the shrine of a Christian saint on the hilltop where the present Sheikh ‘Abd el Kurneh is worshiped. The cure of rheumatism was attributed to the Christian saint just as it is to the Moham-medan. A few scattered bits of Coptic pottery in the tomb courts just below (nos. 72 and 75) led us to excavate here in the hope of finding some traces of an anchorite’s dwelling, but the results were inconclusive.

The Monastery
of Cyriacus
(Plate II)

XVII. Below, on the north end of the east face of the hill, we had better fortune. The tombs between nos. 65 and 67 had been cleared in recent years, but enough remained around the edges of the former excavations to warrant further digging in 1914 for the purpose of recovering what might be left of the Coptic ruins (Fig. 1). The result was the discovery of traces of an anchorite’s establishment to which we gave the name “Monastery of Cyriacus.” In clearing the site we found a number of ostraca and fragmentary papyri⁸ of which at least fourteen were letters. Half a dozen of these last bore no addresses or had lost them, while six others were clearly addressed to Cyriacus, sometimes termed “the anchorite of the Mount of Jême,” and of only one was the recipient anyone else.⁹ Of

¹ Crum *ST.* 387.

² Last two names together, *CO.* 362.

³ Jacob and Hêmai together in *CO.* 29.

⁴ *CO.* 409 &c. This ostrakon in *ST.* 419.

⁵ In Part II, 622.

⁶ See Crum in *ROC.* 1923, p. 95.

⁷ So we were informed by Maspero, who repeated it on the authority of some of the earlier English explorers.

⁸ The 18 most interesting are published in Part II, the others being discarded. The field designation of most is *Tombs* 65, 66 with three labeled *South of Tomb* 66 and another *Tomb above* 65, 66.

⁹ To Cyriacus: 151, 236, 250, 266, 457, 462; to unknown persons: 121, 242, 244, 257, 387, 480, 628; to “the camel-herds of Jême” &c. 413. Biblical, 38, 583; Hymn, 594; List of Months, 617.

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course, in the light of the letters addressed to a Cyriacus described on the preceding page as coming from Site XIV farther south, it may well be questioned whether this Site XVII was his actual dwelling-place, but at least the term has been found useful for the purposes of this book.

The site, the forecourts of four Empire tombs, was a more or less irregular platform high enough up on the hill to command a view over the low-lying Khôkheh Hill and the desert plain, and across the cultivated fields to the Nile. The lowest part of the site is the court of Tomb 67 (Hapuseneb) where the portico has been blocked up with rubble and re-used mud bricks roughly laid, with a white-plastered doorway left open in the center. Next east, in the courtyard of Tomb 66 (Hapu), there are traces of Coptic walls, a mud bench, and beaten mud floors from 60 to 125 cm. above the dynastic level. From this

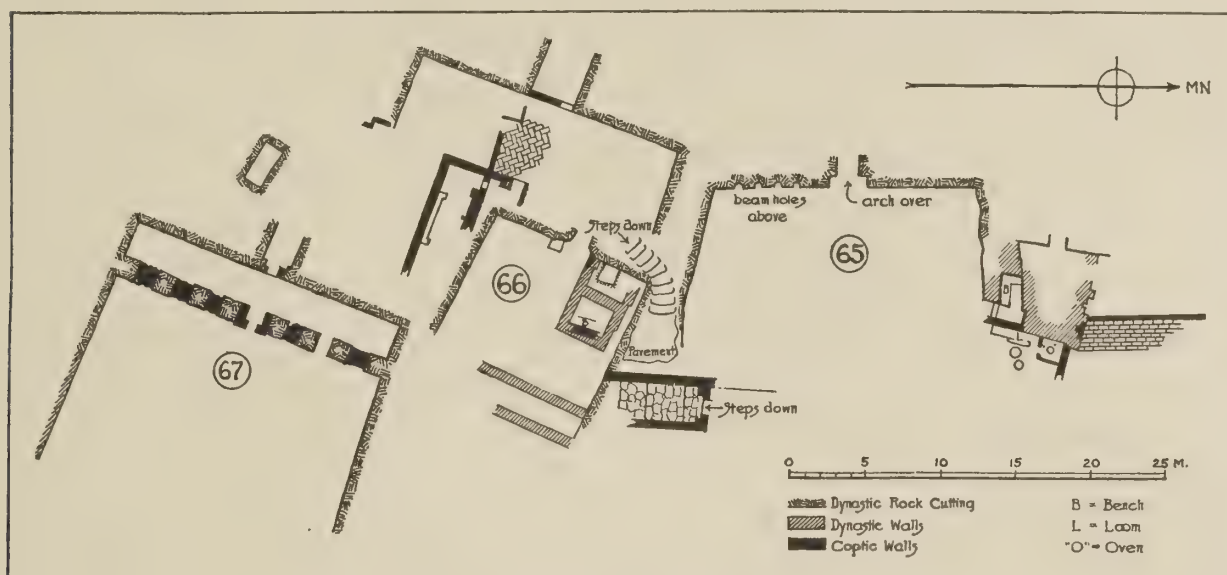


FIG. 1
PLAN OF THE RUINS OF THE MONASTERY OF CYRIACUS

court a narrow vestibule or passage, 2.50 meters wide and over 6 meters long, with four wide, shallow steps paved with rude flag-stones, leads to a doorway that opens on the court of Tomb 65 (Nebamon and Imisibe). On passing through the doorway there is a retaining wall of red bricks ($30 \times 14 \times 5$ cm.) laid in mud, and faced with fine, hard lime plaster painted red, on the left. All trace of the building which stood on the level above the retaining wall is now gone except four beam-holes cut in the rock of the tomb-façade at the height of the Coptic roof, and the spring of a brick arch cut in the tomb door-jambs. To the west of the court there are traces of a beaten earth pavement and a flight of irregular steps cut in the rock and plastered with mud, leading to another tomb court with Coptic remains about 4 meters above those in Tomb 66. Here there are ruins of a structure built of re-used dynastic bricks stamped with the names of Ptahmery and Pesiur. The pavements are of baked brick tiles laid in herring-bone pattern, $32 \times 15 \times 6$ cm. in size (one loose

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example $36 \times 23 \times 5$ cm.). At this point in the ruins were found a number of fragments of papyrus. To the east of the court of Tomb 65 there is a XIX Dynasty paneled brick structure of Pesiur, in one side of which is quarried a little Coptic room not more than 3 meters long by 1.25 meters wide, with a bench running around two sides. In front there was a room which originally contained a loom and two granaries (*şowâma'*) under the floor, but which was converted eventually into a bakery (see below, pp. 52, 53). Farther east there is a room or a passage paved with mud bricks laid in parallel rows.

The Monastery
of Epiphanius

The road in to Deir el Baḥrî passes below the Monastery of Cyriacus, and continuing west of north across the foot of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh, leaves the Monastery of Epiphanius on the left some ten or twenty meters above it, and then drops down into the 'Asâsîf which it crosses to Deir el Baḥrî.

Anchorites in
the Valley of
the Kings

From Deir el Baḥrî one went to the Valley of the Kings in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. just as tourists went in the 1st century B.C.,¹ and still do today, over the steep paths which climb up the cliffs above the monastery. These are the shortest routes from the plain, and near one of them Burton, excavating for Theodore M. Davis, found a Coptic ribbed amphora and a cooking pot,² while on the longer, but less arduous Valley road, it would seem that no traces of the early Christians have been noted. Among the royal tombs themselves one meets with such traces of the anchorites as fragments of amphorae and even the sandstone grave stela of a woman named Souaei (*coṣaei*) who died on the 10th Phaopi in the 6th Indiction.³ Among the visitors of Roman times some may have been Christians and one Greek graffito found by Wilkinson is signed by an Epiphanius who, were he not probably a tourist as early as the reign of Constantine or even before, it would be interesting to identify with his namesake of the monastery on Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh.⁴

XVIII. Of the tombs which show the most evident signs of actual occupation by the early Christians, no. 2 is the most important. Outside the tomb door on the quarrymen's chip Theodore Davis found the ruins of a Coptic establishment in 1905-6.⁵ Fragments of ostraca and "one unopened papyrus letter" were among the objects found, together with quantities of ribbed amphorae, cooking pots, a large platter decorated with fishes, and an enormous *dolium*, characteristically too large to have been turned on the wheel and therefore hand-modeled, and painted with crude spirals in white.⁶ Three amphorae with their ends knocked off were found filled with honeycomb, and may have been beehives.⁷ The Coptic buildings at the door of the tomb appear to have been of two periods. The house of the lower level was built of sun-dried bricks with floors of red baked tile and stone slabs. In front of it stood a small oven and two small circular granaries, undoubtedly identical

¹ Strabo vii 46.

² MMA. 14.6.225 and 228.

³ Lefebvre *Inscrip. grecques chrét.* 382. The stela is in the British Museum, no. 409 (Hall p. 10 Pl. IX). It is remarkable that the formula used is otherwise peculiar to Nubian epitaphs (Lefebvre 606, 621, 804, &c.)

⁴ Wilkinson *Modern Egypt and Thebes* ii p. 210.

⁵ T. M. Davis *Tomb of Siptah* p. 7.

⁶ MMA. 14.6.222-4-6. See Plates XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV in this volume.

⁷ Unless Davis mistook wasps-nests for honeycomb?

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with the beehive-shaped *şôma'* of the Monastery of Epiphanius. The structure of the upper level had rubble walls and its rooms are described as very small and probably low.

The walls inside the tomb are scribbled all over with graffiti, including a number of Coptic inscriptions, carefully written in red, left by the anchorites and their visitors.¹ Among them are found the names of Apa Ananias, the bishop,² and a certain Enoch whose office is unintelligible. Another, nameless, visitor writes the prayer: "I beseech Thee, Jesus Christ, my Lord, suffer me not to follow after my desire; let not my thought(s) have dominion over me; let me not die in my sins, (but) accept Thy servant for good."³ Another has written a quotation (though not verbal) of Tobit xii 10: "The angel Raphael said unto Tobit and Tobias, his son, 'He that sinneth fighteth against his own life.'" Someone has drawn two praying saints with arms upraised, one of whom is labeled Apa Ammonius the Martyr,⁴ and another anchorite has drawn up a list of the two earliest hermits and the first five abbots of coenobitic monasticism: "The names of our fathers: Apa Paul, Apa Antony, Apa Pahômô (Pachomius), Apa Palamôn, Apa Petronius, Apa Theodore, Apa Horsîêse and all the other holy fathers. In peace. Amen. My holy lords all, entreat the Lord for me, this sinner, Abraham, (son of) Papnoute. Jacob, this humblest one." The most interesting of these graffiti is, however, one written by "this humblest Jacob."⁵ Unfortunately it is imperfect and very obscure. Jacob tells how, when dwelling with the brethren, he had "covered," or concealed, certain "names," as with a veil (κάλυμμα), copying them "in faith," without comprehending the import of the "speech" thus concealed. One might suppose this a reference to the use of a cryptogram, scarcely to the obliteration of a hieroglyphic text. The following is the text:

χ̣ς ϣ̣ ἱ̣ς ἀποκ̣ ἱ̣ακω̣ῃ π̣ι̣ελαχ̣ιστος | π̣ῆ̣τε̣ρι̣ε̣ι̣με̣ ἐ̣τα̣μ̣π̣ῆ̣σ̣ω̣ῃ | ἀ̣ἰ̣ο̣τ̣ω̣σ̣ι̣ · ἐ̣σ̣ω̣π̣ · ἐ̣ρο̣ῖ̣ · ἐ̣ἰ̣π̣α̣ς̣σ̣ι̣ | ἐ̣π̣ε̣σ̣π̣ι̣ν̣
 ἀ̣λ̣λ̣α̣ π̣ῆ̣τα̣ρ̣[σ̣]ῇ̣ ϣ̣ π̣ῆ̣μα̣τ̣ | ⁵α̣ἰ̣ρ̣ω̣ῃ̣ς̣ ϣ̣ε̣π̣ρα̣π̣ π̣ῶ̣[ε̣] π̣ῶ̣[τ̣]κα̣λ̣λ̣η̣μ̣- | μα̣ · α̣ἰ̣τα̣μο̣ π̣ε̣[σ̣π̣ι̣ν̣ · ····]ῖ̣ πα̣ῖ̣ | ζ̣ε̣πα̣πο̣τ̣
 φ̣ω̣ῃ̣ ἀ̣π̣[τ̣]* ··· α̣ἰ̣ς̣ ϣ̣α̣ἰ̣το̣τ̣ | ϣ̣ῶ̣τ̣ε̣σ̣πο̣τ̣α̣ν̣ κα̣λ̣ω̣[ς̣ · α̣λ̣]λα̣ π̣πο̣τ̣τε̣ | σο̣ο̣τ̣η̣ ζ̣ε̣ἱ̣τ̣σο̣ο̣τ̣η̣ ἀ̣π̣ μ̣π̣ω̣ρ̣χ̣ π̣ῆ̣το̣μ̣ |
¹⁰π̣ῆ̣α̣σ̣π̣ε̣ π̣ῆ̣τα̣ῖ̣ρα̣ῖ̣σο̣τ̣ · α̣ἰ̣ς̣ρα̣ἰ̣σο̣τ̣ ϣ̣ῶ̣τ̣- | π̣ῆ̣σ̣ι̣ς̣ μ̣π̣πα̣τ̣ ἐ̣τ̣μ̣[μ̣]α̣τ̣ [α̣ρ̣ῖ̣ τα̣]γα̣π̣η̣ | ο̣το̣η̣ π̣ῆ̣μ̣ ἐ̣τ̣η̣ν̣ ἐ̣ρο̣τ̣η̣
 ἐ̣π̣ῆ̣μ̣[α̣ π̣ῆ̣τε̣]π̣ῆ̣λ̣η̣λ̣ | ἐ̣ξ̣ω̣ῖ̣ π̣ῆ̣τε̣π̣πο̣τ̣τε̣ ῥ̣ῖ̣ ἐ̣ῆ̣ο̣λ̣ μ̣μο̣[ῖ̣] π̣ῆ̣π̣ῖ̣ρα̣]σ̣μο̣ς̣ μ̣π̣σα̣τα̣πα̣ς̣ | [α̣]πο̣[κ̣] π̣ῆ̣σ̣[ω̣ῃ̣ π̣ῆ̣τα̣λ̣]ῖ̣-
 π̣ω̣ρ̣[ος̣ α̣τ̣ω̣ π̣ῆ̣ε̣ἱ̣ῆ̣ν̣η̣ | ¹⁵π̣ῶ̣ρ̣[η̣]κε̣ ϣ̣[α̣π̣πο̣τ̣τε̣] μ̣π̣π̣ρ̣ω̣μ̣ε̣] ἀ̣πο̣κ̣ π̣ῆ̣- | ϣ̣ε̣ρ̣ῥ̣ πο̣ῖ̣ε̣ πα̣ρα̣ π̣κ̣ο̣σ̣μο̣ς̣ τ̣η̣[ρ̣]ῥ̣.

XIX. In tomb no. 3, directly across the valley from the last-mentioned site, Davis found an anchorite's dwelling-place and a chapel built within the interior chambers. The floors were laid with red brick tiles, sandstone columns with debased Corinthian capitals were erected—probably in the chapel sanctuary—and quantities of ribbed amphorae were used and broken on the site. A few graffiti were crudely scratched inside the tomb naming Theodore, Zacharias, and Stephen (the son) of Zacharias; and an ostrakon found here by Davis makes mention of a certain Apa Ezekiel.⁶

1 L. D. vi 102, 1-5.

² See below, p. 133.

3 Perhaps = ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶ.

5 Photographs by H. Burton have been used in improving Stern's text in *AZ.* 1885, p. 100. (W.E.C.)

4 Perhaps Ammonius, the martyred bishop of Esne;
v. 14th (13th) Kihak. Cf. note above to Site I A.

* † quite uncertain; $\Delta\pi$ may be the negative.

6 MMA. 14.6.223. Published as *ST.* 388.

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Anchorites
above the
'Asâsîf

XX. High up in the hillside, across the 'Asâsîf from the Monastery of Epiphanius, there is a row of large XI Dynasty tombs among which the paths pass on the way over the cliffs to the Valley of the Kings. Some of them were occupied by monks of the Christian period who found in them sites at a considerable elevation above the desert valley, similar to that chosen by Epiphanius. In the first tomb of the series standing open in Coptic times, some two hundred meters east of the upper terrace of Deir el Baḥrî, a score of interesting ostraca were found in 1922-23, scattered in the rubbish from a monkish habitation. They are now in the Metropolitan Museum.¹

Ostraca of
Pleine the Less

Nine of the ostraca, besides one from Site XXI, are in the unskilled hand of a certain Pleine the Less (πληϊνε ψημ). They are not genuine letters, but mere epistolary phrases, variously strung together. One addresses "thy good brotherhood" and others "thy revered fathership." The largest (701) begs for some corn (ἡρεῖα καὶ περισσῶ); "knowest thou not that this has been a hard year?" (μπακοοῦν ἡτεῖρα μπε ῥα σε). It then asks the recipient's prayers; quotes Acts i 1; next asks to be remembered and ends by a repetition of the opening formula: "Before all things &c.," leaving this uncompleted. These ostraca thus give the impression, not of having been brought to this cave as letters, but merely as having amused the leisure of a hermit who dwelt here. More important for us are four letters addressed to Epiphanius (702, 706, 708, 709), dealt with below in the section devoted to him (Chapter IX). Here it suffices to record their presence in a tomb hitherto not suspected of having any connection with him. A complete but obscure letter (717 A) is from Cyriacus to a smith (ἄσκητ) of the same name, whom he informs that, if they are spared (ἡπαταλωπῆ εὐνη²), and he, the recipient, will come (only πη, "to me," is visible), he shall be taught to his satisfaction (ἡτατι σεῶ πηκ μεν καλοῦ, i.e. μετὰ καλοῦ). Another letter (703) is concerned with a coin of deficient weight (translated Part II p. xv Addenda, under 168). Finally, there is a specimen (707) of the official promise or guarantee similar to 96. It is issued by a *lashane* Apa Victor (cf. perhaps 163) to a man named Akas. (W. E. C.)

XXI-XXI A. About a hundred meters east of Site XX the portico of the tomb of the Saïte Vizir Nesipekshuti was occupied by anchorites, and two hundred meters still farther, on the right of the tourist path to the Valley of the Kings, there is an effaced graffito in red written on the plaster just inside the door of the Tomb of Meru. Around both of these sites a certain amount of broken Coptic pottery and a few ostraca lay scattered on the surface before the tombs were cleared in 1922-23.

XXII. Another two hundred meters along the hill, this time south-east and lower down, a tomb was occupied by the monks and in it were found "two Coptic pots, one with a wooden lid, and some fragments of leather sandals."³

¹ MMA. 23.3.701 and following, from Site XX; MMA. 23.3.720 from Site XXI, and MMA. 23.3.728-730 from Site XXI A. The references in the following paragraph are to the last digits of these catalogue numbers.

² Cf. a phrase in ST. 98.

³ Carnarvon and Carter *Five Years Exploration at Thebes* p. 22.

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The prolongation of the hill eastwards toward the cultivation is called today the Dra' Abû 'l Naga. On it today there is one of the three principal hamlets of the village of ẖurneh, and just as there is reason to suppose that some of the habitations of the early monks may be hidden by the houses of the modern natives on Sheikh 'Abd el ẖurneh, so here on Dra' Abû 'l Naga it is probable that there were originally more anchorites' dwellings than are now visible.

Anchorites of
Dra' Abû 'l
Naga

XXIII. One Coptic site has survived until recently high up on the western spur in the courts of tombs 35, 160 and 158, a point of characteristically high elevation and commanding view. The ground here is scattered over with fragments of ribbed pottery and the litter of Coptic house-rubbish.

XXIV. Some 350 meters north-east as the crow flies are the ruins of one of the most considerable Christian monasteries of Western Thebes—Deir el Bakhît or Bakhîta.¹ The ruins cover a large area in a saddle of the Dra' Abû 'l Naga hill, commanding an extensive view both desertwards and over the cultivation. Recently the buildings have been leveled until it is only here and there that a wall stands to a man's height, but in Bonomi's day (1830) the ruins appear to have been much more imposing, and Hay speaks of many chambers with pointed arched doors. The corners of the monastery domain are marked out by cairns of stones piled so as to form rude crosses. Nearby, to the east on a knoll, was a cemetery of from fifty to a hundred graves, which attest either to the size of the community in the monastery and the outlying cells (XXV, XXVI, XXVII), or to the length of time the monastery existed. Among the ruins pieces of ribbed amphorae, water-wheel pots, and yellowish glass may still be picked up on the surface, while before 1884 the Berlin Museum acquired about a hundred and twenty ostraca from here.² In 1913-14 Lord Carnarvon, exploring the hilltop, turned up another ostrakon,³ and at the Site XXIV A, a little distance off, discovered a magical papyrus of the 6th or 7th century, roughly contemporary with the Monastery of Epiphanius.⁴

Deir el Bakhît

XXV. There are several outlying cells connected with the monastery. One is on the south slope of the hill below the main buildings and the cemetery.

XXVI. Another is on the boldly projecting point of the hill, high up on the south side of the wâdi, in front of a very large, rough, cave-like tomb. Fragments of ribbed amphorae and "Samian" ware dishes are plentiful. One sherd of hard, red ware had the name Philotheus scratched into it, and a white wash painted over it afterwards. Near this site Petrie⁵ found a graffito of a certain "Daniel, the Monk of [the Monastery of] Apa Posidonius in the Mountain of Hermonthis."

¹ The universal name, current today and also used a century ago by Bonomi (Newberry in *Ann. du S.* vii p. 84 nos. 64 and 66); Hay (BM. *Add. MSS.* 29816 fol. 177); Wilkinson (*Map of Thebes*), and Lepsius (*Letters from Egypt* xxviii). Doubtless it is an old Coptic name (ⲡⲁⲅⲏⲧ) "the Northern," which is much more truly

descriptive of it than of Deir el Bahri. Cf. below, p. 115.

² *BKU.* 1 *passim*, "Vom Kloster Dra Abulnega."

³ *MMA.* 14.1.33; *ST.* 389.

⁴ Cairo 45060 (unpublished). On this see p. 207 below.

⁵ Petrie *Qurneh* Pl. XLVIII.

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XXVII. Farther up the little wâdi, on the same side, there are traces of a brick building in front of another crude cave, with fragments of ribbed amphorae, "Samian" ware, and large tubs of terracotta scattered about. One imitation "Samian" bowl with dark red slip, and a shape seemingly derived from "D," Fig. 37, but with higher shoulder and more flaring underbody, was found on this site. Inside the cave on the ragged roof is written in black ...ⲛ ⲁⲛⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲁ|ⲁⲙⲟⲩ|....¹ From this cave a well-worn, ancient path leads around the hill back to the main monastery.

Ḳurneh Temple

XXVIII. In the Ḳurneh Temple neighborhood there are bits of Coptic pottery lying around² but no ruins remain since the recent clearing of the site. Lepsius speaks of a church here, however,³ and it must be remembered that as the pre-Mameluke village of Old Ḳurneh was in this locality, here there probably was a Coptic community of some size from which the early Arab village was descended.

Settlement in
the quarries

XXIX. The largest, and also one of the most interesting of the Coptic communities outside of Jême proper, is in the right-hand branch of the Wâdyein. Three hundred and fifty meters north of the 'Elwat ed Dibbân, in a little wâdi on the left, there are extensive quarries which were in use from the XXVI Dynasty to Roman times. A few years ago the cartouches of Hophra were to be seen on a rock at the mouth of the valley, and from this point for a hundred and fifty meters north-west there are large subterranean chambers tunneled back of the rock face, with occasional openings at the foot of the cliff.⁴ In the floor of the valley are heaps of quarry chip and what may be the remains of the workmen's houses. Fifty or sixty meters farther along, open face quarries begin and continue at intervals into the left-hand fork of the wâdi, with more workmen's houses among the chip heaps. In all probability the Copts began by occupying and enlarging these houses, eventually overflowing into the cool, sheltered quarries themselves, where of course there could have been no dwellings in the days when the quarries were still being actively worked.

The surface is littered with evidences of Coptic occupation. Chambers were partitioned off inside the subterranean workings with walls of mud brick and rubble. The open face cuttings were screened off with similar walls, and cells were built inside. In one an invocation of the Twelve Apostles by name in Coptic was painted with red ochre. Crosses, more or less elaborate in form, were also painted in red on the walls, or simply scratched in the rock or smeared on in liquid mud. Graffiti of two of the ancient inhabitants have been noted—a Timothy and a Papnoute.⁵ Gauthier mentions in passing that he cleared three brick chambers of the Coptic period and found a score of ostraca, of which two or three were fairly large and written in good hands, and a number of pots, all intact and of fine fabrics.

¹ Stern (*ÄZ.* 1884, p. 56) thought that Deir el Bakhît might be the Monastery of Phoebammon.

² The fragment of a "Coptic jar" in Petrie *Qurneh* Pl. LVI is Ptolemaic.

³ Lepsius *Letters from Egypt* xxviii.

⁴ Gauthier *BIF.* 1908, p. 141 and Petrie *Qurneh* p. 15

and Pl. LVI.

⁵ Petrie *Qurneh* Pl. VIII, 39, records the name Papnoute. The invocation of the Apostles and the graffito of Timothy were seen by White. The Apostles' names as a protective charm: *Rec.* . . . *Champollion*, 1922, 544.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WESTERN THEBES

Among them he singles out three amphorae 70 cm. in diameter, of slender and graceful shapes. Of the characteristic Coptic material to be seen lying around on the surface today there are quantities of potsherds from water-wheel pots (some with diameters of 26 cm.), ribbed amphorae, &c. In one of the subterranean chambers there are bits of matting and of broken mud granaries (*şowâma'*) decorated like the ones in the Epiphanius Monastery. Flat red brick floor tiles are found in several of the ruins.

Forming part of the settlement in the quarries is a row of small houses high up on the opposite side of the little valley, just above the point where the desert road to Farshût begins its long climb to the plateau.¹ On a narrow shelf on the hillside there are traces of chambers built of rubble and a tower of mud brick (bricks $36 \times 17 \times 11$ cm.). Throughout the ruins are scattered fragments of characteristic Coptic pottery—ribbed amphorae, water-wheel pots, &c.

Settlement on
the Farshût
road

XXX. A hundred and fifty meters north of the last of these ruins stands a "watch tower" of uncertain date, which is probably in some way connected with the walls around the right-hand branch of the Wâdyein.² That it is not contemporary with the Coptic ruins of the neighborhood is evident from the size of the bricks of which it is built ($30 \times 15 \times 10$ cm.); but it may have been reoccupied by the anchorites, for immediately below it, among some small Roman quarries, there is a brick building (bricks $36 \times 17 \times 11$ cm., some baked) with scraps of green Coptic glass, decorated pottery, "Samian" bowls, and ribbed amphorae strewn over the ground round about.³

XXXI. Within a few more meters, at the bottom of the slope, there is an enormous boulder which has become detached from the cliff and tumbled down to the valley floor, and which subsequent erosion has given a fantastic resemblance to a gigantic mushroom with a thin stem and a broad, flat-topped head. Around the rim of the table-like top there is an ancient circle of stones which suggested to Petrie that possibly some pillar-dwelling ascetic had taken up his stand here.

"Pillar
Dwelling"

XXXII. North of the "Pillar Dwelling" seven hundred meters by air-line, but only accessible after a hard climb to the wind-swept peak on which it is built, is another "watch tower" forming the outpost at the end of a long stone wall, marked on the map by double dotted lines. The bricks of which it is built make it probable that it is contemporary with the first "watch tower" (average dimensions $30 \times 15 \times 11$ cm.). The isolation and altitude of the spot, commanding as it does a view over the hills to Deir el Bakhât and over

"Watch
Tower"

¹ Bonomi (quoted by Newberry *Ann. du S.* vii p. 85 no. 80) writes: "Howi el Akaba [Valley of the Ascent]—The entrance of the mountain road that leads to Hou [near Farshût]; on a conspicuous high point of this road are the remains of a convent where mummies of primitive Christians are found. There are reasons to believe this was an ancient *akaba*." The members of this Expedition have not seen this monastery, unless indeed it be the Sankhkare

Mentuhotep chapel on a peak north of the road, which is still commonly called a Coptic ruin.

² Petrie *Qurneb* p. 2, Pl. LIII.

³ Petrie seems to have dug here, for he gives a photograph in *Qurneb* Pl. LIII of a "Coptic hermitage and pillar dwelling" (XXX, XXXI above), but makes no mention of them in his text.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

the plain to the Nile, made it a likely one for the anchorites, and it is not surprising therefore to find the ruins littered with Coptic potsherds and *débris*.

More distant
monasteries
towards
Naḳâdeh and
Ermont

This last anchorite's dwelling carries us over four kilometers north of Jême town. Other hermits undoubtedly found abode in the desolate range of hills and broad gravel plains that stretch on towards Naḳâdeh, and in fact Spiegelberg cites two considerable monastic ruins about an hour's ride in that direction—"Deir el Gebel" and "Deir el Gawa," where, besides ruins, there are caves with many graffiti.¹ It is doubtful, however, whether such distant communities were thought of by the ancient Copts as being in the "Mountain of Jême." Equally beyond "Jême's Holy Hill" in the opposite direction, must be considered another monastery, over an hour's ride west of Jême at the foot of the desert range. Probably it belonged to the more important town of Ermont. Two letters which come from here are addressed to a certain Apa Elias, a pious ascete who must have lived in the 6th or 7th century, and after whom we have named the site for convenience' sake.² It is a lonely place, frequently plundered in recent years. In 1914 the Metropolitan Museum acquired a small lot of miscellaneous objects from there,³ half a dozen ostraca⁴ and four wooden tablets, prepared with pink plaster to be used as writing-boards.⁵ Probably from the same locality come many other Coptic antiquities sold by Luxor dealers in recent years as coming from "Medînet Habu."

The typical
Theban
anchorite's
dwelling

The reader may have noted how often the anchorites' dwellings just described are situated on heights commanding an extensive view. High up on a slope of a desert hill, the hermitages and monasteries were visible from afar over the fields and the desert plains and wâdis, and themselves looked down upon the only paths of approach from the world of the Valley. In many cases the nucleus for a small monastery or a single cell was an ancient tomb, usually enlarged by building in the forecourt chambers of mud brick or rubble masonry, sometimes with floors of red brick tile. Whenever these structures attained any size they were compactly grouped and walled in closely. In three cases a high tower, standing out in front, remains a prominent feature of the ruins (V, VII and X); and in four cases there are little cemeteries close to the buildings, where the monks found their last resting-places (IV, X, XII and XXIV). Turning now to the plan of the Monastery of Epiphanius we shall see how closely it follows these principles.

¹ Spiegelberg *OLS*. 1903, p. 59.

² 182, 203.

³ MMA. 14.1.460-479.

⁴ Listed on page vii, Part II.

⁵ One with an account of corn sold "to the brethren" is published as *ST*. 438. A second, a school piece, is 616. A third (MMA. 14.1.217), 24 × 33 cm., had written on it

in a good hand (*cf.* Pl. XII, 84, or Pl. XV for the type) the Song of Songs v 10—vii 4 + ? , much of which is now illegible. The fourth (MMA. 14.1.218), 21 × 39 cm., likewise much effaced, has viii 5-14 of the same book, written in a clumsy, unskilled hand (*cf.* BM., Pl. 10, 24 for the type). Both of these passages are already published elsewhere (*Miss.* vi 203 ff.). (W. E. C.)

CHAPTER II

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS AS SHOWN BY THE EXCAVATIONS

1. *The Site in Ancient and Modern Times*

SO far as the members of this Expedition are aware, among the modern natives of Ḳurneh there are no traditions connected with the site of the Monastery of Epiphanius, nor had the almost completely buried ruins any modern Arabic name. However, previous explorers and excavators of the Theban Necropolis have noticed the spot. It was first found about 1820 by Yanni Athanasi, who describes it as “an Egyptian tomb or chapel, built, as it is written, in the time of Saint Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria.¹ At the side of this chapel, in the same tomb, there is a chamber in which there is a large Egyptian sarcophagus of calcareous stone, admirably ornamented with divers figures and hieroglyphics. I am of opinion that when the Christians were building this chapel, not being able to remove this sarcophagus from the chamber in which it was, they caused the entrance to it to be walled up, in order to separate an object of idolatry from their place of sanctity, and that this entrance was afterwards reopened.”² While Yanni was still living in Ḳurneh—in 1832—natives digging on the site discovered a Greek Psalter and a Coptic manuscript which Dr. Edward Hogg purchased from them, and apparently some ostraca which they sold to Hay.³ It was at about this period that the site was labeled “Convent of St. Athanasius” on the Catherwood Map,⁴ and that Wilkinson noted “behind the Christian ruins, close to no. 23 (*i.e.* the tomb of Daga), the remains of a curious Greek inscription, being the copy of a letter from the celebrated ‘Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, to the orthodox’ of Thebes.”⁵ Hogg had also seen this inscription and Lepsius, at the time when he cleared the passage to the burial chamber of the tomb and rediscovered the sarcophagus of Daga (February, 1845), copied what was then visible of it. He describes the spot as

Descriptions of
the site, from
1820 to 1845

¹ A misinterpretation of the Athanasius Letter, 585.

² Athanasi *Researches and Discoveries* (1836) p. 102.

³ See Part II, notes under 578 and 3.

⁴ BM. *Add. MSS.* (Hay Coll.) 29816.

⁵ Wilkinson *Modern Egypt and Thebes* (1843) ii p. 233.

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“a grotto with many Coptic inscriptions,” and the Athanasius text as then “unfortunately in a very fragmentary state.”¹ Then some accident befell the inscription which had been the most noteworthy landmark of the site for years, and in 1883 all trace of it had been so completely lost that neither Maspero nor Bouriant makes mention of it and by our time only three small fragments still survived, buried in the rubbish.

In 1883

Maspero entered the tomb of Daga in 1883 to remove the already well-known sarcophagus for the Bulak Museum,² and in doing so destroyed the Coptic walls inside the passages of the tomb and the stairway leading down into the vestibule. This last he cleared to a distance of 2.50 meters on either side of the tomb entrance, uncovering the Coptic inscriptions on the walls and removing the Synodicon of Damianus to Cairo.³ The Coptic antiquities found at the time were described by Bouriant.⁴ The clearing done to remove the sarcophagus was not extensive enough to lay bare any of the monastery except the center of the vestibule, but of that Bouriant gave a sketch plan, with dimensions which have been useful in filling in details in Plate III and Fig. 2. For the rest, he seems to have fallen into some errors, and his promise to publish the many ostraca found on the spot was never fulfilled.⁵

From 1883
to 1911

From this time onwards the site created only spasmodic interest. During the ten years after Maspero's excavations Budge purchased in Luxor a number of ostraca which clearly came from the site and, as he informed us, he occasionally had men digging on the spot for him. The ostraca thus procured, together with others from the monastery acquired years before, are now in the British Museum.⁶ Gradually the site was being denuded, one excavator even quarrying bricks from it for his house, so local rumor has it. At another time Lord Carnarvon's attention was attracted to it and he started a never finished dig that brought to light some XI Dynasty sculpture and some Coptic amphorae, which he turned over to the *Service des Antiquités*, from whose magazine in Kurneh they disappeared. The final excavation of the monastery by The Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1912 and 1914 has been described in the Introduction.

Description of
the site in a
will of the 7th
century A.D.

While the modern documents on the Monastery of Epiphanius are thus of surprisingly meager interest, curiously enough the ancient archives of Coptic Jême supply us with some very valuable information. The existing will of the monk Jacob and his companion Elias⁷ gives a very clear description of the extent of the site and something of its history.

¹ Lepsius *Denkmäler*, Text iii p. 251; *Letters from Egypt* xxx.

² Maspero *Trois Années de Fouilles* in *Miss.* i p. 134.

³ See Part II Appendix I p. 331.

⁴ Bouriant *L'Église Copte du Tombeau de Déga* in *Miss.* i pp. 33 ff. Maspero-Quibell *Guide*, 1910, p. 250.

⁵ These ostraca found their way to the Cairo Museum and thus into Crum's *Coptic Ostraca*. By the time that Crum studied the Cairo collection it was impossible to ascertain the finding-places of most ostraca (*loc. cit.* p. ix), but now, on internal evidence, some of them can be

identified as from this site and therefore probably from this excavation by Maspero.

⁶ Among the earlier acquisitions are Hall, Pl. 18 no. 5874 and Pl. 21 no. 5886, which join 16 from Cell A, found by us. Among the Budge accessions is Hall, Pl. 34 no. 19698, which joins 531 from the Original Monastery (although it is catalogued by Hall as coming from Karnak), and *ibid.* Pl. 29 no. 19082, which joins 576 from the East Buildings. Early excavations thus covered the entire site.

⁷ See Part II Appendix III.

THE MONASTERY AS SHOWN BY EXCAVATIONS

Jacob and Elias “belonged to the *castrum* of Jême” and “dwelt upon its holy hill” in the monastery which they had inherited through Psan from Epiphanius. When they in turn bequeathed their property, they described it as “lying there, in this same mount of Jême, from the road that goeth in unto (the Monastery of) Saint Phoebammon, to the road that goeth in unto the cave of them whose remembrance is with the holy ones, Apa Abraham and Apa Ammonius, the men of Esne, and unto ‘The Road of the Valley,’ and

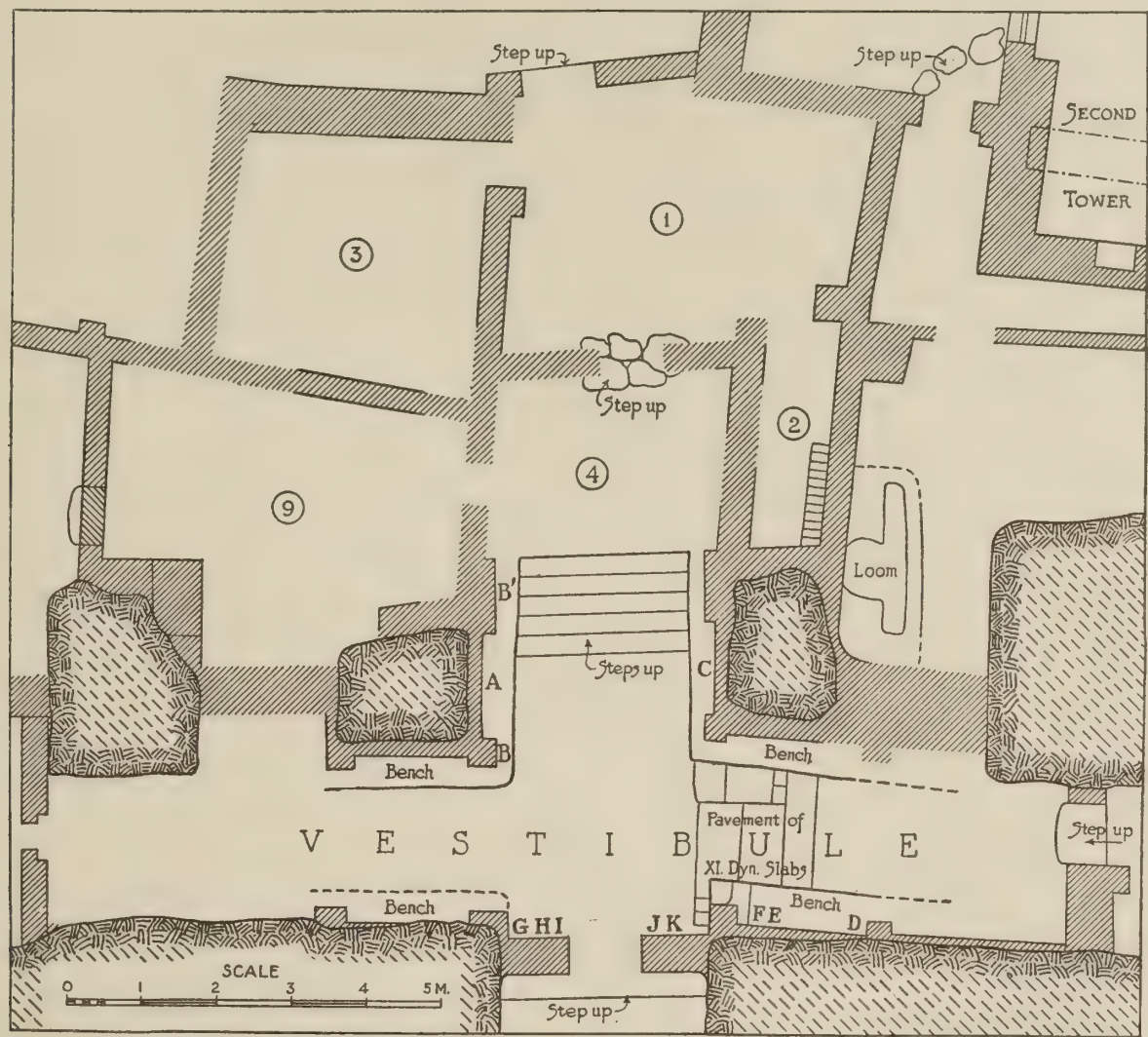


FIG. 2

THE VESTIBULE AND THE ROOMS IN FRONT, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AFTER BOURIANT

up to the hill that is above the said caves and tower.” The Monastery, they said, consisted of “the dwellings, that is the caves,” or “all the dwelling-places, namely the caves that we have already set forth, and the tower that was built by our fathers Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan, and whereat I also (Jacob) labored until we finished it.” Elsewhere in the document reference is made to “the caves and the new tower and all the dwelling-places.”

The area thus defined lies within the map on Plate II and the photograph on Plate IV. There is ample evidence from the documents found addressed to Epiphanius and to his

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Boundaries of
the site as
given in the
will (Plates II
and IV)

known successors that the principal building shown is the Monastery of Epiphanius. Numerous documents found in the Cells A and B without the walls, and in the monastery itself, show that they too formed part of the establishment presided over by Epiphanius. Cell C—while it yielded but few written documents and of them none addressed to Epiphanius himself—nevertheless is so closely connected with the others, by path, that it too must be considered part of the same group.¹ On the other hand, the tomb marked “Cell IX A” on the western end of the hill, is so isolated that it may well have belonged to a solitary, independent of Epiphanius and his following, while the buildings which we have called the “Monastery of Cyriacus” on the eastern point seem to constitute still another separate entity, because no letters whatever were found in them mentioning Epiphanius or his successors. With these facts, and those given in the will of Jacob and Elias, we can define the boundaries of the monastery area with fair precision.

In the will the caves and tower lie on the Hill of Jême. In the map the monastery is seen to be half-way up the hill of Sheikh ‘Abd el ẖurneh. “The road going in towards (the Monastery of) Saint Phoebammon” of the will is of course a path leading from the cultivated fields to Deir el Baḥri, and in this case must be that one which skirts around the eastern and northern sides of Sheikh ‘Abd el ẖurneh and passes some eighty meters or so east of the monastery walls (see Chapter I p. 14 above). This fixes the eastern side of the area. “The Road of the Valley” can be nothing except that path, still in use, which runs from Deir el Baḥri, through the valleys behind Sheikh ‘Abd el ẖurneh and ẖurnet Murra’î to Medînet Habu (Jême), passing Deir el Medîneh and the Coptic Sites V–IX A on the way (see pp. 10 ff. above). The path forks a couple of hundred meters north-west of the monastery, one branch cutting over the hill behind a little rocky knob direct to Deir el Baḥri, and the other continuing down the valley to the main Deir el Baḥri road. It is this latter branch which is nearest to the monastery and which therefore probably made the northern boundary of the domain. “The hill that overlooks caves and tower” is naturally the crest of Sheikh ‘Abd el ẖurneh, making the western and south-western limits. The remaining—southern—side is the less easily defined “path leading to the cave of the late revered Abraham and Ammonius of Esne.” We searched for the dwelling-place of Abraham and Ammonius in 1914 without success. Possibly these two worthies had lived once upon a time in the Cyriacus monastery, or they may have had a more modest and now totally destroyed dwelling in the tombs above, toward the modern Sheikh’s tomb which has been supposed to commemorate a Christian anchorite (see p. 16 above). In any case there is a maze of ancient paths ascending the eastern spur of the hill between the Monastery of Epiphanius and that of Cyriacus, and without doubt one of them marked the southern boundary of the area.

¹ A probable documentary link between Cell C and the Original Monastery is 356 from the West Rubbish Heaps of the latter, but addressed to Isaac and Ananias, probably

at one time the occupants of the former (see below, p. 44 n. 5).

THE MONASTERY AS SHOWN BY EXCAVATIONS

The site within these limits is a rocky hillside from which one gets a commanding view of the whole valley of the 'Asâsîf from the Monastery of Saint Phoebammon under the cliffs at Deir el Bahri to the green fields over a kilometer away. Some 2500 years before the days of Epiphanius the richer nobles of the XI Dynasty had tunneled into the rock just under the crest of the hill to make their tombs. The largest and most elaborate of these had been made by the Vizier Daga and in it the first anchorite to make his dwelling in the neighborhood founded the nucleus of the monastery.

The site before
the building of
the monastery
(Plate III)

The Tomb of Daga¹ had had a portico of seven entrances cut in the limestone of the hill which is so fissured here that Daga's architects revetted it with brick. The central entrance of the seven led directly to a lofty corridor tunneled in the hill, 6 meters long and 2.75 meters wide, which in turn gave entrance to a chamber about 7 meters square. Beyond, again, was the dark and sloping passage leading to the sarcophagus chamber. The central entrance, the corridor and the square chamber had all been lined with fine limestone masonry, but in the course of centuries this had been quarried away to its foundations, the middle of the portico had collapsed and the brick façade had been denuded until the piers stood only a meter or two high at the most. All around, the ground was littered with the *débris* of plundered mummies and their coffins, and fallen rock and brick choked the portico to a depth of a meter and was piled two meters high along the front. However, the corridor and the inner chamber were intact and there was an almost level space in front of the tomb some 36 meters wide from east to west and more than 20 meters wide from north to south. Behind it on the south the rock rose sheer about 7 meters above the rubbish that covered the ruined façade, and in front it sloped gradually downhill on the lines of the tomb causeway to the road from Jême to Saint Phoebammon.

2. *The Main Monastery Buildings*

There is no clear evidence regarding the date of the first anchorites who dwelt in the Tomb of Daga. In the will of Jacob and Elias occurs the statement that all of the property had come to Epiphanius "through the wills of his fathers in God who were before him," possibly the John, Enoch, Victor and Moses known to us from their correspondence found on the site.² Nevertheless, of their dwellings little trace remains, for the tower, according to the same document, was begun by Epiphanius and it antedated practically all the rest of the structure, as we found it.

The earliest
habitation

However, we can picture what the place was like before the tower was begun. The subterranean corridor and the square chamber inside were features which attracted the first anchorite, and with no great effort he could clear out the little rubbish which had accumulated within them. His next thought would be to utilize the ruined portico and, since there

¹ The plan of the tomb as it was built in the XI Dynasty was drawn by Palmer-Jones at the end of our

1912 season and is published by Davies *Five Theban Tombs* Pl. XXIX.

² See p. xxv above.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

was no well-defined entrance to the collapsed front of the tomb, he would want a vestibule. No trouble was expended in clearing away the rubbish a meter deep in the portico and two meters deep outside. He built directly on it, and to the end one had to go up and then down into the vestibule in the portico, and then down again into the tomb.

Rooms 1-4,
8-9 (Plates III
and V)

The first exterior structure in front of "the cave" must have covered the area marked as Rooms 1-4 and 8-9 of the monastery as we found it, but these rooms had been altered after the First Tower was built, when the yard behind it and the Second Tower were constructed. This was clear enough from the bonding of the walls and has since been confirmed by the ostraca of the period of Elias found under the floors of these rooms and in the walls themselves.¹ Rebuilt though they were, however, at their best they constituted no more than a mud hovel such as most of the Theban anchorites' cells were, and such as the benighted peasants live in today, and doubtless the original differed but little from them. In fact, the foundations of the walls, built of rough boulders, probably had been those of the original structure.

The Vestibule
(Plates III
and V)

On entering the monastery one went up through Room 1 and into Room 4, a vaulted passage in which a broad flight of steps led down into what had been the portico of the XI Dynasty tomb (Fig. 2). The center of this had been partitioned off with brick walls through which doors led to two separate rooms (6 and 7), and opposite the steps a third door led into the subterranean corridor. The long narrow room in which one stood ($13.75 \times 2-2.50$ meters) was the nucleus of the whole monastery and about its oldest part.² It was neatly floored with sandstone paving slabs dug out of the ruins of the tomb; the walls were built up of brick, recessed with shallow, round-topped niches, and along both sides low brick benches were constructed. Walls and benches were plastered with mud and then given a thin stucco surface and whitewashed, and in the niches were set out, in careful red lettering, edifying texts from the works of the Fathers of the Church in Coptic and in Greek.³ To Bouriant this was the "Chapel" of the monastery and he states that in the eastern extension was located the altar.⁴ However, Maspero's excavations,

¹ From under the floors, of the period of Elias: 189, 204, 260; earlier: 275, 476; less certain in date: 114, 187, 274, 559. In the walls: 356. Under the loom built against Room 2 were found 180 and 27, of which a piece was found under the floors of Rooms 1 and 3, putting the building of the loom and thus of Room 2 contemporary with Rooms 1 and 3. Since these rooms were occupied until the final abandonment of the site, the rubbish which covered their floors naturally contained ostraca addressed to such later names as Elias (467 mentions Elias dead). However, it is evident that rubbish was thrown into these rooms from earlier heaps—for example, from that s.e. of the 2nd Tower—and furthermore that many of the floors had been broken through in modern times, when ostraca from below may well have been mixed with others from above them. Therefore, while the chances still remain that many ostraca found in these rooms are late, we can not date with abso-

lute certainty those found here: 22, 25, 34, 92, 107, 141, 143, 145, 169, 205, 212, 227, 235, 239, 245, 246, 255, 264, 281, 293, 295, 296, 306, 350, 367, 383, 389, 405, 467, 497, 533, 553, 567.

² No ostraca were found under the floor here, which suggests that no changes in level were ever made in this room.

³ The letters A—K in Fig. 2 show the location of Bouriant's texts, after his plan in *L'Église Copte du Tombeau de Dêga* in *Miss. i.* The texts are given in Part II Appendix I and 585, 586, 635.

⁴ According to Bouriant this "chapel," or "*salle en croix*," as Maspero's incomplete clearing made it seem, was destroyed by a fall of rock while the monastery was still in use. He describes finding bones which he supposes were those of the sole victim of the catastrophe—all the other monks having gone to church at Deir el Bahri at the time!

THE MAIN MONASTERY BUILDINGS

which Bouriant describes, laid bare only the center of the room and there is reason to believe that Bouriant mistook a section of neatly laid stone floor for an altar. This was quite possible, as Maspero had cut through the Coptic level down to the XI Dynasty floor and had left these slabs standing about a meter in the air. (Plate V, B.) We found no evidence of an altar nor anything to point to this having been a consecrated chapel or place for divine services. Rather it would seem to be an assembly room, or "parlor,"¹ where Epiphanius sat with his disciples. The nature of the texts around the walls points to such a use and there is one bit of homely evidence to bear out the idea that this was the anchorites' favorite sitting-place. All the edges of the benches were worn away with use and they had been replastered and rewhitewashed at least three separate times. Furthermore, both Cells A and B, where it is quite unlikely that chapels existed, appear to have had stelae with such edifying texts written in them above the benches in similar vestibules or reception rooms.

From the vestibule visitors went down through the doorway opposite the stairs, along the underground corridor to the square chamber, Room 5. The dark and noisome passage leading farther into the rock to the burial chamber of Daga was walled off with the sarcophagus still in it.² Light for the chamber and the outer corridor, darkened by the buildings in front, was provided by a lamp in a niche on the left wall of the corridor.

Epiphanius's
room, no. 5

It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that this was once the room of Epiphanius himself. At least it was a place of pilgrimage and not only in the vestibule, but down the corridor on both walls and along the whole east side of Room 5, were scribbled the names and supplications of people who came to see it.³ Among them there are four prayers directly invoking the name of Epiphanius, who was apparently numbered at this time among the saints.⁴ These graffiti, therefore, probably date from after the death of Epiphanius; but there was further evidence, from the period of his lifetime, which points to his occupation of the room. The ancient XI Dynasty *serdâb* under the floor in the north corner of the room had been partly cleared out and used as a rubbish hole. Here were found among rough blank papyrus sheets, bits of string, old onions and the odd sweepings of the room itself, a number of crumpled and torn up papers and books which had belonged to Epiphanius and which he himself may well have thrown away there.⁵ Three out of the

¹ It would perhaps have been called an ἐξέδρα, as in private houses (if there it was not a verandah or balcony). The word occurs often in the Jême documents and ostraca. Cf. also BM. 397 n., showing that it might be synonymous with συμπόσιον and was usually an upper room. (W. E. C.)
² So Athanasi, as quoted above, and Bouriant in his plan.

³ The graffiti which Maspero says he saw on the west side of the corridor and in Room 5 had perished before our day with the exception of those which he transported to the Cairo Museum: 675 A and one Syriac and two Greek graffiti in Part II Appendix II. All which still remained

in situ at the time of our excavations are given under 635-657, 676-682.

⁴ 640, 644, 647, 680. Cf. below, p. 214.

⁵ Belonging to Epiphanius: 87, 131, 162, 163, 186, 429, 442; and presumably the devotional works: 49 = 592 (hand of Mark, *temp.* Epiphanius), 43, 82, 584 and perhaps 578?. There was one letter to bishop Pesenthius: 466, and in Room 5, near the rubbish hole, another: 117, which may have come from here. The "Modern Dumps over the Monastery," were probably those of Maspero at the time he cleared the interior of the tomb to take out the sarcophagus of Daga. Hence the papyri: 416, 432 (to Epiphanius),

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

four ostraca found in the rubbish on the floor of Room 5 are probably contemporary with Epiphanius, while the fourth appears to be of the time of Isaac.¹

The building of
the First Tower
(Plate VI)

According to the will of Jacob and Elias one of the principal features of the monastery was a "tower that was built by our fathers Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan, and whereat I also (Jacob) labored until we finished it." In those troublous times a strong keep was a necessary feature if there was any property to protect, and the little community of Epiphanius evidently began the erection of one early in its existence. There can be little question but that this structure, several times mentioned in the will and so great an undertaking that it took two or three generations of the anchorites to build it, was the "First Tower" of our plan. It is the most prominent part of the building, the most massive, and one of the earliest parts begun. Its foundations are on the bed-rock of the ancient tomb court, where that bed-rock was exposed in the early days of the community, but buried deeply soon after; the joints of the walls show that it was built before the yard which included the Second Tower, and it antedates the First Boundary Wall which was built upon an accumulation of rubbish a meter deep all around the bottom of the Tower, where the latter had originally been exposed down to the rock. Finally, the First Tower was originally built of bricks $39 \times 20 \times 13$ cm. quarried from one part of the XXVI Dynasty Tomb of Mentuemhat, while the later repairs to its stairway and the bin on the east side, the whole of the Second Tower, Room 1-9 and the Vestibule, the Enclosure Walls, the Cemetery and the East Buildings are all built of bricks from another part of Mentuemhat's tomb, which measure only $33 \times 16 \times 11$ cm.²

The documents found in the filling under the floors of this Tower tend to confirm this identification. To be sure there is clear evidence that the stairway was rebuilt and some signs that the floors had been disturbed (see Fig. 3), and hence we can never have an absolute assurance that the group is wholly intact.³ But on the other hand, all of the documents found below the floors, which are susceptible of classification on internal evidence, appear to fall within the career of Epiphanius, either in its earlier or in its later stage.⁴

112, 489 may well have come from this rubbish hole at that time. Often these dumps were difficult to recognize and thus many of the papyri labeled merely "Original Monastery" were probably from them and had therefore been moved from the interior of the tomb in modern times.

¹ 84, 223, 323, 475.

² The Mentuemhat Tomb was the source of almost all of the bricks in the monastery. A few bricks were taken from the Tomb of Senmen a few yards south of the monastery (see Davies *PSBA*. 1913, p. 282) and a very few ($51 \times 26 \times 15$ cm.) were contemporary Coptic bricks. In the ostrakon 400, Moses of Cell A orders from Isaac 300 bricks, but it is impossible to say that these were to be new Coptic bricks rather than old dynastic ones. The instruction that they must be delivered to a certain Samuel

"in the place below," and "not in the upper place," may very well denote a distinction between two separate ruins, or two distinct parts of the same ruin, from which Isaac was then procuring brick.

³ 84 A, 181, 262, 289, 301, 470, not datable on internal evidence, *might* be later than Epiphanius.

⁴ Papyri from known correspondents of Epiphanius: 253, 327, 435, 505; apparently mentioning his contemporaries: 269, 488. Papyri probably of the same period: 270, 568, 570, 623 (found with 505), 629. Ostraca to Epiphanius: 418, 423, 444, 474; from Euprepis (*cf.* 350, 444) contemporary with first period (p. xxv): 116; from Pisrael (contemporary with second period): 150. Two ostraca found in the rubbish on the floors (312, 352) naturally can not be used for dating the Tower.

THE MAIN MONASTERY BUILDINGS

Since the Tower was to be the stronghold of the community it was a solidly and carefully built structure (Fig. 3), with walls 120–125 cm. thick at the bottom and battered inwards 1/50 on the south and west sides and 1/25 on the north and east. In plan it was intended to be square, but in laying it out an error was made in the right angles, and while the length from north to south was made 10.40 meters, that from east to west was made 20 cm. more. However, these are faults far more apparent on paper than in actuality. The interior was partitioned into four nearly equal sections, of which one was a stair-well

The plan of the
First Tower

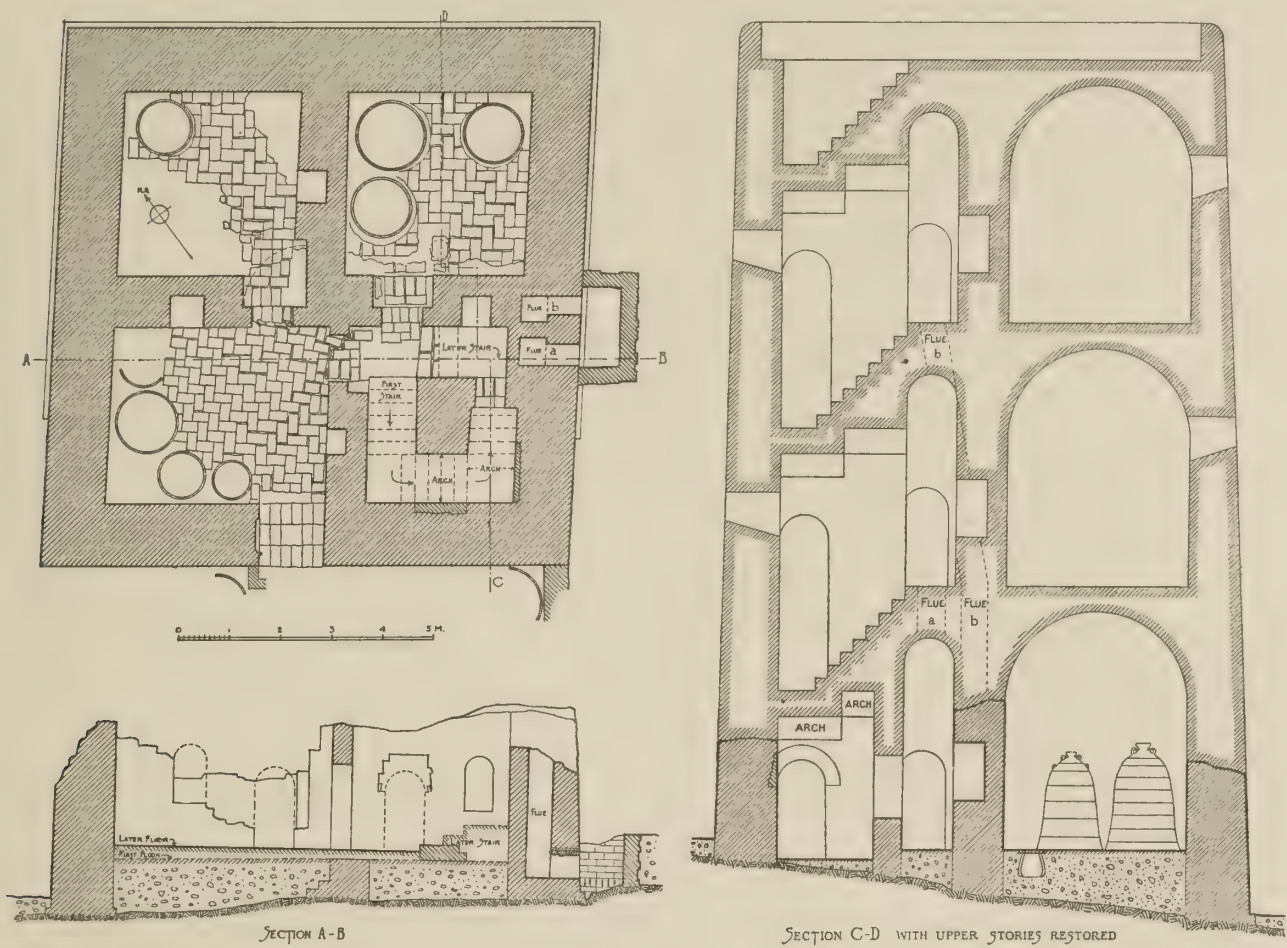


FIG. 3
THE FIRST TOWER

and the other three were rooms. From the bricks found in them, these rooms had evidently been vaulted, and their floors were filled with rubbish to the level of the ground outside the entrance on the south, and then paved solidly with a layer of straw, a layer of mud and then a flooring of unbaked vault bricks $40 \times 20 \times 5$ cm., plastered over with the yellow desert earth and straw used in plastering the walls. The first room (A) was refloored (at the time that the stairway was rebuilt) with baked brick tiles $35 \times 20 \times 5$ cm. laid in mud on the original flooring. None of these three rooms on the ground floor appears to have had windows. They seem rather to have been unlighted storerooms, each containing

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

a number of grain bins¹ and in the thickness of the walls, little arch-topped cupboards like those in the Second Tower (Plate VII, B). That these rooms served as a granary for years is plain from the way the walls and floors were riddled with rat holes.

The stairway

The fourth section of the Tower was the stair-well. As one came through the doorway from the first room, the steps rose abruptly on the right to a narrow landing where they turned to the left and ascended to another small landing, and thence again to the left to the second floor. The stairway was narrow—95 cm.—and the steps were very steep with both risers and treads about 25 cm. The first flight and the first landing were built on solid brickwork. The higher flights and landings were carried on arches to give space for a good-sized closet beneath, with a little door at the end of the lofty passage by which one entered the stair-well and the third room. This construction must have been faulty, with the arch under the second landing springing from the crest of the arch under the second flight, and hence the whole stairway collapsed at some time after the Tower was completed. All idea of preserving the closet beneath was then given up and the rebuilt stairway was made of solid masonry throughout, starting at the end of the passage and now turning always to the right.

The flues in the wall (Plate VII)

In the outside wall near the stairway there are two flues descending through the brickwork to openings outside the Tower at the original ground level on the east. The wall is carried over these openings on an odd lot of timbers—palm logs, pieces of ancient coffins and the side beam of a *nôrag* (see p. 61). Outside the openings there is a brick bin about 1 meter deep to prevent their being choked up when the surface was raised at this point. Both flues evidently descended to this bin from latrines in the upper stories of the Tower. On the second floor the opening of flue “a” would have been at the end of the stairway passage. The other flue suggests that there was a third floor at such a height that this second flue, “b,” could have been deflected to start at the corresponding point above, or if not deflected, to have started from a recess in the wall beside the stairway passage.²

The height of the Tower

There is thus evidence that the Tower had three floors, of which the first was an unlighted storage space and the second and third were living apartments, probably provided with windows at a safe height above the ground.³ The existing basement construction would surely have supported three floors, and the external batter of the walls was such that at the top of the third floor the walls would still have been over 50 cm. thick. As for the height of such a structure we have fairly good evidence. Since there was no trace of the spring of the ceiling vaults on the walls of the first floor rooms as far up as they existed, it can

¹ There is mention, apparently, of these very bins in 532. See also Chapter III p. 51.

² In corresponding locations in the towers of Deir Abû Maḳâr and Anba Bishoi in the Wâdi en Naṭrûn latrines exist with similar flues.

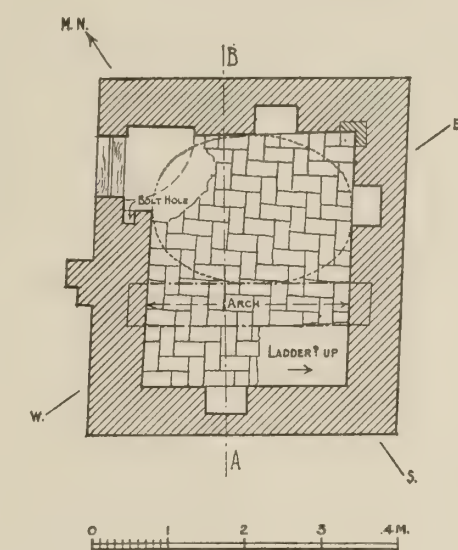
³ Compare the 9th to 12th century keeps in White's *Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Naṭrân*. There is a long note

on monastery towers in *CO.* p. 27 (no. 310), where our monastery is confounded with that of St. Phoebammon. An ascete or the head of the community himself would reside occasionally in such a tower (*Sabae Vita* Cotelier 279, 281, *An. Boll.* 1891, 88; Thomas of Marga ii 331). (W. E. C.)

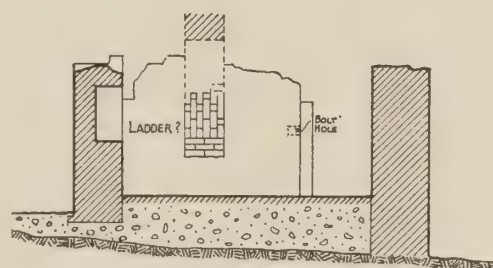
THE MAIN MONASTERY BUILDINGS

be calculated that these rooms must have been at least 5 meters high. This height is confirmed by the fact that the only reasonable reconstruction of the stairs requires 20 steps of about 25 cm. height each. The two floors above may well have been lower, but even if they were not, the Tower would only have been 16 or 17 meters high making a reasonable allowance for the thickness of the vaults and floors. Even taller structures were characteristic of the early monastic establishments in the Wâdi en Naṣrûn, for White describes one in the Deir es Suriân as having four floors and Abû Şâlih describes another with five. In fact, a building of this ground plan and only two stories in height would be too stumpy in proportions to merit the name of "tower" and would hardly have required as long to build as the will of Jacob and Elias suggests.

Apparently after the completion of the First Tower, a yard was added to its south side in which was built a much smaller but equally well-constructed Second Tower. At the same time Rooms 1-3 were remodeled.¹ In plan this Second Tower (Fig. 4) was a single rectangular room 4.05×4.70 m. with walls averaging 70 cm. thick. To support the floor above, an arch of red bricks (the bricks measuring $32 \times 16 \times 6$ cm.) was thrown across the southern end of the room. The narrow space on the south side of the arch would have been just sufficiently wide for a ladder to the second floor. The larger space on the other side of the arch was originally intended to be covered with an oval dome resting on the arch and the three walls of the room. For this purpose arcs were traced upon the walls and recesses left in the corners for the bottoms of the pendentives, but the scheme was abandoned either because it was impossible to arrange a pendentive in the corner over the door or because the vaulting would have required a height of 3.75 meters at least to the second floor. In any case the pendentive recesses were blocked up and a flat wooden ceiling laid. The floor of the existing room is paved with Coptic vault bricks and the door-sill made of boards



The Second Tower (Plates VI—VII)



SECTION A-B.

FIG. 4
THE SECOND TOWER

¹ The connection between the walls of Room 1 and the Second Tower shows conclusively that the two were contemporary. That both were later than the First Tower is not as evident as one might wish. Ostraca are of no great help as below the undisturbed floor only one was found and

that an early one: 175 (to John and Enoch). The ostraca found in the Second Tower *above* the floors are meaningless for dating: 277, 238 (to Pesentius and Psan), 94 (from Elias and Isaac).

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

from ancient coffins. Three arched cupboards were arranged in the thicknesses of the walls, 46–49 cm. wide, 35 deep and 60–70 cm. high.

The First
Boundary Wall
and its pave-
ment (Plate III)

The buildings which we have termed the “Original Monastery” were now practically complete. When it was decided to enclose them for greater privacy and protection, the rock surface of the old XI Dynasty tomb court had already been buried under a meter or more of rubbish consisting of limestone chip, mud, ashes, sticks, straw, battered and burnt bits of dynastic coffins and mummies, in among which had been thrown quantities of broken ostraca and torn papyri. Over these dumps was laid a mud pavement and around the whole group of buildings a brick wall 70 cm. thick was built, starting at the corner of Room 8, encircling the Tower and following back along the side of the old tomb court to take in a small XVIII Dynasty tomb cut through the façade of the tomb of Daga, in which Room 10 had been arranged. In this wall Entrance B was left for the paths going north-west to Deir el Baḥri, and to Cells A, B and C, and the Entrance C was provided on the east. The date of this walling-in of the Original Monastery may safely be placed to the lifetime of Elias from the ostraca found beneath the pavement.¹

The West
Court (Plate
III)

At this first stage in the walling of the monastery the back of the enclosure was the rock itself, rising almost sheer behind the monastery some 7 meters, but on either side shelving away. Here the wall as originally planned gave insufficient protection, and therefore an extension was eventually erected over the top of the cliff. Already, outside of Entrance B a heap of rubbish had been thrown in the corner of the Daga tomb court. An accumulation of from 10 cm. to 30 cm. of ashes from the nearby oven, and bits of pottery and ostraca covered a filling of large stones, broken brick and rubbish that lay on the bed-rock in this vicinity. This rubbish was leveled off and roughly paved over with bits of stone and brick and the new wall over the top of the cliff was built around what now became a West Court, with a new entrance at A. The date of this extension is naturally to be placed later than the part of the First Boundary Wall described above.²

West Rubbish
Heaps
(Plate III)

Outside of Entrance A the ground sloped away gradually to the north. Even before the Boundary Wall was built it was a handy place to throw things away, and after the monastery was enclosed it was the most natural, because the nearest, place to pitch dirt and rubbish during all the last years of the occupation. Heaps extended from the wall

¹ By the scribe of 1 who was associated with Jacob, Elias and Stephen: 30, 98, 403, 434; to Elias: 189; written after the death of Epiphanius? (*cf.* 205): 36. Earlier rubbish was naturally lying around in the days of Elias from the times of his predecessors. A pocket of early papyri labeled “West of 1st Tower” came from below this pavement: 134, 431, 441, 494, 499; and with them should be associated four other papyri found elsewhere beneath the pavement: 21, 106, 137, 237; and five ostraca: 126 (?), 154, 360, 454, 526. Undateable: 23, 102, 176, 220, 238, 240, 283, 286, 310, 326, 402, 471, 549, 597.

² Under the pavement of the West Court two ostraca were found apparently of the period of Isaac and Elias: 261, 535. Since the still earlier Epiphanius was found here (342, 439) the following can not be dated on the circumstance of their being found here: 96, 155, 161, 194, 331, 464, 546. In the West Court—above the pavement—were found 140, 149, 172, 173, 202, 210, 215, 221, 247, 280, 291, 320, 333, 335, 339, 343, 385, 422, 538, 543, 562, which appear to cover every period in the history of the site.

THE MAIN MONASTERY BUILDINGS

out to the little dry ravine by Cell A on the left, and to the round granary on the right. A deposit from 1 meter to 1.50 meters thick was found here in layers which attested its gradual accumulation. First: at the bottom, were 20 cm. of dust, possibly pre-Coptic; second: 10 cm. of burnt sticks, ashes and stones; third: 10–30 cm. of almost clean limestone chip probably from clearing out the tomb or the portico; fourth: 10 cm. of pure ashes; and on top: 100 cm. of layers of general rubbish among which were nearly a hundred of the ostraca published in Part II.¹

However, such was the lazy squalor in which these pious anchorites existed that they did not always bother to carry their refuse even so far away as the West Rubbish Heaps. A refuse pile had existed at their very door-sill always, and was enclosed within their Boundary Wall. Half a dozen ostraca came from that part of it south-east of the Second Tower, some of them fragments of those which had been covered over by the First Boundary Wall pavement and by Rooms 1–3 in the time of Elias and later.²

The community continued to grow and the logical direction for the enlargement of the buildings was to the east. Here was the court of another XI Dynasty tomb (Tomb 3 —of Sebeknakht) on a level with that of Daga, and easily accessible from the Original Monastery through Entrance C. It appears very likely that a separate cell such as the other outlying cells was started here and that eventually it grew into a rather considerable structure by slow stages which resulted in the irregularities of its floor levels. The date of its foundation and construction relative to that of the Original Monastery,³ is, unfortunately, impossible to decide.⁴

The nucleus of the East Buildings was a free-standing, square room (no. 13), whitewashed inside and out, which may have been a very small tower, especially as an extension (14) was added to its east side to contain a stairway. Its position, in front of the cliff from which it stands free, is exactly that of the tower of the Original Monastery and those of Sites V, VII and Deir el Bahri. Rooms 15, 16 and 17 were gradually added, leaving a narrow court between them and the rock, and advantage was taken of a fissure in the latter to

Rubbish Heap
south-east of
Second Tower

The East
Buildings
(Plate VIII)

¹ Of the period of Epiphanius and Psan: 165, 190, 199, 437, 483 and probably 216, 267, 518, 519; and the papyri: 411 A, 428, 433, 484. Practically all of the names were found here and fragments exist which belonged to ostraca from "Below 1st Boundary Wall Pavement" (402); "Wall dividing Rooms 3 and 4" (356); "Below West Court" (464, 546); "Rooms 1, 3 and 4" (145, 212, 227, 265, 293, 497); "West Court" (247, 422), and "Rubbish S.E. of 2nd Tower" (212, 455), showing that this was a dump at practically every period of the building's history. See Part II *passim*.

² To Elias and by his contemporary the scribe of 1: 189, 348, 368, 455; from earlier rubbish of the time of Epiphanius: 92, 212.

³ Among the three ostraca found *under* the floor: 159, 396, 539, occur the names of Enoch and Ananias.

⁴ A few of the datable ostraca found in the buildings are associated with the names of Isaac and Elias: 241, 279, 407; and one is after the Persian Invasion: 300. It is not surprising, however, to find many earlier ostraca: 209, 271, 324, 399, 404, 426, 496, and perhaps 287, 292, 351, 355, 376, 380, 561. There were undoubtedly early rubbish heaps here over which the buildings were constructed, and as most of the floors had been disturbed, these ostraca could well have come from them. For the papyri see "East Rubbish Heaps" below, p. 38, n. 3. For the remaining ostraca found in the East Buildings there is no obvious method of dating: 37, 90, 97, 101, 125, 157, 158, 219, 234, 248, 252, 272, 282, 298, 303, 304, 313, 353, 362, 366, 369, 371, 390, 393, 398, 414, 438, 446, 498, 507, 512, 525, 530, 565, 576.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

chop out an entrance into the tomb, Room 10.¹ Beside the structure so far built, a courtyard was walled in with benches in the corners, and Rooms 18 and 19 were erected across the mouth of the tomb of Sebeknakht (Tomb 3). The remains of an XI Dynasty brick wall were restored and used as the eastern side of this addition. Room 19 was a bakery with an oven in the east end of it, and 18 was a passage with a door convenient to Room 20, a latrine built against the outside of the house, in the corner of the rock. Later—possibly after the Second Boundary Wall existed—the large Room 11 was built and with it others now almost totally destroyed.² All of these rooms were more commodious and better constructed than those in front of the tomb of Daga. All of them, too, were paved, some with flat limestone chips and others with well-baked red tiles $38 \times 26 \times 5$ cm. usually, and less often $36 \times 21 \times 4$ cm. The benches were built of brick and often filled with broken amphorae, plastered over.

The Second
Boundary Wall

Eventually the East Buildings had grown up into a part of the Monastery itself and it was decided to enclose them within the Monastery wall. This time, however, the wall was not so sturdily built and small buttresses were necessary on the inner face to strengthen it. On the hill it started from the corner of the original wall; crossed above the East Buildings; then descended along the side of the old tomb court, and thence ran along the tops of the high stone retaining walls of Tombs 4, 5 and 6 below, toward the Cemetery. Presumably a gateway was built on the north side to provide the entrance formerly existing at C, and a sort of stairway was made on the east side from which rubbish and dirt could be thrown over the wall.

East Rubbish
Heaps

The East Rubbish Heaps, just over the wall in this direction, largely came from the ashes of the oven in Room 19 and from Room 20. A number of papyri of the time of Epiphanius were found here³ and with them should be classed the other papyri labeled "E. Buildings"—most of which came from the near neighborhood of Room 20.⁴

Recapitulation
of the growth
of the buildings

As nearly as it can be reconstructed from the remains themselves and from the ostraca found in them, the development of the monastic structure was about as follows: the earliest habitation was in the Tomb of Daga. Epiphanius himself dwelt in the tomb—in Room 5—and in his day were built the Vestibule, the First Tower and the Tomb in the Cemetery (to be described in a following section), none of which were ever altered in any essential way. Rooms 1–4 and 6–9, originally built before this time, were later completely reconstructed. Of Psan and of Jacob—except that the latter finished the Tower—there is no definite trace in the structure. Of Elias and Isaac, however, there is a great deal. In their day the Monastery was walled in, and in their day in all probability, the Second Tower

¹ No information can be deduced from the two ostraca found here: 51, 474.

² The finding of 109, 417, 425 in Room 11 is without significance for the date of the room, which is clearly later than the First Boundary Wall at least. They evidently

came into the room from some early rubbish pile through recent disturbance of the site.

³ 133, 136, 138?, 347, 410 = 626, 430.

⁴ 89, 132, 269, 440, 495, 550.

THE OUTLYING CELLS OF THE MONASTERY

and the rooms in front of the Vestibule and probably the East Buildings were built in the form in which we found them.

3. *The Outlying Cells of the Monastery*

The Monastery itself was but the central element in a community of which at least half was without the walls. In fact, at the time of the erection of the First Boundary Wall even the East Buildings lay outside it, as well as the Lower East Buildings, and the Cells A, B and C,¹ strung along the hillside with the last a hundred meters away from the Monastery gates. The walled Monastery was doubtless the dwelling of the elders of the community and to the other members it stood as a safe refuge in time of stress, with its strong, high, keep-like Tower. And under the shadow of this Tower the members of the community found their last resting-places in the little Cemetery. In all else, however,—with the exception perhaps of ovens—each outlying cell was complete within itself, with dwelling rooms, with looms and work rooms, and even with granaries and once a donkey stable. No object found in the Monastery was without its duplicate in one or other of the cells. In short, the material remains show such scanty evidences of coöperative effort that it is safe to conclude that the Monastery of Epiphanius was of that stage of monastic development which was midway between the period of absolutely independent, scattered hermits and the period of strict organization in a true monastery with definite buildings and under fixed regulations. This intermediate stage was one of loose organization in a collection of cells or *lauras*, more or less widely scattered about the cell of a hermit of remarkable fame who had attracted and in some degree become the leader of others.² In this case Epiphanius was this leader and his cell had become an embryo monastery.

Of the cells which were never enclosed within the Boundary Walls, the nearest has been marked on the Plan as the Lower East Buildings.³ The site was the courtyard of an XI Dynasty tomb (no. 4) and a nearby Empire tomb (no. 5) on a level about 13 meters below the East Buildings themselves. Here a few dynastic walls still showed in Coptic times above an accumulation of fallen brick and stone, and on this rubbish and these ancient walls the anchorites built a little irregular hovel, partly of rubble and partly of bricks from the tomb of Mentuemhat. In its ruined state little can be learned from such a squalid structure except that beside the steps leading down to the tomb there was a small room with benches along the side, recalling on a very reduced scale, the Vestibule in the monastery.

The community of the Monastery and its cells (Plates II and IV)

The Lower East Buildings (Plate III)

¹ Cell A—if it be accepted as a residence of Epiphanius during the first period of his membership in the community (see p. xxv)—would have been practically as old a site as Daga. Cell B—if it actually had been the residence of Psan—was earlier than the Boundary Wall. The date of the foundation of C is more doubtful, but from the ostraca it was evidently occupied during the last period of the existence of the community, at least.

² K. Lake *Early Monasticism on Mount Athos* p. 5.

³ Two ostraca found here (341, 479, mentioning a Moses) may have fallen from the East Buildings above. The most interesting find here, however, was a compact mass of papyri thrown away inside of Tomb 4. Some are addressed to Epiphanius and Pesentius and there is no doubt but that all, or most, form one group: 130, 135, 249, 254, 263, 311, 443, 461, 511, 558.

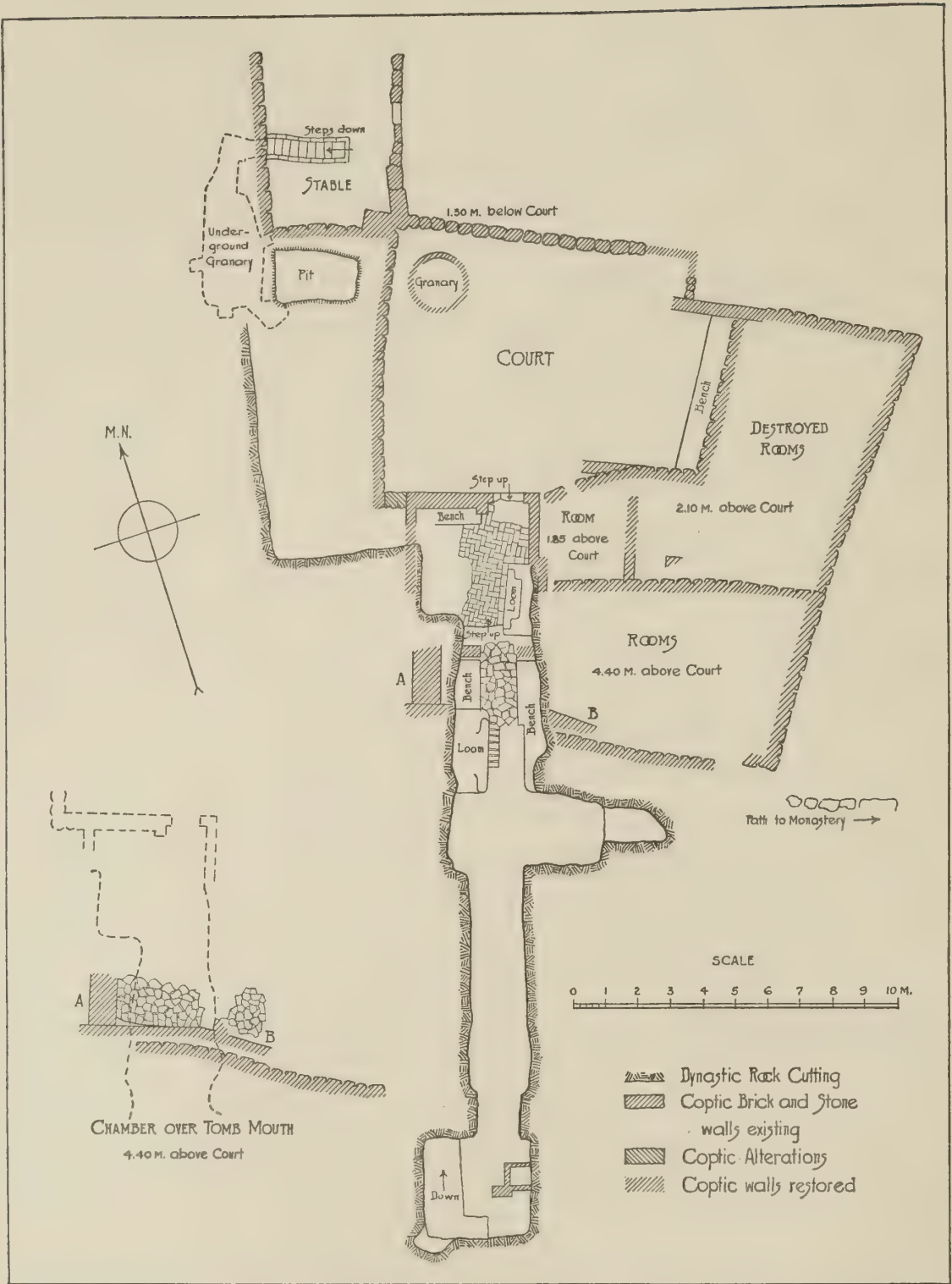


FIG. 5

GROUND PLAN OF CELL A

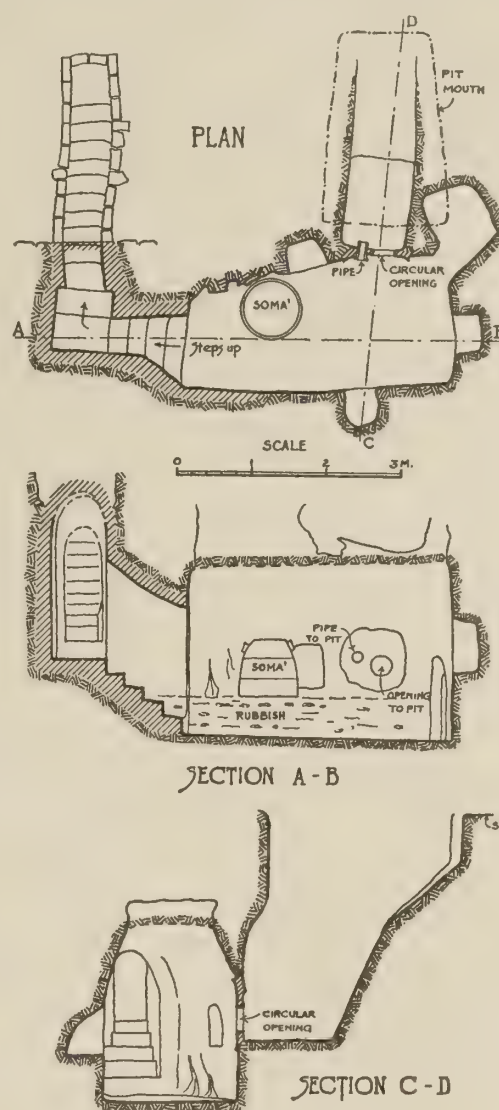
THE OUTLYING CELLS OF THE MONASTERY

The most elaborate of the outlying structures was Cell A (Fig. 5). Its nucleus was a rather small XI Dynasty tomb, roughly on the same level as the tomb of Daga. Within, it had been paved with broken chips of bas-reliefs—presumably from the tomb of Mentuemhat—and benches had been built on either hand and a loom pit dug against the wall on the west side. Since the door of the tomb had fallen in, the anchorites had built a fairly neat, square vestibule of brick in front of it, as usual directly on the rubbish which encumbered the tomb mouth. Hence there was a step up from the inner part of the tomb and again at the door of the vestibule. Originally this step had been about a meter inside the vestibule and the floor had been of mud mixed with chopped straw. Eventually a pavement of tiles ($32 \times 16.5 \times 4$ cm.) was laid over this, the step moved to the doorway, and a second loom installed.

Here again the vestibule in the mouth of the tomb was arranged as an assembling or sitting room for the anchorites. There was the usual mud bench along one side, and even a well-worn mat upon the floor. Furthermore, among the fallen bricks just inside of the door there were found fragments of plaster from the walls with traces of a painted Coptic text in red ochre—probably another edifying extract from the Fathers¹—a bit of a graffito (659) and even a wall picture.

In front of the tomb, after the vestibule was built, a courtyard was added with a rough, mud-plastered, stone wall around it and a brick bench along the east side recalling the benches in the court of the East Buildings. On the higher rocks above, a number of large rooms were erected of which only the foundations remain. Their floors gradually rose from 1.85 meters above the courtyard level to 4.40 meters—this last chamber going over the top of the tomb, and from it leading the path to the Monastery. In the northern corner of the court stood a round brick structure which was not an oven and has therefore been called a granary. Just outside there was a little donkey stable²

Cell A (Plate IX)



The Vestibule with bench and stelae

The outer structures

FIG. 6

UNDERGROUND GRANARY IN CELL A

¹ See Part II, graffito (Coptic) 658.

² There is a letter apparently asking for two asses from

the Monastery (373), and another apparently asking that one be brought to Cell A (408).

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

(as is evident from the stable refuse) and the steps descending to an underground granary.

The
underground
granary
(Plate X)

This underground granary was evidently a typical arrangement of the period, for we found the ruins of another, identical granary at the bottom of the hill below Cell C (Plate II, and Fig. 7). Unfortunately this latter granary could not be completely excavated except at unreasonable expense, because boulders weighing several tons each had fallen into the collapsed chamber at the foot of the stairs. The granary of Cell A, however, was practically intact (Fig. 6). The anchorites had cut a small underground chamber in the soft shale, with a stairway leading into one end and an open pit beside the other. The bottom of the

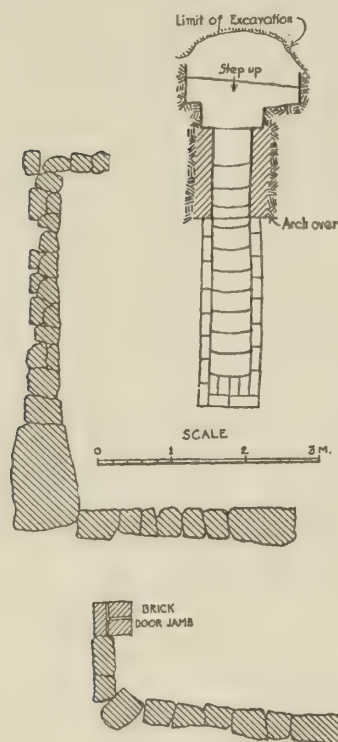


FIG. 7
REMAINS OF AN UNDERGROUND
GRANARY BELOW CELL C

pit was separated from the chamber by a thin mud partition in which was arranged a circular opening and a terracotta pipe. The grain stored below (we found barley, fenugreek and broad beans) was poured down the pit, whence it was allowed to run into the chamber. Grain withdrawn was probably carried up the stairs in sacks. Crudely cut little cupboards in the walls recall those in the Towers.

In the course of time shale fell from the roof and filled the chamber to the level of the second step of the stairs. Apparently the monks were not receiving much grain at the time, or they were storing it elsewhere, for they made no attempt to remove the *débris* and a very small *ṣôma* grain-bin, put on top of the fallen rubbish, henceforth sufficed their needs here. Even this ceased to be useful in the latter days of the community and the old granary degenerated into a rubbish hole for broken pottery.

The granaries and stable, and the looms inside the cell give some hint of the occupations of the inmates, and in addition we found a quantity of palm leaf and fiber for basket making.

More interesting still were the evidences that one or more of the inmates were most industrious scribes engaged in writing out devotional extracts.¹ We unearthed a large batch of ostraca, the handiwork of one of them named Moses, which had been lying on the mat in the vestibule when the walls fell and buried them.² Epiphanius, during his residence here, was in correspondence about books, as well as about the business of the cell—linen, wine, corn and donkeys.³ In fact the affairs of this cell were multifarious and

A scribe's
workshop

¹ See "From Cell A," *passim*, 36 texts in the Biblical, Homiletical and Liturgical Sections (Coptic and Greek) in Part II. School pieces: 615, 621.

² See notes under 3 and 598. An order for a text (?) from Moses: 386. Other documents regarding Moses from Cell A:

93, 191, 400, 501, 545 (cf. 93).

³ Letters about books: 374, 382, 394, 395?, 555?. Other letters to Epiphanius from Cell A: 120, 206, 258?, 259, 329, 336, 340, 363, 397, 408, 424, 445, 451, 463, 485.

THE OUTLYING CELLS OF THE MONASTERY

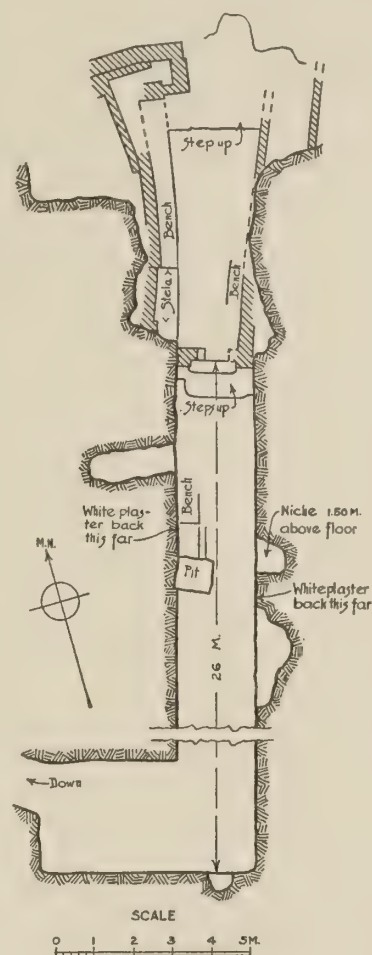
a larger amount of correspondence, from all of the periods, was found here than in any other outlying part of the community.¹

About 10 meters above Cell A there was another small XI Dynasty tomb which had served as an anchorite's habitation—Cell B (Fig. 8). The front of the tomb had fallen in, and in this collapsed entrance had been built a little irregular hovel with bricks found on the spot and others dug out of the tomb of Mentuemhat, but so poorly was it constructed that it too collapsed and had to be rebuilt on narrower lines. Again the vestibule seems to have been the room in which the occupants of the Cell sat in converse with their companions, for on either side there were the usual mud benches about 30 cm. high and over the bench on the left there appears to have been a stela.² There are, therefore, the essentials of the Vestibule *exedra* of the Monastery here also.

Inside of the ancient tomb the similarity to the main Monastery was continued. The corridor was thickly plastered and whitewashed (this seems to have been done twice); the usual lamp niche was provided on the right; a shelf was put in high up before the first plastering of the walls, and benches were built along the sides. What may be a new feature in this cell is provided by a little pit in the corridor floor with a very low chamber at the bottom. Probably it was a secondary burial pit of late dynastic times, but since it evidently stood open during the Coptic occupation it may have served as a retreat for an inmate of the Cell at times, when he desired to conduct his devotions in absolute solitude. Holes and hidden caves had a fascination for the austere, and such a saintly being as Saint John Colobus made a hidden place underground in his cave into which he used to descend to pray, wearing a special tunic of palm fiber to mortify the flesh and add merit to his devotions.³

Clearly it was some peculiarly holy individual who had sanctified this place, for it is a noteworthy fact that Cell B was held in the highest regard by the people of Jême. Over two score visitors have scratched their names and their prayers on the corridor walls as high up as they could reach standing on the low benches.⁴ Such pilgrimages were made

Cell B and its vestibule with benches and stela



The interior of the tomb

FIG. 8
GROUND PLAN OF CELL B

The cell of Apa Psan?

¹ Miscellaneous correspondence from Cell A: Isaac and Elias: 110 (see note), 160, 316, 459. Others: 113, 119, 122, 127, 171, 224, 228, 231, 268, 278, 288, 299, 334, 506, 527, 627.

² The position of the stela could be seen as a recess in the wall. A fragment of it with a text mentioning the Council of Chalcedon (587), found above Cell A, may well have fallen down from Cell B. Another with a homiletic

text (588) was found in Cell B.

³ Suggested by White, who cited Life of John Colobus, *Mus. Guim.* xxv p. 351, and the Syriac story of Hilaria in Wensinck *Legends of Eastern Saints* ii p. 53.

⁴ Part II, graffiti 660–675 (Coptic) and 683–702 (Greek). 675 A in the Cairo Museum was probably from the Original Monastery.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

only to the Epiphanius room, of all the other cells of this monastery,¹ and were scarcely so numerous as here in any other anchorite's dwelling now existing in Thebes. Unfortunately, none of these visitors invoked the intercession of the holy man who had dwelt here and we can only surmise who he may have been. Naturally, however, we should select Psan, the companion and heir of Epiphanius, and it is an interesting fact that two letters addressed to him were found here,² and equally suggestive that no others addressing him were found in any of the other cells outside of the main buildings. But if Psan were one of the occupants of Cell B, it was evidently dwelt in by several other anchorites, both before his time and after his death or his removal to the Monastery³ and among them there appears to have been one school teacher or scribe.⁴

Cell C (Plate II) A steep climb of about 20 meters uphill, on a path that was a little more than 100 meters long from Entrance A of the Monastery, led to Cell C.⁵ Here the courtyard of another XI Dynasty tomb, some 30 meters wide, had been leveled off, roughly paved and fenced in with an irregular rubble wall. A vestibule was built in the tomb entrance with bricks from the tomb of Mentuemhat (33 × 16 × 11 cm.) and paved with Coptic, baked floor tiles (32 × 16.5 × 4 cm.). From it one entered the ancient tomb passage 13 meters long. The walls within retained much of their original plaster and on it the anchorites had

daubed a couple of crude crosses, one of which contained the initials: $\frac{\omega}{\text{ic ne}} \mid \frac{\alpha}{\text{xc}}$. Nearby

on the east, over a small underground chamber there was the usual lamp niche cut in the wall and plastered in lime stucco with a decoration and an inscription in Coptic, now too much obliterated to be read. In the floor there were three loom holes cut in the rock. The granary at the bottom of the hill (see p. 42 above) may have been part of this Cell.⁶

Characteristics
of the Epi-
phanus cells

Certain features stand out as typical of all the cells and of the main Monastery, which after all was but an overgrown cell itself.

First: The anchorites invariably sought out for their dwellings one of the "caves"—the ancient tombs—with which the hill of Jême was honeycombed. Within it they took up their abode, and if their reputations for sanctity had been sufficient among the town's people to attract pilgrims into the inner recesses of this abode after their deaths, these visitors scribbled their names upon the walls.⁷ No alterations were made within the tomb

¹ In Cell A, 659 was the only visitor's graffito noted.

² 123 (with Epiphanius), 193.

³ Letters were found to Elias, 201, 290; to Enoch, 357; to Epiphanius and Moses of Cell A, 208, 229, 465; to a deacon, 192; and uncertain, 195, 197, 207, 346, 364, 419, 436, 548, 563.

⁴ Around the cell were found seven school pieces, 571, 573, 611-14, 618, and three biblical and liturgical texts, 2, 589, 608.

⁵ Out of six letters found here, four were addressed to Isaac and Ananias, 118, 285, 325, 354, together or singly.

It is reasonable to suppose that they lived here. A letter to a Cyriacus, 406; another to a Peter, 217; a liturgical piece, 45, and a deed, 633, complete the documents from the site.

⁶ Isaac and Ananias of this cell are requested to send linen garments in 354 and 356, which may have come from these looms, and Ananias receives corn in 325, which may have gone into this granary.

⁷ Probably Epiphanius was already dead when invoked in 640, 644, 647, 680.

THE OUTLYING CELLS OF THE MONASTERY

itself except, usually, a lamp niche in the east wall, and perhaps a bench or two, and in no case was sufficient effort expended to clear away the rubbish from the tomb mouth.

Secondly: They built in the tomb mouth a vestibule which was at the same time a reception room. Low masonry benches lined the walls, and in niches or on stelae above them some expert calligraphist set out in neat red letters, edifying extracts from the Fathers, to keep ever before those who conversed there the true and orthodox doctrines of the Faith.

Thirdly: In time they built other rooms about the vestibule on no regular plan, and therefore nameless to us. Among them a fenced-in courtyard was usual, with benches for sitting in the sun in winter or in the cool breezes of hot summer nights. In no case could this fence have constituted a protection, except in the case of the Boundary Walls of the Monastery itself.

Fourthly: All of the cells show alterations and additions which point to occupation extending over a period of years. The accumulations of dirt and rubbish around them bear this out—and attest to the squalor in which these God-fearing fathers dwelt.

Fifthly: The anchorites of each cell appear to have had their own installations for labor. By far the most common was the loom. When looms were not found, some trade other than weaving may have been followed, as for example in Cell A where palm-leaf baskets were made.¹ In Cell A the inmates also kept donkeys and there also—and probably in Cell C—they had their own granaries in addition to the more commodious ones of the Monastery itself.² Finally in Cell A one or more of the anchorites was a scribe and in Cell B there seems to have been a school teacher installed.

4. *The Cemetery*

Just outside the Boundary Wall, below the Tower, there was a little Cemetery which evidently belonged to the Monastery. No women or children seem to have been buried here and the graves were so few—eleven at the most—that there can be no doubt that it was reserved for the inmates of the Monastery only, just as was that of Deir el Medîneh and probably those of Deir Kurnet Murra'î and Deir el Bakhît and the vestibule of the Chapel at Deir el Baḥrî. (See pp. 8, 13, 15 above.) Unquestionably this was the place wherein were buried "Apa Psan and Apa Epiphanius, whose holy remains lie now in the Monastery," as the will of Jacob and Elias informs us.³

The burial-
place of the
monks

No trace of any inscription was found that might have served to identify any of the graves with the different individuals who are known to have been members of the community. Furthermore, since six of the graves were totally empty, and three others had been partially plundered, too little remained to draw any conclusions as to the physical

The bodies of
the monks

¹ On the trades followed in Chapters III and VI.

² "Corn" played such a large part in the correspondence of the anchorites (see Part II Index VII and Chap. VI

p. 146) that it is not surprising to find ample storage space provided for it.

³ Part II Appendix III p. 346.

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characteristics of those of the monks whose bodies remained. This much can be said however: the five of whom traces were found were unquestionably adult men, one about thirty years old, and two others forty or fifty; where their hair still existed it was moderately long, as were their beards; and in the three cases where there was evidence, it could be seen definitely that they had not been circumcised.¹

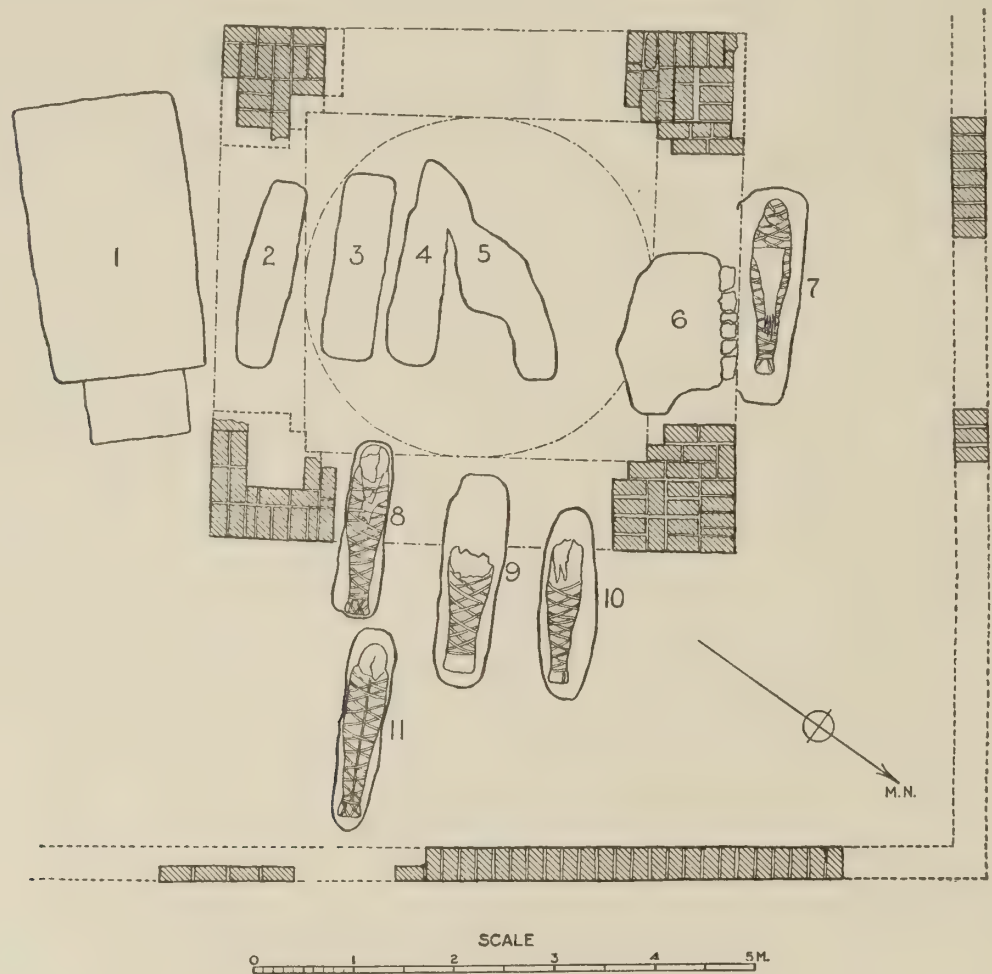


FIG. 9
PLAN OF THE CEMETERY

The Canopy
Tomb (Plates
III and XI)

The spot chosen by the monks for their last resting-place sloped rather abruptly down hill, and in preparing it for the graves of the community a rectangular space about 10 or 12 meters square was leveled off. (Fig. 9.) As usual the Mentuemhat tomb supplied the bricks for a retaining wall, inside of which rubbish, chip and dirt were dumped to form a more or less level platform. In the center a canopy-like tomb was built, of which nothing is now left except the bases of the four corner piers. The plan was a fairly accurately laid out square, 5.20 meters on a side, with arches averaging 2.75 meters wide in each face, to support a dome 3.40 meters in diameter above. We have conclusive evidence of the general

¹ Nos. 7 and 11 were 40-50 years old; 158 cm. tall. No. 8 was 30-40 years old; 158 cm. tall; traces of beard

and wavy brown hair. No. 11 had hair 5 cm. long at back of head. Nos. 8, 10 and 11 were not circumcised.

THE CEMETERY

type of the structure in the inside corners, where there can still be seen the ribs which rose to secondary arches supporting the pendentives. This was a constructive principle very common in the somewhat earlier, cubical, domed chapels of El Bagawât in Khargeh Oasis where there happens to be one ruined tomb of a form practically identical with this one. The type—a domed canopy on four piers—has survived in Egypt even to modern times, and in Arab cemeteries as widely separated as the First Cataract and Lisht one can find such tombs, although nowadays they are usually much smaller than this one, and are often built on top of a square pedestal.¹ There appears to be no complete contemporary example surviving from which to reconstruct this tomb in elevation, but taking the side openings as about as high as they are wide—which is the general proportion in El Bagawât—the whole structure was probably almost five meters high. As it was plastered and whitewashed, it must have made a rather striking feature under the Monastery wall and keep, to be seen by all who passed by on their way to Deir el Baḥri.

The unsymmetrical way in which the Canopy Tomb lies in respect to the Boundary Wall suggests that it was built before the existence of the latter. Again, the first grave to be dug beneath it appears to have been no. 3, and as it is so far from the center of the dome, it seems impossible that the dome could have been built over an already existing grave. Further, it hardly seems likely that, had any mark existed above each grave, the latter would have been grouped so irregularly, nor would they have broken into each other as often as they did.² The natural conclusion is, therefore, that the tomb was built at an early date by the founder, before the death of any of his followers, to serve as a common monument to himself and to all the members of the little community.³ Since there were no grave-stones, possibly the epitaphs were written on the whitewashed structure.⁴

The common monument of all the monks

If no. 3 was the first grave, the intention seems to have been to leave space for a row of graves under the dome. Nos. 4 and 5 followed; no. 2 and no. 6, and finally no. 7, make up the next period. The space under the canopy was now pretty well taken up and the latest graves, nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11, were dug in that order on the north side, where the filled-in ground made digging easy. They were all simple, unlined graves, about two meters in length and half a meter wide. From the ancient surface they were a meter or more deep, of which 70–100 cm. was cut in the soft rock in the graves of the upper row, and 30–50 cm. in the lower ones. All were laid with the heads in an uphill direction, here south-west.⁵

The graves

¹ At Deir esh Shuhadâ, Esne, in 1743, many of the graves were described by Pococke (*Description* p. 112) as having similar domes supported on four arches. (W. E. C.)

² No. 4 broke into no. 3 near the surface; 5 into 4; 7 into 6; and 11 into 8.

³ White noted that Apa Daniel, living in Scetis in the 6th century, had built a 'resting-place' of his own wherein he buried the chaste Thomaïs (Clugnet *Vie de l'Abbé*

Daniel p. 19). Bishop Pesentius too had caused his grave to be dug during life (*MIE.* ii 421).

⁴ Such grave inscriptions were carved in the wall of the temple of Deir el Medîneh, above the heads of graves. See above, p. 8.

⁵ At Deir el Medîneh the graves are likewise oriented to S.W., in this case the direction of the graves being at right angles to the ancient temple wall. Baraize *Ann. du S.* xiii Pl. A.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Grave (?) no. 1 So far no. 1 has been left out of consideration, as it seems questionable whether it was really a grave, or if so, contemporary with the others. As found, it was a rectangular hole cut in the rock, 2.90 meters long and 1.57 meters wide, with a level floor 1.50 meters below the rock surface at one end, and 0.75 meters at the other. Two steps descended into it, and inside there were traces of a sort of cement plaster of lime and ashes. Considering its size, a brick vaulted roof might have been expected had it actually been a grave, but no traces were found.

Preparation of the bodies for burial (Plate XII) The bodies were laid out for burial with a coarse rag knotted around the waist as a sort of loin cloth (nos. 7, 8, 9), and sometimes another under the chin and over the top of the head to keep the mouth closed (8). The big toes (8, 11), and even the knees (8), were tied together with string.¹ The arms were laid at the sides (7, 9, 10, 11) or the hands were tied together in front of the groins (8). The body might then be roughly bundled up from head to knees in a coarse cloth (10, 11), or a shirt (see page 71 below), wrapped around the head and trunk with the excess folded over the face and chest (8). The body was then laid on the first grave sheet and handfuls of coarse rock salt and juniper berries² were poured between the legs (7 to 11) and over the trunk, inside (8) and outside (7, 10) the innermost wrappings—a reminiscence of ancient mummification which had but little effect in preserving the body.

The burial sheets (Plate XII) The sheet on which the body now lay was wide enough to be folded over and cover the body in front, and long enough to be rolled and folded into cushions over the feet and face, making an envelope which was laced down the front with tapes sewn through slits cut in the cloth. On three of the bodies (9, 10, 11) this process was repeated four times, and over the fourth sheet a coarser, outside sheet was wrapped with its edges to the back. Another (8) had three long inner sheets on which the body was laid with the edges brought together in front, alternated with three shorter ones that were laid over the body from the knees up, with the edges folded behind the back. This body had three cushions around the head and over the face, and numerous strips that tied the sheets in place, all of the same material as the six sheets themselves. If these cushions and strips were torn from the three short sheets, the latter would have been originally the same length as the three long ones. Over all six sheets came an outer coarse one open down the back. Still another body (7) was first laid in a sheet so that the edges came down the left side; then in a second sheet with the edges on the right; a third with the edges in front, and a fourth with them down the back—in each case laced with tapes. Over the face were thin pillows of folded cloth between the different layers.

¹ Tying the limbs together in this way, before wrapping the bodies, was practised in El Bagawât in the preceding centuries, and goes back to Saïte times. In 1922 we found bodies of the poorer classes of the XXVI Dynasty buried directly in the sand in the Mentuhotep Temple Court

without coffins, but with the limbs tied this way to make them easier to carry.

² Identified by Prof. Schweinfurth in the field at the time of discovery.

THE CEMETERY

One noticeable fact about these winding-sheets is that they came in pairs, recalling the pairs of tapes (see below) and the pairs of sheets (ζῆσς) which appear frequently in the ostraca.¹ One body (7) had four all alike; another (9), four alike and a single, innermost one somewhat finer; two others (10, 11), each four alike and each an outermost one somewhat coarser; and the last (8), six alike and a coarse sheet outside. Sets of four and six thus appear in each case, with an extra sheet of different quality. The pairs of grave cloths were in all cases plain, unhemmed sheets of new, unused linen, averaging in length 220 cm., and in width about 75 cm. In every case they were undecorated, except two pairs of sheets from Grave 10 which had woven across them a double weft of blue wool ending in three red dots of embroidery.

“Pairs of grave cloths”

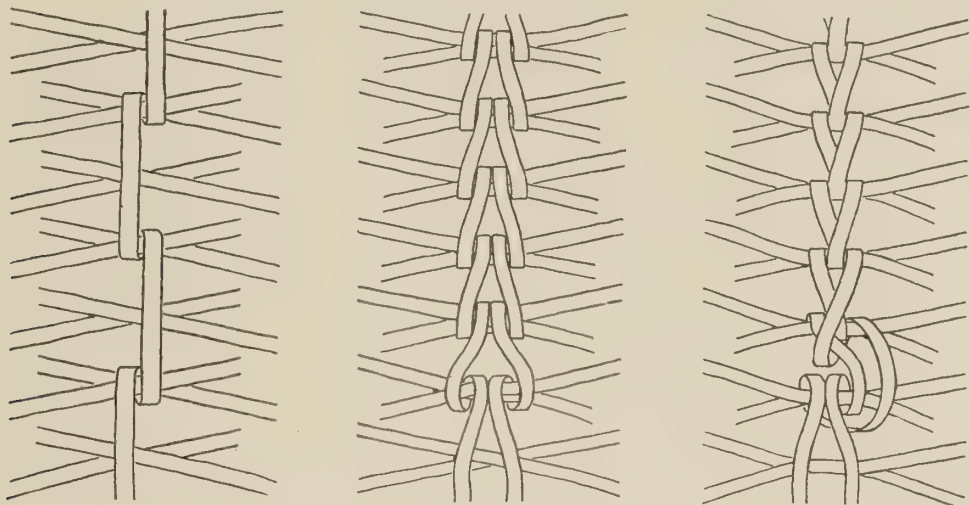


FIG. 10
THE LACING OF BINDING TAPES

The body being finally wrapped in its grave sheets, these were tightly bound in place by pairs of tapes—the *κερια* (κεῖρία) of the ostraca.² The first pair were bound around the body criss-crossing one another at the sides, in front and behind, doubtless in unconscious imitation of the earlier bandaging of the mummies of men and animals during the pagan Roman Period, when strips of colored cloth were woven into intricate diamond patterns over the outside of the wrappings. Another tape, or a pair of tapes, was then woven in and out among the crossing tapes at their intersections, holding them in place and making chain patterns down the sides, the front and the back (Fig. 10). In one case only (8) those who prepared the body for burial skimmed their work and simply laid a tape down the front of the body and crossed the others over it.

The binding tapes (Plate XXII, B)

Usually the last stage in the preparation for burial was to attire the body of the anchorite in his leather apron and girdle (see Chapters III and VI pp. 76, 156). In one case (9) both apron and girdle had been put on the body before it was wound in its outer sheet and bound

The leather girdles and aprons (Plates XXVI-VII)

1 ζῆσς in pairs: 354, 356, 522. 2 See note under 348, and Chapter III p. 71.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

with its tapes. In the other cases¹ the apron was hung about the shoulders, the pocket inside and the fringe tucked under the tapes at the knees, with the girdle belted about the waist over it. On the dead this position appears to have been the rule at Thebes. In one case only (8), an additional covering was put on the body—a linen bag, ripped open along one edge, pulled down over the face with its strings tied to the girdle thongs.

Placing the
bodies in the
graves
(Plate XI)

The body was now ready for burial. Sometimes green plants and a handful or two of salt were scattered in the grave before the body was put into it (8), and then the body was laid away with the monk's grass sleeping-mat over it (8, 9, 11), or as a substitute, a shorter scrap of old matting eked out with a large palm-leaf work-basket split open and spread out mat-like over the body (7).

¹ The apron and girdle were not preserved on no. 10 which had been ripped open at the chest.

CHAPTER III

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS AT THE MONASTERY AS SHOWN BY THE EXCAVATIONS

1. *Building and Carpentry*

THERE is little to be said of the mason's and builder's trades as shown in the Monastery of Epiphanius. In fact it was the monks themselves who seem to have done almost all of the crude construction that there was, and if they ever called in a professional mason it was only on the Towers and the Canopy Tomb, and possibly on the vaulted passage leading to the Vestibule. Arched, vaulted and domed, these parts of the Monastery alone show a knowledge of something beyond the mere piling up of boulders and mud bricks in rough walls, but unfortunately they were all too dilapidated to supply any technical details except on the vault brick. This was a very thin rectangular brick, $40 \times 20 \times 6$ cm., in the still soft mud of which the moulder scraped a row of concentric arcs with his finger-tips for the mortar to key into. All of the other rooms were probably roofed as is the modern *fellâh's* house with reeds, or exceptionally with planks, covered with mats and then with a thick layer of mud.¹

The masonry of
the monastery

The barrel vault was a heritage from dynastic times, and the true brick arch exists in the pylons of the Saïte tomb of Mentuemhat. However, the brick dome springing from pendentives is known to us only from Roman times, and the same is apparently true of the general use of burnt brick floor-tiles.

In the dry climate of Egypt constructions in mud are developed to a point undreamed of in more rainy countries and to some extent mud fills the lack of more durable wood. Perhaps its most remarkable development is in the large, round, thin-walled, mud grain-bins so characteristic of every Upper Egyptian hamlet. They are purely a product of the native environment and have been made in slightly varying forms from dynastic times

Native grain-
bins of mud
(*ṣôma'*) (Plate
XIII, A-B)

¹ Clearly described in 358, where the writer begs that the mats be procured; for, as he rightly points out, the mud with which roofs are covered in Egypt as a protection

against the sun, as well as the rain-water, will spoil the planks, unless the layer of mats is placed over them.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

until today.¹ In Arabic the round ones are called *ṣôma'* صومع, var. صومعة (pl. *ṣowâma'* صوامع) with a number of other names for the different shapes.²

Mud grain-bins in the monastery (Plates XIII–XIV)

Eight *ṣowâma'* were found in the lower, granary chambers of the First Tower, two others just outside of the entrance (Fig. 3), and another in the granary of Cell A. Their contents showed clearly enough that they were grain-bins.³ In the Monastery of Cyriacus three were found, two of them under the floor near the oven where they were handy to the bakery, and one of these contained corn. They were made, as they are today, of a mixture of Nile mud,

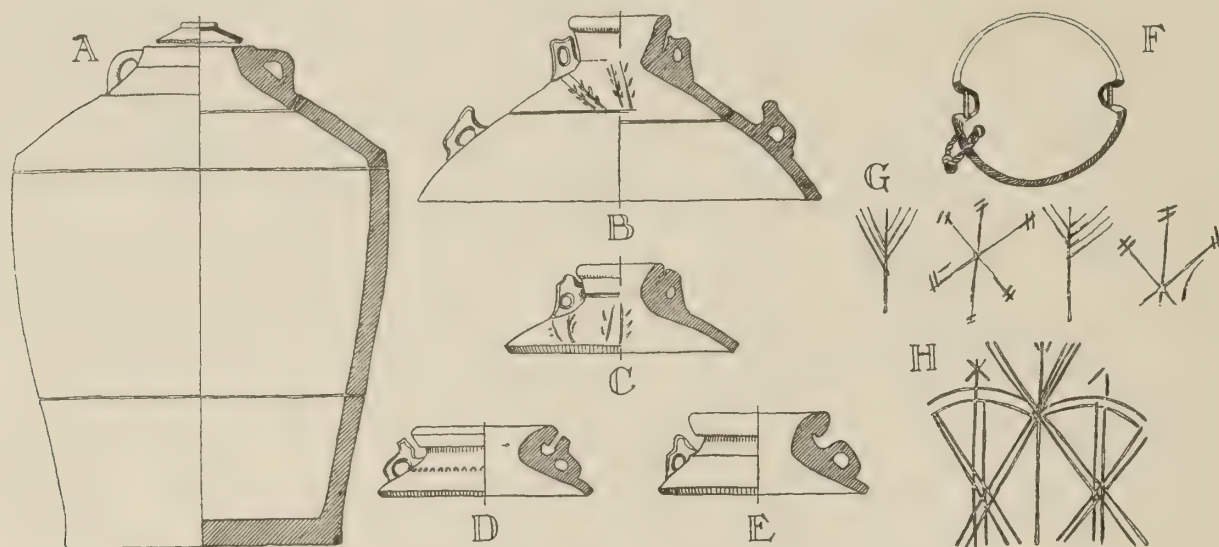


FIG. 11

DETAILS FROM MUD GRAIN-BINS (A, MONASTERY OF CYRIACUS; B–H, FIRST TOWER). SCALE 1 : 15

manure and straw well rotted together until the straw and the manure have permeated the mass with a sort of vegetable glue, and the straw fibers have made a binding material. When dry this mixture is so hard and tough that thin walls will not only support themselves but large objects made of it can be readily moved about. The larger bins seem to have been made on the spot,⁴ although the smaller ones in Cell A and the Monastery of Cyriacus may well have been brought from elsewhere, as is often done by the *fellâḥ* women today.⁵ When the big *ṣowâma'* of the First Tower were made, a layer of ashes was spread on the brick floor to prevent them from sticking and make it possible to move them eventually if desirable. On this ash layer the mud bottom of the *ṣôma'* was laid, usually a little more

¹ They have been found by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in the dynastic village of Lisht, and by Honroth, Rubensohn and Zucker in the early Ptolemaic town at Elephantine (*ÄZ.* 1909, p. 20).

² The name *ṣôma'* implies a narrowing or conical roof. The square bins are called *ṣuṣaṭ* صسط, pl. صفاطه (*ÄZ.* 1909, 45 n. صفت) and those with open sleeping-places on top *menâma* منامه, pl. منايم.

³ Those in the towers are mentioned in 532 as having been used to store 21 *μααζε* of corn. The name *λακων* there applied to them occurs also in 283, and perhaps in 550.

⁴ Those at Elephantine must have been made in the cellars where they were found, as they were too large to have been brought in through the doors.

⁵ In 283 the *λακων* is transportable by camel.

BUILDING AND CARPENTRY

than a meter in diameter,¹ and the bottom ring was moulded by hand, about 3 cm. thick and 27 cm. high. This much was allowed to dry thoroughly. A ring of mud was then put around it to prevent the ashes from running out from underneath, and the second ring was added, generally a little higher than the first. Ring by ring they were built up until a height of about two meters seems to have been reached in the largest bins. The general shape suggests a beehive with handles on the top two rings and a mouth like a gigantic jar (Fig. 11, A–E). As each ring was added a crude, scratched design was carried from one to the other to serve as a guide for setting them in place again if they were ever moved (G–H). If they were in their final position, the lower rings were held in place by a smear of mud over the joints after they had dried. The two top rings always remained removable, and for this purpose they were provided with handles and the joint between them was beveled to prevent the top ring from sliding off. As a lid, the bottom of an old pot would serve for those with narrow mouths (A), while those with wider openings might have a flat, mud cover which could be lifted off by a rope loop or by a couple of little sticks let into the sides (F).

As a general thing the *şowâma'* in the Monastery of Epiphanius were made to stand above the surface, but two of those in the Monastery of Cyriacus were buried under the floor with their mouths alone showing, and in Room C of the First Tower there was a similar, small, hidden bin with a slab of limestone over the mouth. Our workmen called it a *bayâta*, "bird-house," and judging from the small opening at the bottom it was the upper part of a small dove-cote (Fig. 12). It is made like a *şôma'* and was used in this place, doubtless, because it happened to be handy at the time that some monk wanted to make a little secret hole under the floor.

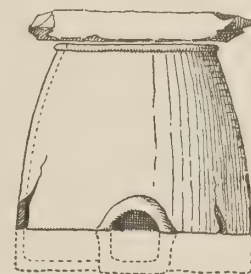


FIG. 12
MUD BIRD-HOUSE USED
AS A BIN WITH A STONE
LID. SCALE 1 : 15

A mud
bird-house
(Plate XIV, B)

Two bakery ovens² were found in the Monastery—one in the East Buildings and the other in the West Court (Fig. 13). Both are of the type used by the *fellâhîn* today and probably by their ancestors in dynastic times. The western oven, more or less carefully built of brick from the tomb of Mentuemhat, was about 117 cm. in diameter and probably 250 cm. high inside. The eastern one was a much cruder affair made of bits of burnt brick behind a rough partition in one end of Room 19. Both were beehive shaped, with a circular hearth below and a domed baking chamber above. The floor of the hearth rose with the accumulation of ashes and the fire-doors were raised with them. The floor of the baking chamber was supported on arches (a—a', b—b') in the western oven at least. There was a vent at the back of it and, judging from the modern ovens, others above in the sides and top of the dome. The modern practice is to kindle a wood fire on the hearth³ and leave the

Bread-baking
ovens

¹ The 10 examples in the First Tower vary from 68 to 142 cm. in diameter with an average of 105 cm.

² In 406 there is an order to an artisan, Cyriacus, to make certain things for the bakery.

³ Purchases of firewood for the Monastery ovens are recorded in 94, 533 and 542. A possible reference to flax stalks for firewood is in 360.

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fire-door and all of the vents open for a draft until the oven heats up. The bread is then put in through the oven-door and the latter and all of the vents are sealed with mud, leaving the fire to smoulder underneath while the baking is going on.

Carpenters' tools—the bow-drill (Plate XV, A)

Skilled carpentry is not to be expected on such a provincial site as this. Nor is it likely that any of the monks were themselves carpenters,¹ and for this reason, and possibly also because the iron in them was too valuable to be lost, few carpenters' tools remained

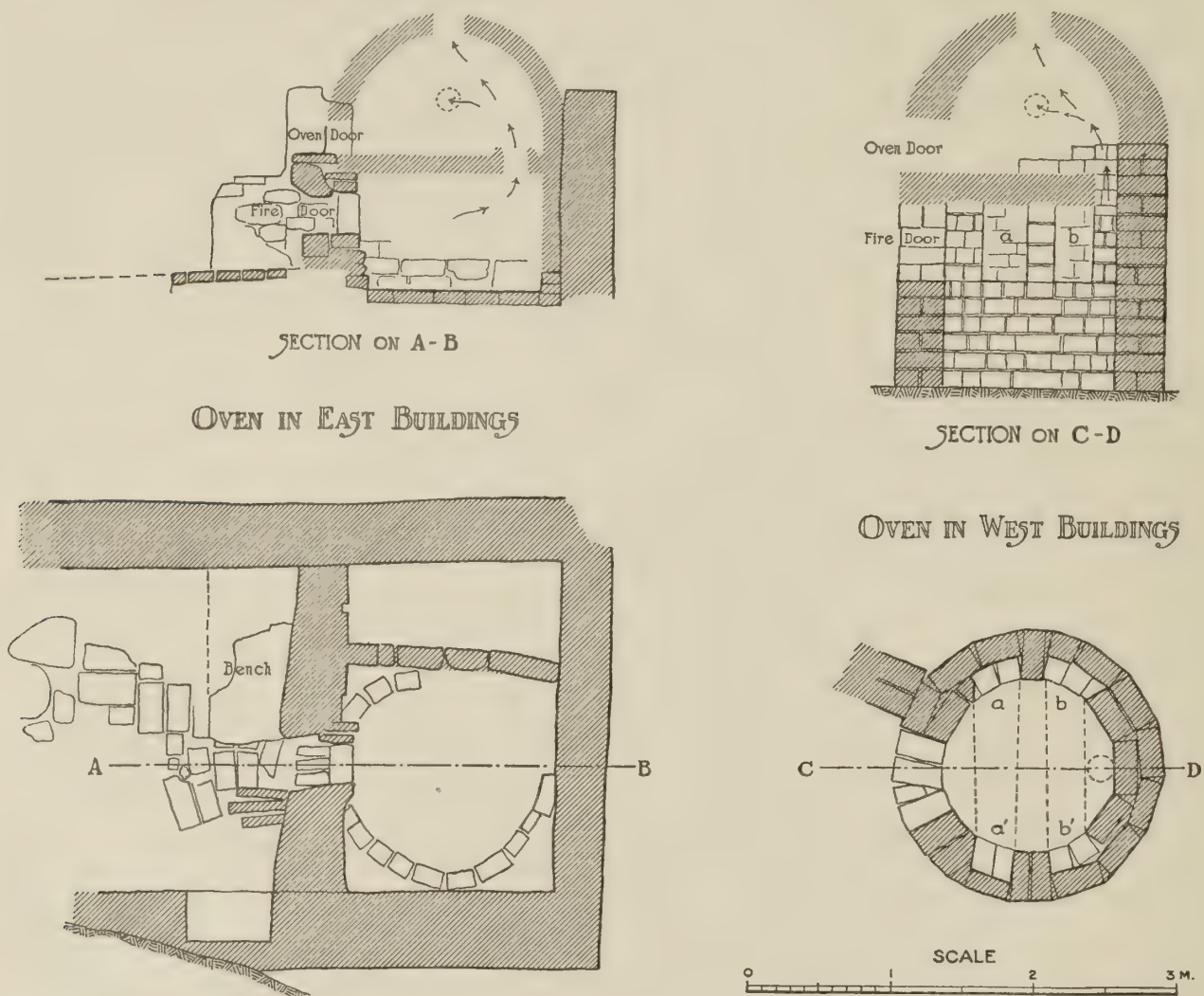


FIG. 13

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERY OVENS

in the Monastery.² However, broken pieces were found of that oldest of Egyptian tools, the bow-drill. It belongs both to the earliest dynastic times and to the present, and so great a favorite is it still that even the Cairo-bred, Italian carpenter of the Egyptian Museum will use it for a delicate job in preference to the most up-to-date of machinist's geared drills. A very simple type of drill socket from the Monastery was a bit of the sole

¹ See below, p. 159. In 220 one of the anchorites is asked to give advice in a carpentry job.

² An inventory of carpenters' tools is in 547.

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of an old sandal, to be held in the palm of the hand over the head of the rotating drill-stock. A more practical drill socket was a split wooden cylinder, 9.4×4 cm., with a cavity inside for the head of the drill-stock. When pegged together it held the latter by the knob on top of it (Fig. 14). A block of tamarisk wood with charred holes in it was probably the block of a fire bow-drill.

Wood-turning—which is not characteristic of dynastic carpentry—became a favorite practice of the cabinet-makers of Graeco-Roman times and has remained so among the Arabs until today. The lathe was probably the simple contrivance of the Cairo bazaars; a horizontal iron bar with a simple, fixed chock welded to one end, and a movable chuck secured in place by wedges, sliding from the other. The operator rotates the wood he is turning back and forth by hand with a bow similar to those used with drills. Much of the native wood can be turned easily on this primitive machine, and as this wood is

Lathe-turned
wood work
(Plate XV, B)



FIG. 14

SOCKET OF A BOW-DRILL, THE
KNOBBED DRILL-STOCK RE-
STORED. SCALE 1 : 4

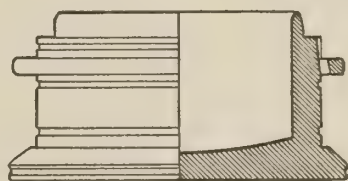


FIG. 15

TURNED WOOD BOX. SCALE 1 : 2

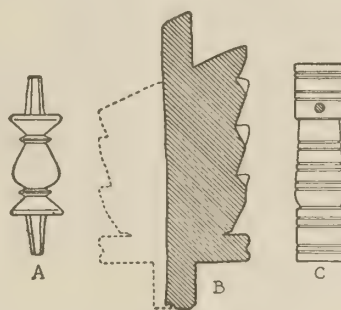


FIG. 16

BALUSTERS FROM FURNITURE
SCALE 1 : 3

not good for much else, turning became general once it was introduced.¹ Such small objects as spindle-whorls were turned, as was a small tamarisk-wood box, which once had a lid attached by a string through a hole in the rim. It was made for some greasy substance, now black and hard and insoluble in water (Fig. 15).

Such blocks of wood as the native carpenter can procure can be made to go a long way when assembled in lattice work. Balusters from screens were, therefore, very common at the Monastery of Epiphanius. A small baluster with tenons at both ends from a light lattice with heavy rails, was intended to be seen from both sides (Fig. 16, A); a more massive specimen carved in a debased plant form, was mitered on top to fit between the converging rails of a piece of furniture (B); and a third was split longitudinally to be pegged onto the front of a chest or box (C).

Baluster
lattice work
(Plate XV,
C-D)

The turned balusters most characteristic in type were, however, those intended to be

¹ Native Egyptian woods are notoriously poor. Tamarisk and acacia are hard and gnarled, but adaptable for turning. Specimens of both are found, and in 432 an acacia tree is to be cut down for the Monastery—but perhaps for fire-

wood. Sycamore-fig can be made into rough boards. It also was found and appears for carpentry in 326 and 437. "Wood" is to be sent to the Monastery in 341, but its species and use are not specified. See below, p. 159.

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used in a lattice screen which was to be seen from one side only (Fig. 17). Short spools of tamarisk were turned on the lathe with projections left at each end. They were then split or sawn vertically into four sections (A), and dressed with an adze on the back until the projecting ends were flattened into thin tongues or tenons which fitted the mortises in continuous rails (B-C). If these rails themselves were turned on the lathe between balusters, the screen so made would have had an effect like the Arab *mushrabîyah*, except that this Coptic screen was intended to be seen from one side only.

Flat lattice
work (Plate
XV, C-D)

A very simple but effective type of lattice, made up entirely of short flat units mortised and tenoned one into the other, appears to have been common in Thebes at this time.¹ A unit from such screen work was found in the Monastery. It was 13.8 cm. long, 2 cm. wide and 2.4 cm. thick, with a tenon at each end and two mortise holes cut through the

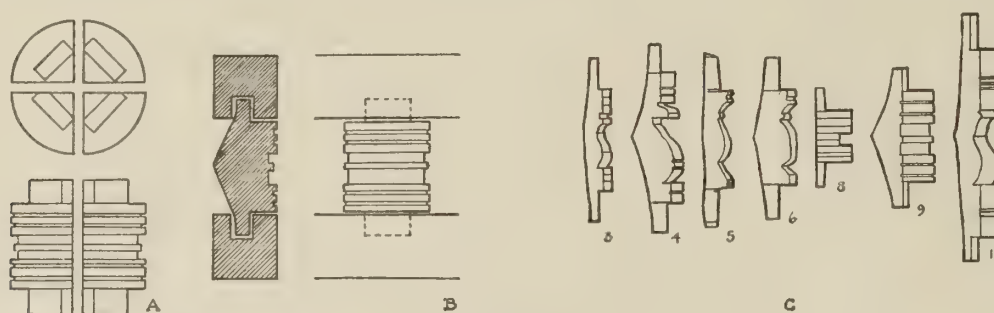


FIG. 17

SPLIT BALUSTERS FROM WOODEN SCREENS. SCALE 1 : 4

sides. The front has mitered joints and grooves; the back has square joints and no grooves and was therefore not to be seen. A screen made up of such units would have a succession of large and small square openings (Fig. 18), or if half of the units had the side joints reversed, uniform oblong openings.

Lattice work
for furniture
and possibly
for windows

Much of the lattice work found on Coptic sites comes from furniture, and in fact a bench with a back of flat lattice work almost identical with that just described is in the Cairo Museum.² Some, however, may have come from window screens designed to let into the house whatever air might be stirring outside, without flooding the rooms with blazing sunlight. Such screens were common in dynastic times and have been universal in Arab Egypt under the name of *mushrabîyah*. The designs of dynastic window screens, like the contemporary furniture, were drawn from flowers, amulets or figures of the gods. If this similarity between the *motifs* of furniture and window screens in dynastic times held in the Roman Period, the window lattices of the latter must have been of turned work like

¹ Naville and Hall *XIth Dynasty Temple* iii Pl. XXXIV, show a unit similar to the one described above, and another of the same general type was found by Theodore M. Davis in Medinet Habu.

² Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst* 8793; an example of

round baluster lattice work on furniture, *ibid.* 8795. Many of the specimens in Cairo are from Kôm Ishgâu (*ibid.* 7230-37) where the Coptic ruins are of the 7th-8th centuries (Quibell in *Ann. du S.* iii p. 85).

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their furniture. Hence to window screens we should properly assign the split balusters described above, and see in them the origin of medieval and modern *musbrabîyah*.

Quite in the spirit of the dynastic windows was a small wooden window intended to be let into a wall in such a way that a beam of sunlight would stream through an opening cut in the shape of a Maltese cross. It is a circular block of sycamore wood, 21 cm. in diameter and 6 cm. thick, beveled on the edge where it was to be built into the masonry.

A cross-shaped window-light (Plate XVI, A)

While none of the wooden doors of the Monastery was found, their form can be reconstructed clearly enough from the doorways in the brick walls of the two Towers, of Room 13 and of the Vestibule of Cell A. From them one can see that the doors themselves were contrived to hinge on pivots which fitted sockets in the sills and lintels exactly like

Construction of doors

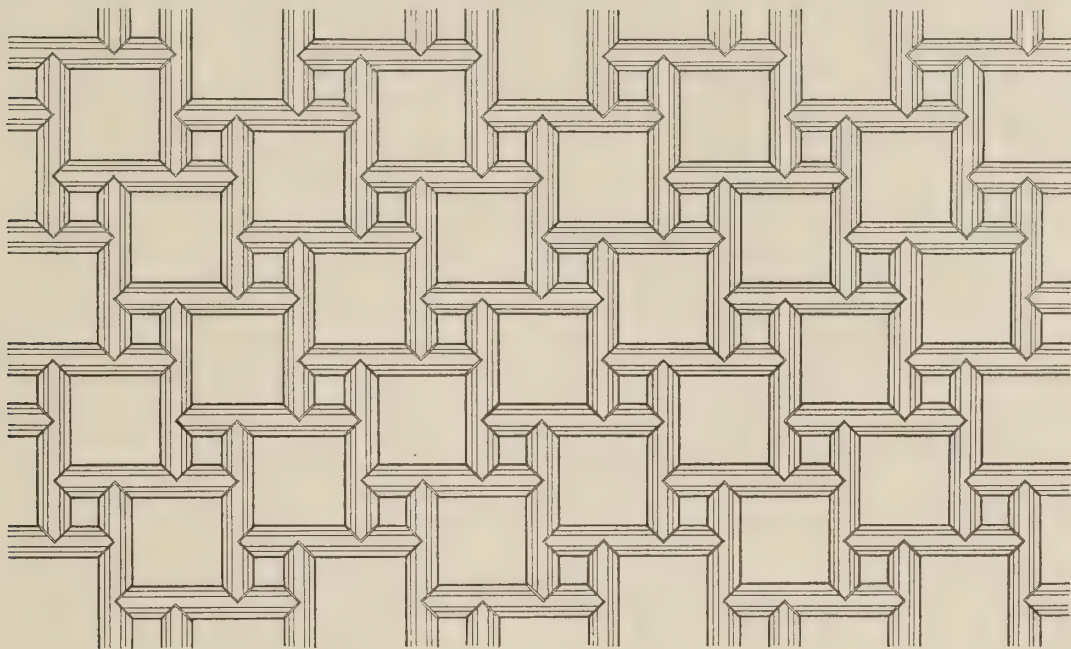


FIG. 18
FLAT LATTICE-WORK SCREEN RESTORED. SCALE 1 : 5

the dynastic doors and the Arab doors of today. The lower pivot socket was cut in hard wood, one from the East Buildings measuring 9 cm. square and 4 cm. thick. The doors opened inwards, and to allow a free passage they turned back into recesses half a brick deep in the walls inside the rooms. They closed against brick jambs on the outside and in the door-jamb of the Second Tower the bolt hole still exists 80 cm. above the sill, 12 cm. square, and 12 cm. deep.

From this bolt hole alone one would be unable to deduce the type of lock employed, but by good fortune there was found in the rubbish in Cell A an actual lock (Fig. 19) which had been removed from a door where it had seen considerable use, and had been tied about with a noose of flax rope to hold it together until it should be needed again. It consists of a case carved from a block of sycamore wood (11 × 9 × 5.5 cm.), rounded on the outside, and flat on the back where it was fastened to the outer side of the door.

Locks and keys (Plate XVI, B)

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The attachment was by three, square-sectioned, wrought-iron nails driven through holes drilled in the block. Such nails, found nearby, had flat round heads about 2.6 cm. in diameter.¹ Through the length of the case goes a channel in which slides a horizontal bolt of hard, tamarisk wood, 17.5 cm. long. The bolt head and butt, being thicker than the shaft, the bolt can slide only 3.5 cm. to right or left, and cannot be removed once the case is nailed to the door. In the butt end of the bolt there are holes so arranged that when the bolt is shot they come directly under tumblers or fall-pins of tamarisk in chambers in the case. These pins dropping through the holes in the bolt secure it. The pins are slightly tapered, and their chambers narrowed sufficiently at the bottom to arrest them when they have penetrated the bolt. The chambers are masked by a wedge of tamarisk wood in the top of the case, which being slipped into place before the lock is attached to the door, cannot be removed afterwards. If the bolt has been shot into a socket in the door-jamb, the door is thus securely locked. To open it, it is necessary to raise all of the tumblers and withdraw the bolt simultaneously. For this purpose the case is cut away on the inside under the bolt. The arm of a key with teeth contrived to fit into the holes in the bolt is introduced here; it is lifted up so that its teeth lift all of the tumblers together and thus disengage the bolt, and then pulled backwards, the teeth which are still in the bolt holes drawing the bolt with it.

The key of this particular lock was not found and in the drawing one has been restored with two teeth. The bolt, indeed, has three holes, but the third belongs to a time when it was used with another case, this case having but two tumblers. A two-toothed iron key of the type restored—but with teeth differently disposed—was found in the Monastery. It is shaped like a letter “L,” with a twisted shaft 10.5 cm. long, looped at the top to secure a brass ring 2.6 cm. in diameter.² Another form of key, such as is used in all the modern Egyptian villages and may well have been used with this lock, consists of a straight bar of wood with wooden or iron teeth in one end.

Foreign origin
of the lock

This is the lock which has been the characteristic one in Egypt from Roman times down to the present day. Bolts have been found at Hawâra dating from the 4th century,³ wooden keys have been found in the Monastery of Saint Jeremias at Saqqâra⁴ and in the probably earlier Christian Necropolis of El Bagawât in Khargeh Oasis, and iron keys are to be found in all Coptic collections.⁵ The lock as used today in the Nile Valley has undergone a slight change of form without any change of principle—the bolt, instead

¹ Requests to Psan for such nails appear in 320–321. Since there was absolutely no evidence that blacksmith's work was done at the Monastery, it seems likely that these nails (like the water-wheel pots and shroud bandages mentioned on pp. 64 and 71 below) were something which were merely held in stock there.

² From Cell A come two letters regarding keys (394, 397) of which the second gives instructions that the key is to

be copied from another, and a remittance of money which is estimated approximately to cover the cost.

³ Petrie *Hawara* p. 11 Pl. XIII.

⁴ Quibell *Saqqara* iv Pl. LIV; *Manchester Mus., Cat. of Egypt. Antiq.* no. 9.

⁵ For example in Cairo; Strzykowski *Koptische Kunst* 9196–9200.

BUILDING AND CARPENTRY

of the case, being hollowed for the admission of the key.¹ But in such remote localities as the Oases, one finds still in use an exact replica of this lock from the Monastery of Epiphanius. From dynastic times there appears to be no trace of a similar contrivance.² It is true that at a very early period there were invented systems of locking coffins by means of falling pins and swivels, but as no means was provided to reopen them, they cannot be taken as predecessors of this lock.³ On the other hand, this lock, or one working on the same principle, appears to have been in use in Greece as the "Laconian lock" from the

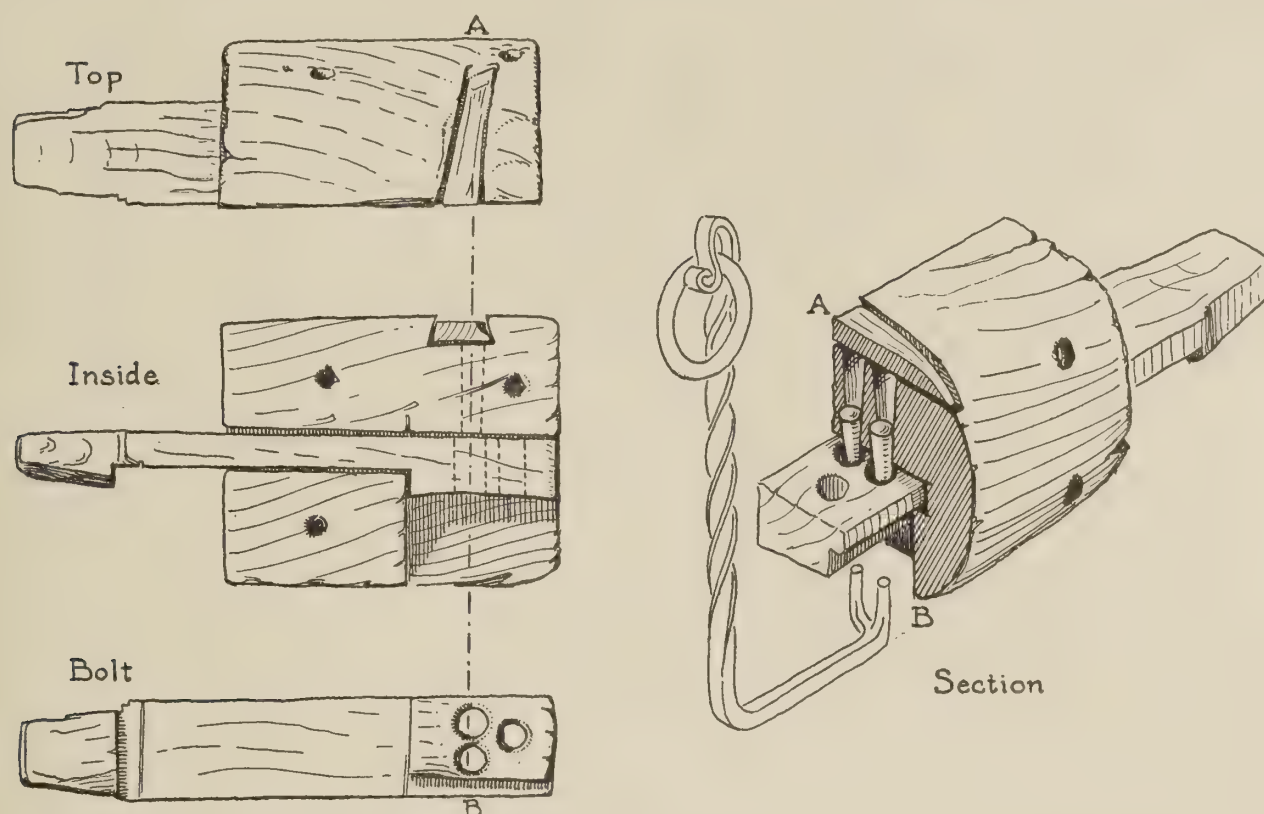


FIG. 19

WOODEN LOCK, WITH IRON KEY RESTORED. SCALE 2:5

6th century B.C. onwards,⁴ and it must have been brought to Egypt in either Greek or Roman times,⁵ since when its use has gradually expanded to Persia, to North Africa, and through Europe, even as far as the Orkney Islands.⁶

¹ Denon *Voyage dans l'Égypte* Pl. LI; Lane *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1836, i 28.

² An iron key said to have been found by Passalacqua (*Catalogue raisonné* p. 164; Berlin *Ausführ. Verzeichnis* p. 226 no. 2847) in a Theban tomb containing antiquities of the XIX Dynasty, is unquestionably Roman. From it, and from statements by Denon and Wilkinson, the writers on Greek and Roman daily life have assumed that this type of lock originated in ancient Egypt, and this fallacy has passed into such general books of reference as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and such a high authority as Diels *Antike Technik*, 1914, p. 46.

³ Mace and Winlock *Senebtisi* p. 40.

⁴ Diels *Parmenides* p. 141; Marquardt *Privatleben der Römer* i p. 223; Daremberg and Saglio *Dict. des antiquités*, s.v. "Sera"; Guhl and Koner *Leben der Griechen u. Römer* 6th ed. p. 713; Diels *op. cit.* p. 48.

⁵ Birch (in a footnote to Wilkinson *Manners and Customs* i p. 355) stated that the earliest example of the characteristic key of this lock known to him in Egypt was of 90 A.D. I can find none more ancient.

⁶ Cuming *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* 1856, pp. 118 ff. An example from Switzerland is in the MMA. no. 15.153.

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Cupboard doors
(Plate XVI, A)

Cupboards in the walls have frequently been noticed above, and evidence was found that some of them were provided with doors.¹ A door frame from such a cupboard was found in the Monastery (Fig. 20). The opening is 37.2 cm. high and 28.4 cm. wide; the joining at the corners is by mortise and tenon held securely with wooden wedges; the face of the frame is smoothly finished and grooved, while the back is left rough and has been carelessly beveled away to fit into the wall. Originally a door was mounted in it, hinged with pivots turning in holes at the top and bottom of the frame (A-B), and shutting inwards against a rabbet (C). In this case the door itself was probably made of wood, but another cupboard door, 55 cm. high \times 35 cm. wide, was made of palm sticks and palm fiber woven together with two-ply palm cord, bound on the edges with thin leather sewn with thongs, and wattled over with the same mud mixture as was used to make the *šôma*.

Their
fastenings
(Plate XVI, B)

The door which belonged in the wooden frame described above was fastened with a metal hook catching in a loop made by an iron nail, driven into the frame and bent over. A latch, 11.5 cm. long, from another small door was made of tamarisk wood, bored through for the metal nail on which it revolved (Fig. 21).

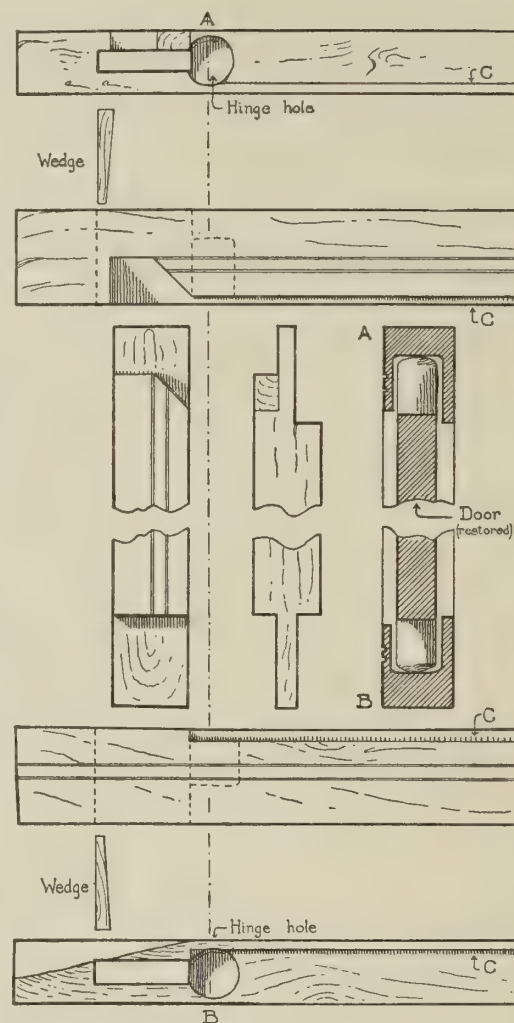


FIG. 20

CONSTRUCTION OF A CUPBOARD DOOR FRAME
SCALE 1 : 4

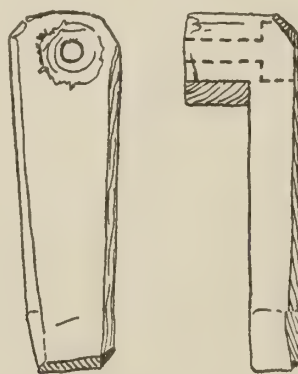


FIG. 21

LATCH FROM A CUPBOARD
DOOR. SCALE 2 : 5

¹ White suggested that since the Coptic *ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲩⲧ* is frequently the equivalent of the Greek *θυρίς*, it was a cupboard which could be closed. Arched cupboards like

those described in the two Towers above, but provided with shelves for the storage of books or valuables, are figured by Quibell *Saqqara*, 1906-7, Pl. LIX.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

2. Agriculture and Agricultural Implements

In the granaries of Cell A we found barley, fenugreek and broad beans, and in a *šôma'* in the Monastery of Cyriacus, *Andropogon sorghum*.¹ Onion peels were found in the rubbish hole in Room 5. On the whole one would conclude that in the 7th century the crops were very much what they are today. Of fruits there were found *Medemia Argun* (Hook.) and *Balanites aegyptiaca*, and of various plants, *Cajanus flavus*, *Ricinus communis* (castor oil), gourds and *dôm*-palm nuts. A quantity of the seed-pods of the *sunṭ*-tree (*Acacia nilotica*) had been collected in Cell A, either for making a blue dye or for tanning leather. Finally the berries of the *Juniperus phoenicea* were common enough to be used in large quantities as an embalming agent in the graves.

Grains, fruits and other botanical specimens found

This list can be supplemented from documents found on the site and elsewhere, summarized in Chapter VI (see below, pp. 145 ff.).

Others from the documents

One of the most interesting finds at the Monastery of Epiphanius was the side of a *nôrag* نوج, the threshing-machine of modern Egypt. It had been built into the wall of the First Tower and was, therefore, absolutely dateable to about 600 A.D. (see p. 34 above),² nor can there be any question as to the object's identity as part of a *nôrag*, so specialized is its shape.

The threshing-machine: *nôrag* (Plate XVII, A)

The modern *nôrag* is a sort of sledge with axles—always three in number—on which revolve a set of iron disks. The two sides or runners of the sledge are joined near each end by cross pieces, and to the forward cross piece is fastened the shaft to which a pair of oxen are yoked. On top of the runners are wooden uprights with the driver's seat swung between them, steadied with rope guys to the cross pieces. When the grain has been heaped on the threshing-floor, the *nôrag* is driven round and round over it, the revolving disks hulling the grain and incidentally chopping up the straw.

The beam from the First Tower was of acacia wood 2.175 meters long. To give it a straight face when it was built into the wall, about 7 or 8 cm. had been cut away from its rounded under-side, but nevertheless the three axle holes can still be seen along the bottom, worn by the turning of the axles in them. Front and rear are the two large mortise holes for the cross pieces and on top the three for the uprights of the seat. To make their purposes clear the missing parts have been restored in Fig. 22.

Nôrag beam from the monastery (Plate XVII, B)

Except in such backward communities as the Oases, where the unharnessed cattle are still driven round and round over the grain to be threshed, the *nôrag* is in common use in Egypt today. Its existence in Egypt in the 7th century A.D. and its total absence from

¹ The identifications of all of the following botanical specimens are due to Prof. G. Schweinfurth, who examined them in the field.

² A possible mention of a *nôrag* in the documents found may be in 563, there translated "mill-wheel of the threshing-floor" (мѣлъ/ мѣхне).

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Foreign origin
of the *nôrag*

dynastic monuments make speculation on the source and date of its introduction into the Nile Valley of great interest.

The two most primitive methods of threshing grain were with flails or with the feet of cattle. This second was the universal method in dynastic Egypt, and the "ox that treadeth out the corn" was the early threshing-machine of Palestine. Some genius—outside of Egypt—conceived the idea of hastening the process by hitching to the oxen a flat sledge

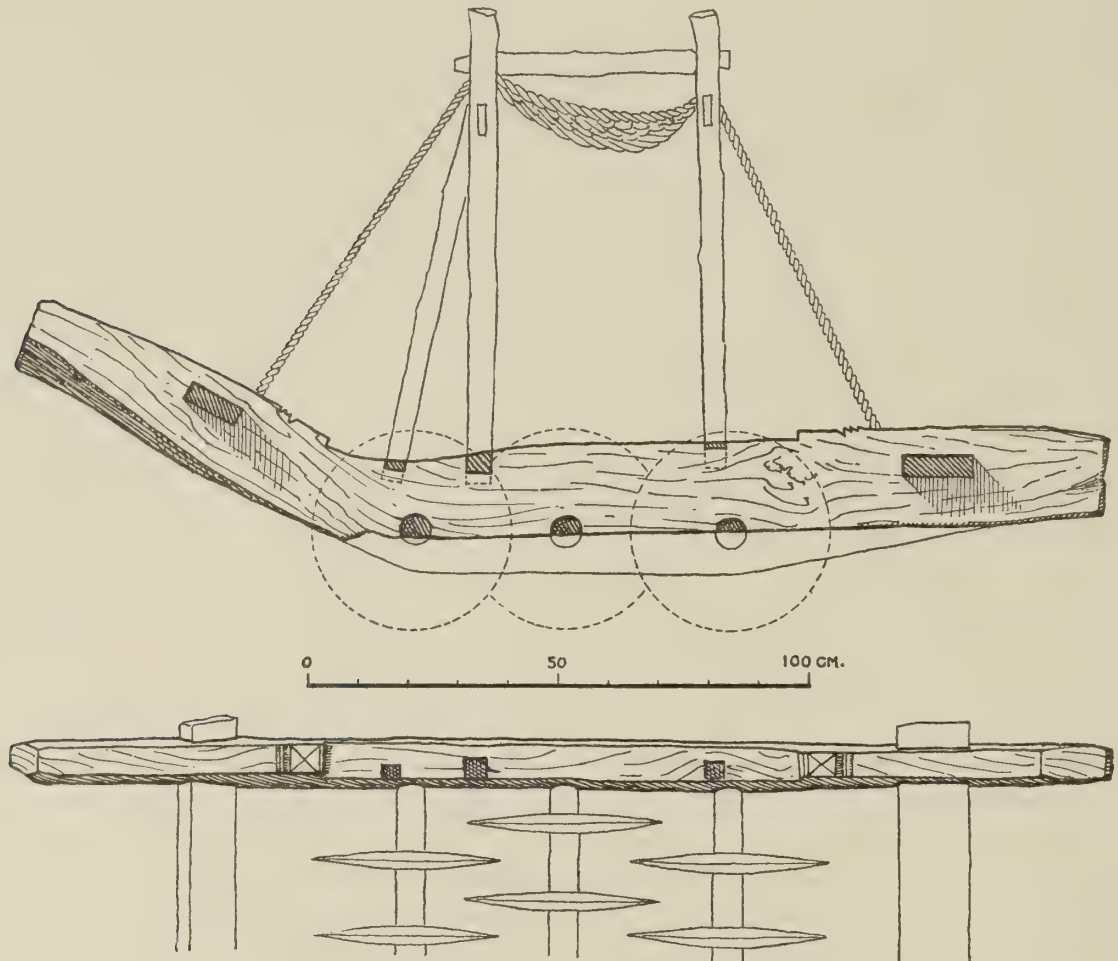


FIG. 22

DIAGRAM OF THE *nôrag* BEAM WITH MISSING PARTS RESTORED. SCALE 1:15

of heavy planks without runners (shaped much like the American farmer's "stone-boat"), and studded beneath with flints, or later with iron teeth. Such an instrument was already in use by 700 B.C. among the Hebrews¹; was the *tribulum*—the commonest threshing-machine in Republican Rome,²—and is still to be found in out-of-the-way parts of the Old World from Greece, Syria and Palestine as far west as Madeira.³ A second genius conceived the idea of driving carts or wagons over the grain on the threshing-floor, and

¹ Isaiah xli 15. For this and other references to threshing in Palestine I am indebted to Prof. G. F. Moore.

² Varro *De Re Rustica* i 52.

³ The *môrag* (*tribulum*) as used today in Palestine is figured and described by Grant *Peasantry of Palestine* pp. 130, 136; Bauer *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* p. 127.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

this alternative method was also proverbial among the Hebrews just before the exile, in 700 B.C.¹ The third stroke of genius, the combination of sledge and cart, we do not hear of until just after 100 B.C. when Varro describes as in use in Hither Spain and other places, a sledge with axles and little toothed wheels—the *nôrag* in short—called the “Punic Cart.”² If we take this name and provenance at their full value, we must conclude that the “Punic Cart” was an invention of the Carthaginians, combining the two Palestinian methods of threshing known to their Phoenician ancestors. That it was not Palestinian itself seems probable from the fact that in Palestine to this day it rarely supplants the more primitive *tribulum*.³ Now the “Punic Cart” is said to have been introduced into Greece by the Romans,⁴ and the probability is that the same people brought it into Palestine and into Egypt, having had it themselves from the Carthaginians. If this be so, the *nôrag* has had a curious history. Its antecedents were known in Asia before 700 B.C.; it was invented in western Africa or Spain before 100 B.C., and it was brought back to the East before 600 A.D.⁵

Among the miscellaneous objects of wood found at the Monastery two may have been winnowing scoops used on the threshing-floors. One was a wooden shovel whittled out of a single piece (now split away on one side), and the other had a thin wooden blade (now lost) pegged into a round handle. The first was 37.5 cm. long and the second was possibly a little larger, with a handle 19.5 cm. in length. The dynastic winnowing scoop had no handle but was an elongated shell-shaped object of wood grasped by the edge.

Winnowing
scoops
(Plate XX, A)

For cleaning grain⁶ and meal or flour⁷ basketry sieves were used. An example found in Cell A was 26 cm. in diameter. It had a rim made of two coils of grass wrapped around and bound together with palm leaf, and a mesh made of small reeds laced together with grass and reinforced at the back with two palm sticks at right angles to each other. Fragments of others were found at the Monastery and other examples come from the contemporary monastery toward Ermont (p. 24 above). They are well known from dynastic times. The modern Arab sieve has a wooden rim with a leathern mesh woven through holes on the under edge.⁸

Sieves
(Plate XIX,
A-B)

¹ Isaiah xxviii 27-28: “neither is a cart wheel (wagon) turned about upon the cummin”; “nor break it (bread corn) with the wheel of his cart.”

² Varro *loc. cit.*

³ The *tribulum* is the common instrument of the *Mishna* of the earliest centuries A.D.; and is more common than the “Punic Cart” today (Nowack *Hebräische Archäologie* p. 233; Wetzstein in Bastian’s *Zeit. für Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 272).

⁴ Daremberg and Saglio *Dict. des antiquités*, s.v. “Rustica Res, Foulage.”

⁵ This hypothesis gains confirmation from facts recently called to my attention by Prof. M. Rostovtzeff. Western Africa was not only a great grain-growing country—it was the home of scientific farmers. A treatise on agriculture

by Mago is quoted by Cato and Varro. That a machine for threshing grain should have been developed there is thus not improbable. Rostovtzeff also calls my attention to his forthcoming *Social and Economic Development of the Roman Empire*, Chapter VII, where he points to a great agricultural revival in Egypt under Augustus. This, I believe, would be the logical time to expect the introduction of the *nôrag* into Egypt. We shall see below that it was the approximate date of the *sâkiyeh*’s introduction.

⁶ Cf. 314.

⁷ Flour was evidently ground in Cell A; see 336.

⁸ Graeco-Roman sieves with wooden hoops and the mesh woven over them were found by Ahmed Bey Kamâl at Gamhûd (*Ann. du S. ix* p. 29).

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

The water-wheel—*sâḳiyeh*
(Plates XVII, C
–XVIII, A)

At the Monastery of Epiphanius we found traces of that agricultural instrument which is of greatest economic importance to Egypt—the water-wheel, today called the *sâḳiyeh* ساقية.¹ In principle the *sâḳiyeh* is a vertical wheel, with horizontal spokes in its rim, over which runs an endless chain—or rather an endless rope-ladder—with pottery buckets attached at intervals. The buckets descend into the well, returning to the top full of water and discharging their contents into a trough as they pass over the wheel on their next descent. The water-wheel is actuated by a large cog-wheel on the same axis, which in turn is geared into an enormous horizontal cog-wheel turned by a yoke of oxen. Such a contrivance can raise water economically any height up to six meters and keep irrigated from five to twelve acres throughout an Egyptian summer.

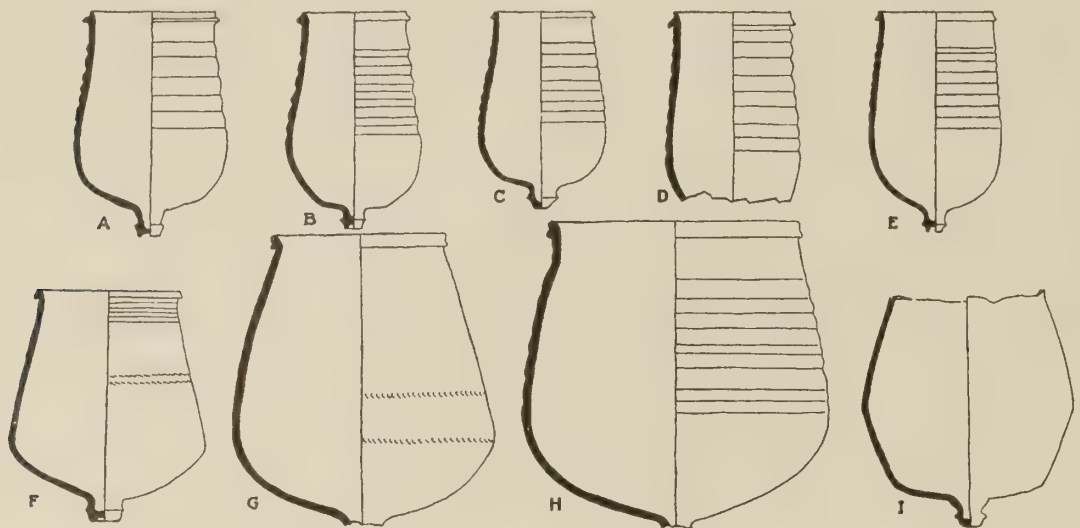


FIG. 23

TYPES OF THE WATER-WHEEL POT, *ḳādûs*, FROM THE MONASTERY. SCALE 1 : 10

The water-wheel pot—*ḳādûs*
(Plate XVIII)

The traces of the *sâḳiyeh* found at the Monastery, and on many of the sites described in Chapter I, consisted of the very specialized type of pottery bucket—the *ḳādûs* قادوس (pl. *ḳawâḏis* قواديس). The *ḳādûs* must have a wide mouth so as to fill and empty quickly, but the essential thing is that it must provide a secure means of attachment to the ropes of the *sâḳiyeh*. For this purpose the modern pot has a strongly marked lip around the top, and a foot about 3 cm. long with a projecting flange at the bottom for cord lashings (Plate XVIII, A; B, no. 6). The presence of such a foot alone is enough to identify the water-wheel bucket, for on any other pot it would only be an inconvenience. Therefore there can be no hesitation in so identifying those from the Monastery (Plate XVIII, B, nos. 1–4, 7–8; Fig. 23).

¹ For the Greek names ὄργανον ἰμμοστ and κτή-
λετήριον, cf. notes under 312 and 563. Further Greek
names in Reil *Beiträge* pp. 82 ff. For the Coptic name 𐩪𐩣𐩀

see Spiegelberg in *Göttinger Abhandlungen* xvi (1917) no. 3
pp. 77 ff.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

In the Monastery *ḡawâdîs*, or fragments of them, were found everywhere.¹ They were always made of a coarse, red ware; were usually ribbed; and the larger specimens at least bore the marks of the cords with which the potters strengthened them while they were drying for the kiln. Except for the ribbing—which was a habit of the Coptic potter but is not of the Arab—the modern *ḡadûs* is identical. The majority of the ancient examples (Fig. 23, A–F) have a capacity of about 5 liters (average dimensions being: height, with foot, 29 cm.; diameter of mouth, 15.5 cm.; largest outside diameter, 19 cm.), but much larger and disproportionately wider-mouthed specimens were found (G–I) with a capacity of almost 25 liters (being on an average 41 cm. high, 29.5 cm. wide at the mouth, and 37 cm. at the bottom). Modern examples from Ḳurneh hold about 5 liters and from Luxor about twice as much. The local custom is to use about 24 of the smaller *ḡawâdîs* to a *sâḡiyeh* for an average well, or 18 of the larger. If the efficiency of the ancient and modern wheels was about the same, 24 of the smaller pots from the Monastery were probably used to a wheel, while the large ones were probably only 8 or 10 at the most to a wheel, and then presumably only in shallow wells.

The only type of hydraulic machine figured on the dynastic monuments is the *shâdûf*, by which a man raises a bucket of water with the assistance of a counterbalanced well-sweep. In the 3rd century B.C. it was still the only machine in use in irrigation.² Therefore, as with the *nôrag*, the problem of the *sâḡiyeh*'s origin and the date of its introduction arises.

In the 1st century B.C. water-wheels were employed at Babylon (Old Cairo), by the recently installed Roman garrison, using the man-power of 150 prisoners.³ In this particular case described by Strabo the water-wheels may not have been *sâḡiyehs*,⁴ but the principle of the endless chain of buckets turned by a wheel was perfectly well known to contemporary Roman engineers and there is no reason why such wheels should not have been used in Egypt at the time.⁵ On the other hand, the fact that Strabo singles out the water-wheels of the garrison at Babylon for mention, suggests that they were not in common use in Egypt but were a recent innovation of Graeco-Roman times. This is borne out by the fact that the nomenclature of the parts of the *sâḡiyeh* in Arabic today is clearly

Foreign origin
of the water-
wheel

¹ Psaṇ supplies *ḡawâdîs* (ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲓ ⲛⲟⲣⲣⲟⲛ) to a correspondent on one occasion (312) and on another (404) he is threatened with the confiscation of as many as 300 ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲓ (but of course these may be wine or other pots and not *ḡawâdîs*). Evidently he possessed a large supply, in spite of the fact that no pot-making was done at the Monastery, as far as we could see. For similar supplies of nails and bandages, perhaps made outside, see pp. 58 and 71.

² Rostovtzeff *Large Estate* p. 49, quoting a Zeno papyrus in which an order is given that such a vast area as 10,000 arurae, or the greater part of it, be "irrigated immediately by hand, or if that is impossible, allow as many *tollenos* (*shâdûfs*) as possible to be operated." Surely had *sâḡiyehs* existed they would have been used there.

³ Strabo xvii 1, 30.

⁴ Strabo says that they were used together with the Archimedean screw, which only lifts water to moderate heights, and the wheels were probably, therefore, the short lifting, hollow ones discharging at the center (*tympanum*) or those with boxes (*baustra*, *modioli*) on the periphery—both still used with the screw in the Delta where the sub-soil water is near the surface. The *τροχός* of a papyrus of B.C. 5 (*BGU*. iv 1120, 27; Reil *loc. cit.*) may well have been of either of these two types.

⁵ Vitruvius x 4 describes a wheel on an axle over which passes "a double iron chain which will reach the surface of the water when let down and to which are attached bronze buckets, each holding about six pints (3 liters)." This is evidently a direct action, ungeared, man-power *sâḡiyeh*, for lifting water to greater heights than the others

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derived from the Greek,¹ the very word *ḫādûs* being, for example, the Greek *κάδος*,² the *rotarum cadus* of the Roman wheels.³ Assuming that as introduced into Egypt late in the 1st century B.C. the water-wheels were direct action, ungeared wheels designed only for man-power, the adaptation of the gearing which made the employment of oxen a possibility followed within a century, and doubtless became universal within a short time.⁴ It is to be noted that the large pots of the 7th century Epiphanius Monastery are out of all proportion to a man-power wheel.⁵ The introduction of the primitive *sâḳiyeh* and its elaboration into the geared, ox-propelled machine is thus another Roman contribution to Egypt.⁶

The *shâdûf*
(Plate XVI, C)

The *shâdûf* has already been mentioned as the dynastic contrivance for raising water to irrigate the fields, and today it still is a supplement to the *sâḳiyeh*, especially on river and canal banks where the installation of the wheel would be inconvenient. Naturally it existed in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. and apparently we found a trace of it in the shape of a heavy acacia wood hook, 43 cm. long, with a palm-fiber rope still attached. The *shâdûf* consists of a long well-sweep with a counterbalance on one end and a vertical pole hung from the other, with a hook attached to the bottom for the bucket. Our workmen immediately recognized this hook as from a *shâdûf*, and it probably is. Presumably it had been brought up to the Monastery from the fields for raising baskets either in building or in digging out ancient tomb pits.⁷ A less certain part of the *shâdûf* is a wooden handle 26 cm. long with a bit of palm-fiber rope tied to one end. The workmen recognized this as the handle tied to the pole of a *shâdûf* when two men operate it, but it might equally well be a whip handle for driving either donkeys or oxen.

Primitive
"pulleys" for
pack-saddles
(Plate XVI, C)

Probably from pack-saddles come wooden forks about 14 cm. wide, with notched ends. Wheeled vehicles have always been rare in roadless Egypt, and burdens have always been carried on pack-saddles—in dynastic times on donkeys and since the Roman Period on donkeys and camels.⁸ These wooden forks made primitive "pulleys" in one end of the girth (Fig. 24, A), through which the other end (B) could be drawn easily when the girth was

1 For this fact we are indebted to Prof. E. Littmann.

2 Dozy *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes* ii p. 314. The *κάδος* was a bucket of a shape suggestive of the *ḫādûs* and equivalent to the *situla*. See Walters *Ancient Pottery* i p. 165; ii p. 465. It appears in bronze or brass in the inventory 549 under its classical name *καδον*.

3 Smith *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. "antlia."

4 Perhaps as early as Aristotle (Neuberger *Technik des Allertums* p. 219) and certainly as early as Vitruvius (*loc. cit.* and Diels *Antike Technik* p. 56), geared cog-wheels were used in automata and machinery. Ox-driven water-wheels—evidently essentially the *sâḳiyeh*—are involved in Egyptian accounts of 113 A.D. (*Greek Papyri in the BM.* 1177, analyzed by Reil *loc. cit.*).

5 The buckets described by Vitruvius held no more than 3 liters.

6 The frequent references to "the Persian water-wheel" in Egypt may be due to Anglo-Indians who are familiar with it in Northern India as the *barat*, which is usually said to be Persian in that region.

7 Such hooks are often found in Egypt. Good examples from Gamhûd are described by Ahmed Bey Kamâl *Ann. du. S.* xi p. 29, as having been used in Graeco-Roman times for hauling baskets out of mummy pits.

8 "Wagon" and "cart" appear in the documents found only twice (460, 546) and in neither case as belonging to the Monastery. Camels and donkeys, however, were both owned and hired. Cf. Part II Index VII, *sub vocc.* "Ass" and "Camel"; also the donkey stable in Cell A, Chapter II p. 41.

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tightened to lash down the load.¹ Hence these “pulleys” show considerable wearing from ropes. Such contrivances were in use in dynastic times² and their place is taken today on the camel pack-saddle by open hooks of wood.

Next to his mattock the Egyptian *fellâh*'s most essential working utensil is his palm-leaf basket (*mukṭaf*). In the fields when he digs canals, water runs or wells he hoes the earth into the basket and moves it in that; and when he carries grain or vegetables he slings a pair of large baskets³ pannier-wise on either side of his donkey. In the days of Epiphanius his palm-leaf baskets were no less essential to him, and traces of them were found everywhere. They were usually large—50–55 cm. in diameter at the top and 30–40 cm. deep—and very well woven. The body of the basket was of palm leaf plaited on palm-fiber cord, with rope handles of the latter material woven through from the edges to the bottom. An old, well-worn basket from Room 10 had its bottom broken out and was then crudely patched with palm rope and leather, just as they are patched today.

These baskets differ in no wise from the modern ones, and since the materials are all local there is no reason to suppose that they are other than a very old native product. However, the work basket of Thebes in the XI Dynasty was of a different form, made entirely of palm-fiber rope.⁴

Agricultural tools mentioned in the documents from the Monastery—but of which no trace was identified—are a dibble (319); ploughshare (546); spade (546); bridle for an ass (547); corn measures (546, 548?), &c.

Work baskets
(Plate XIX,
C–D)

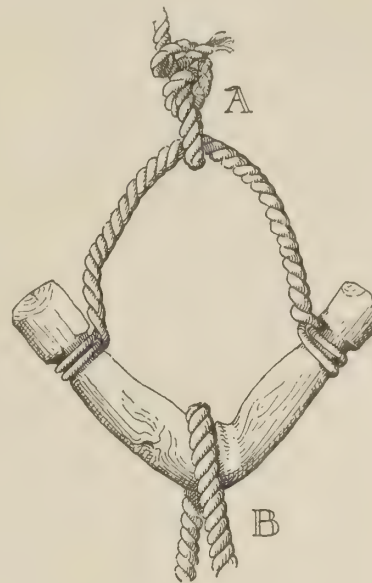


FIG. 24

WOODEN “PULLEY,” WITH ROPES
RESTORED FROM A CONTEMPORARY
EXAMPLE. SCALE 1:3

Miscellaneous
agricultural
tools in the
documents

3. Textiles, Weaving and Mat Making

It was a cardinal principle of the pioneers in Egyptian monasticism that all of their disciples were to be self-supporting and a burden to no man. Such of the brethren as had no trades were therefore taught one, and as the arts of rope, basket and mat making are not difficult to learn; as the palm leaf and grasses required are ready to hand everywhere in the Nile Valley and the demand for such products always certain in Egypt; but above all, as they are occupations which leave the mind free “to repeat the Psalms and Scriptures in order as one performs his work,” it is not surprising to find them the commonest occupa-

The commonest
occupations of
Egyptian
anchorites

¹ In Fig. 24 a wooden “pulley” from the Monastery is shown with ropes restored from a contemporary example (MMA. 14.1.463 A–B) from the “Cell of the Priest Elias” mentioned on p. 24.

² They have been found at Lisht by the Metropolitan

Museum Expedition.

³ Called *kufas* قفص. Possibly = κόφος (κόφινος), Reil *loc. cit.* 125.

⁴ Found by us in quantities at Deir el Bahri and in the XI Dynasty cemeteries nearby.

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tions mentioned in the literature. The making of rope, baskets, and mats requires little or no installation, which was an added inducement to their practice. Spinning is equally simple. Weaving requires a loom and somewhat greater skill, but the linen trades were among the greatest in Egypt in ancient times, and many weavers must have answered the popular call to the ascetic life and have continued their trade while in it. Hence it is not surprising to have found at the Monastery of Epiphanius traces of spinners, weavers, net-makers and dyers,¹ and of rope, basket and mat workers. Without a doubt evidences of their callings could be recognized in any Theban anchoritic community.²

Spinning and
spindles
(Plate XV, B)

Spinning by hand is an occupation which requires so little attention that it is a common sight today to see a couple of old *fellâhîn* sitting in the shade talking, or a girl driving a buffalo, idly twirling a spindle meanwhile. The anchorites must have found it equally easy to recite the Scriptures while spinning, for spindle whorls were found frequently. They were round, turned wood disks about 10.5 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. thick with a hole through the center (see p. 55 above). Complete, contemporary spindles from the monastery toward Ermont³ have a shaft about 30 cm. long through the hole, with an iron hook in the head. The dynastic type was similar, except for the iron hook, and the modern one differs only when it has a square instead of a round whorl.

Spinning in the
documents

Bearing out the assumption that spinning was practised in the Monastery, there are frequent mentions of flax and linen in the documents found. Flax (ⲙⲁⲅⲉ) is a subject of correspondence (277, 337, 362) and of a contract for its cultivation (85). In one case (353), 150 bundles of flax have been supplied to a correspondent who has spun it into linen yarn (ⲉⲣⲁⲁⲩ) and bleached it. In two other cases linen yarn is procured from outside the Monastery (355, 363), but there are four orders addressed to John, Enoch and Isaac for yarn (289, 350, 351, 372) doubtless woven in the Monastery, because instructions are given for its cleansing and bundling.⁴

Positions of
looms in the
monastery

The positions of eight looms were found in the Monastery of Epiphanius and one in the Monastery of Cyriacus. In the Original Monastery there was one in the third portico entrance of the Tomb of Daga (Fig. 25, A), and one by Entrance C against the Boundary Wall (B); in Cell A, one in the Vestibule (C), and another inside the tomb passage; and there were three in the tomb passage of Cell C. All were against a wall, leaving only a narrow space for the warp-beam and hence they may have been merely for tape weaving (see p. 71), like the modern gimp looms in the Hâret er Rûm, Cairo.

Loom pits
(Plate XXI)

Since the looms themselves, although heavy, were portable,⁵ today nothing remains of

¹ Note the acacia pods found in Cell A for dyeing (or tanning), mentioned above on p. 61.

² From the Coptic Monastery in Deir el Medîneh, Baraize (*Ann. du S.* xiii p. 41) lists a weaver's comb (43657), a spindle (43658) and a ball of thread (43666) and the directions to weavers or tailors have been noted above on p. 9. All go to show that weavers and spinners

were at work there also.

³ The monastery mentioned on p. 24 above. The spindles in the Metropolitan Museum from it are nos. MMA, 14.1. 470-476.

⁴ Other mentions of ⲉⲣⲁⲁⲩ are 529, 530, 569.

⁵ Two camels are to be sent for the transport of a loom (352), and another appears in an inventory of chattels (558).

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them except their treadle pits dug in the floors. These pits are brick lined, and from 60 to 100 cm. deep, from 125 to 145 cm. long, and 50 to 75 cm. wide, with a narrow slot alongside 200 cm. in length and from 20 to 25 cm. in width. The operator's seat (s) is on the floor level (or very little below it in A) at the right-hand end of the pit. Seated there his right foot is in the pit (or on the little step in A), and his left foot is on the treadle working in the slot. The fulcrum to which the fixed end of the treadle was attached is a round stick or pair of sticks set into the masonry crosswise at the near end of the slot, close to the bottom (e). In one case (A) the bit of palm rope with which the treadle was attached to the fulcrum can still be seen. In this same loom there is an additional cross piece 30 cm. in front of, and 5 cm. above, the fulcrum (e'), and two others arranged symmetrically at the opposite end of the slot (e'', e''', the latter broken off). The end of

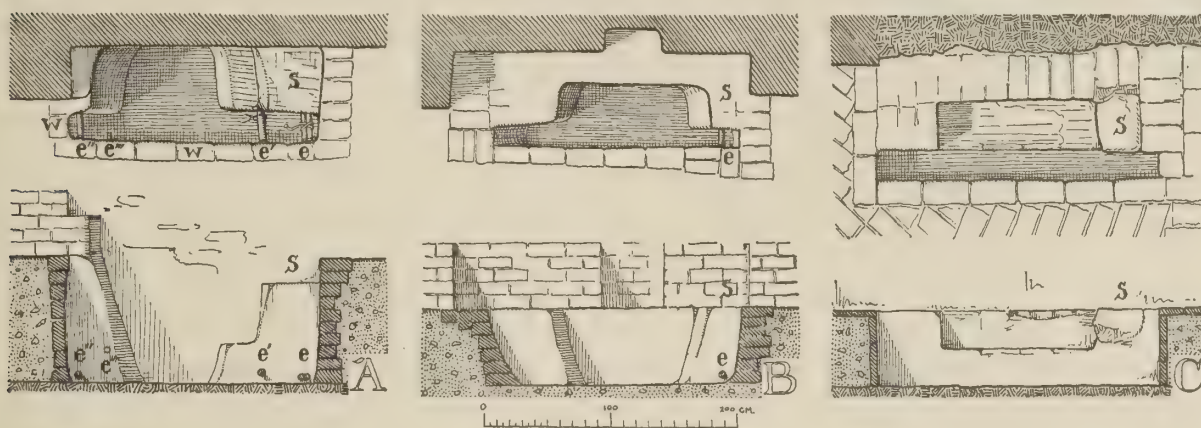


FIG. 25

LOOM PITS: A, PORTICO OF THE TOMB OF DAGA; B, NEAR ENTRANCE C OF THE BOUNDARY WALL;
C, VESTIBULE OF CELL A

the slot opposite the seat in the first loom appears to be worn in a vertical arc as though by the end of a treadle which was too long for it, and there are clear signs of wear on the brick coping (w-w). B, only, has provision for a wide warp-beam.

The striking feature of the loom for which these pits were made is the application of foot-power, which presupposes a heddle suspended by a harness from the loom frame. Such looms are used today in the Egyptian towns—the *bedawîn* have retained a more primitive apparatus—and one can still find an old Copt who lives not two hundred yards from the ruins of the Monastery, sitting in a pit under a loom which probably differs but little from those of his 7th century ancestors.

Our knowledge of the dynastic loom is reasonably full. The working of the very simple, Middle Kingdom, horizontal loom is fairly clear thanks to ancient models as well as tomb paintings,¹ and the vertical loom which appears immediately after the Hyksos invasion is shown in a few drawings.² Of both we can safely say that they did not have harnessed

Foreign im-
provements to
the loom

¹ Winlock in *Ancient Egypt*, 1922, p. 71.

² H. Ling Roth *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms* pp. 14 ff.

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heddles nor were they worked by foot. However, since there is an almost total absence of documents on the loom from the XVIII Dynasty to Roman times, we cannot say definitely that such devices were unknown in late dynastic times. There is, however, a strong probability that they were not, because they never existed in Greek looms.¹ On the other hand harnessed heddles worked with treadles seem to have existed at a very early period in the Far East, where they are still commonly found on the primitive looms.² For elaborate brocade weaving, the Chinese had developed looms with multitudes of harnessed heddles, and this device seems to have been adopted in Alexandria by the 1st century

A.D.,³ doubtless with the silk crafts just being introduced from the Far Orient. The treadle for working a harnessed heddle by foot probably came to Egypt at about the same time and must be accounted still another innovation of the Roman Period.

Among the miscellaneous wooden objects found, there were several that came from the surroundings of the loom pits and which may well have been parts of the looms themselves. Among the most probable are wooden toggles from 6 to 14.7 cm. long, with linen cords still tied to them; and a great number of pegs with largish heads, from 5.5 to 15.5 cm. long, in two cases with a hole drilled through the lower part (Fig. 26, A); a peg 27 cm. long with a catch at the top (B); small thin wooden ovals averaging $9.5 \times 3.0 \times 0.4$ cm. in size with an iron pin driven into each side; and finally the notched end of a wooden spindle or bobbin 3.1 cm. wide and only 0.4 cm. thick.

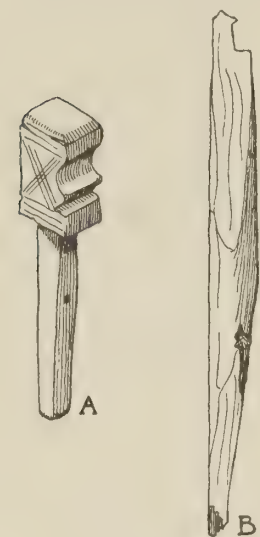


FIG. 26
WOODEN PEGS, POSSIBLY
FROM LOOMS. SCALE 1:4

Linen cloth (ⲉⲕⲟⲥ)⁴ figures largely in the affairs of the anchorites. Frequent requests are made that they send it to their correspondents (279, 357, 359, 361) and two such orders are addressed to that Ananias and Isaac who appear to have lived in Cell C where there were three looms. Judging from the numbers of looms existing all through the Monastery, most of this cloth ordered was doubtless woven on the spot, but there is one case of its being woven elsewhere (367) and another case of a man apparently hired to weave (329)—though as this was in Cell A he may have worked at the looms there.

All of the fabrics found were of the simplest weaves. The grave sheets (see above, p. 48) give a loom width between selvages of about 75 cm. and a shirt from Grave 8 was of cloth

¹ Roth *ibid.* pp. 30 ff.; Johl *Webestühle der Griechen und Römer* pp. 35 ff.

² Cole *Weaving*, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Roth *Primitive Looms*, in *Journ. Royal Anth. Inst.*, 1916. According to Roth, the pit treadle loom is an importation from Asia and is found only in eastern Africa (*loc. cit.* 63, 64, 150).

³ Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii 196; cf. Mart. xiv 150) describes an Alexandrine fabric, *polymitus*, in the weaving of which many heddles (μῆτοι) were used. *Dimitus* (*bilix*), *trimitus* (*trilix*) were the simpler weaves. *Polymitus* or brocade weaving had reached Central Asia before the 1st century

B.C. See Dimand *Ornamentik d. ägypt. Wollwirkereien* p. 26.

⁴ When ordered by measure or price ⲉⲕⲟⲥ can be understood as "pieces" or "bolts of linen cloth" just as they came from the loom (279, 357, 361, 369). Elsewhere it is mentioned by pairs (354, 356, 522) when we may assume that it is "linen grave sheets"—much the same thing. Occasionally ⲉⲕⲟⲥ may signify garments, as in English one speaks of one's "linen," meaning linen garments or perhaps table- or bed-linen. Occurrences of ⲉⲕⲟⲥ not cited above are: 284, 359, 364, 476, 537. In 458 may perhaps appear "2 garments of ⲉⲕⲁⲥ."

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125 cm. wide, fringed on both selvages. One set of grave cloths (Grave 10) and this shirt were of white linen with an occasional blue woolen weft. A piece of white linen cloth from the Monastery of Cyriacus, of a very coarse weave (4 warps and 13 wefts per cm.) was given a striped effect by raising the warps nos. 2-4, 6, 8-10, 12, 14-16, &c., together for every second shot of the weft—an example of the *τρίμιτος* of classical authors. These were the only types of decorative weaving found, nor were there any woolen fabrics discovered. There was, however, one piece of very coarse hair cloth from the Monastery of Cyriacus.¹

The shirt just mentioned was a simple square garment made of two pieces of linen measuring 125×125 cm., sewn together across the shoulders, with an opening for the neck left in the middle.² The bottom was hemmed front and back, but the two sides which were the fringed selvages of the cloth, do not seem to have been joined. Down the center, front and back, were two narrow blue woolen bands 20 cm. apart.

The weaving of woolen shroud tapes (*κειρίαι*, Fig. 27) would have been just that sort of simple occupation which one can readily picture as occupying the time—but hardly the minds—of the monks.³ The loom required⁴ must have been of a narrow type, designed to take only a dozen, two-ply woolen⁵ warp threads, dyed red and white, or red, white and brown. A bobbin with a white weft thread was woven back and forth making a ribbon which was vaguely striped, from 1 to 1.5 cm. wide and of considerable length. When finished the ends of the warps, to a length of 15 to 20 cm., were twisted into a cord and knotted. They probably had no use in daily life and were made especially for the grave.

Fish nets of linen twine were found with meshes from 5 to 40 mm. wide. Net making was probably an occupation at the Monastery, for in the rubbish under the floor of the First Tower there was found, together with a broken net with large mesh and a 5 mm. cord edging, a quantity of linen twine suitable for net making and repairing.

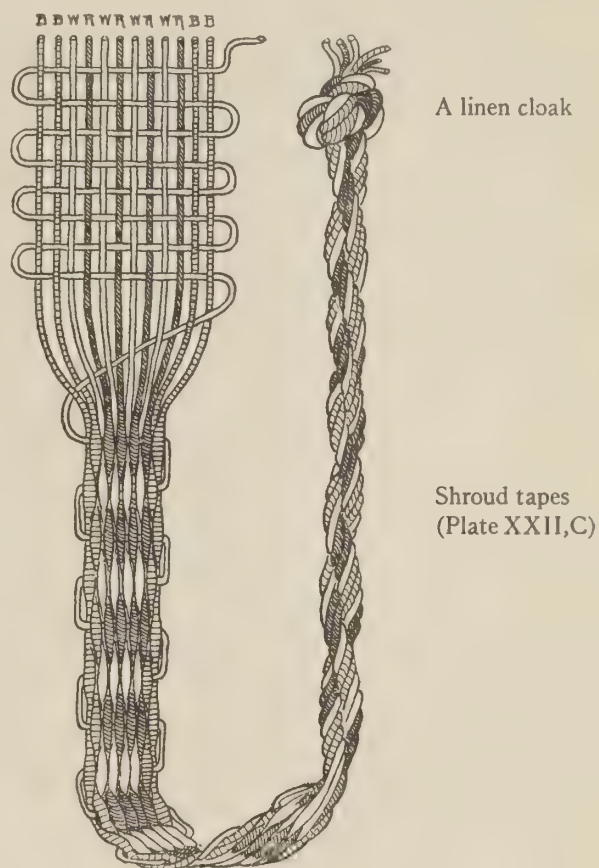


FIG. 27
DIAGRAM OF SHROUD-TAPE
WEAVING. SCALE 2:3

Net making
(Plate XXII, B)

¹ Cf. notes on *ⲭⲁⲣ* under 364, and 438.

² See the suggested translation of the directions for shirt making in the monastery at Deir el Medīneh, on p. 9 above. If, in the measurements there, the digit was 1.85 cm. (= .73 inch, cf. Petrie *Encyclopaedia Britannica* xxviii p. 483), this shirt is almost exactly of the dimensions of the small *ⲑⲁⲗⲓϥ* described there—125 cm. = 6 palms $7\frac{1}{2}$ digits \times 125 cm. + 125 cm. = 13 palms 5 digits here,

as against 6 palms 8 digits \times 13 palms 2 digits there.

³ However, while requests came to the Monastery for *κειρίαι* (354, 357, 532), the only definite references to their manufacture shows them as made elsewhere (348, 351). On such tapes see G. M. Crowfoot in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, 98.

⁴ Mentioned in 351.

⁵ Linen must have been used as well. Cf. 351.

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Ropes and
rope making
(Plate XXII, D)

The operations of the rope walk as shown in dynastic tombs and as practised today in Upper Egypt are absolutely identical.¹ We may infer, therefore, that they were the same in the 7th century A.D. The apparatus required is simple, and while we did not recognize any of it among the ruins of the Monastery, we found any amount of rope-maker's materials in the form of strands ready for twisting, especially around Cell A, and we were sure that there was some "blessed old man who wove ropes"² living there. And in fact among the correspondence found in Cell A there is a letter (II3) asking that three bundles of rope be sent from there.³

The chief materials used in making the ropes found at the Monastery were *ḥalfa* grass and date-palm fiber. The former was found about twice as often as the latter, and ropes made of it were generally heavier than palm ropes.⁴ The average thickness of 18 specimens of grass rope was about 2 cm. with an occasional rope of 4 cm. thick, which is about the size used on *sâḳiyehs*. Of ten specimens of palm rope the average was only 0.8 cm. with none more than 1.3 cm. thick. As a general thing the larger grass ropes were three-ply and the smaller two-ply and nearly all palm ropes were two-ply. Each strand itself was two- or three-ply when a strong smooth rope was required. There was a special two-ply palm or grass cord, rather loosely twisted, for mat making. Light, two-ply, flax cords 5 to 10 mm. thick were used for binding the edges of fish nets, attached to the toggles from the looms (?), &c. Hair cords three- or four-ply and 5 to 8 mm. in diameter were found also.

Materials and
tools for mat
and basket
making (Plates
XX, A-B;
XXIII, A)

The early anchorites of Egypt were skilful mat and basket makers and from all accounts they practised these trades industriously, even until the rasping palm leaves cut their hands to the quick.⁵ Bits of the raw materials from the rubbish heaps around the Monastery and the Cells are evidence that the members of the community of Epiphanius were no exceptions to the rule. Twists and hanks of *ḥalfa* and *summâr* grasses or palm leaf, palm fiber and pieces of reed were found, especially in the East Buildings and Cells A and B, and in Cell A were found three hand spikes which were probably used like large awls in splicing and weaving mats and baskets.⁶ One was a large, rough acacia wood peg, 27 cm. long, polished on the point from use (Plate XX, A); a second was lighter and better made, 14.7 cm. long and 0.8 cm. thick (Plate XX, B); and a third was of iron 22.3 cm. long and 1.1 cm. in diameter (Plate XX, B).

Sleeping-mats
(Plate XXIV)

The mats found at the Monastery were all made of *ḥalfa* grass bundles on 5 mm. cords of the same grass usually, but sometimes of palm fiber. Two complete mats were found, one on the floor of the Vestibule of Cell A,⁷ and the other spread over the body in Grave 8.

¹ Mackay *JEA*. 1916, p. 125.

² *Paralipomena S. Pachomii* §§ 29, 30.

³ Two letters from the E. Buildings (398, 438) deal with ropes, but not necessarily with ropes made in the Monastery.

⁴ A payment for *ḥalfa* (ⲕⲁⲙ) gathering (532) and perhaps an order for *ḥalfa* (334) are among the ostraca. See further, p. 155.

⁵ *Paralipomena* as above, §§ 16, 34, say that a mat a day was the usual task. The story of an old man chided by Pachomius for trusting in oil to cure his bleeding hands, rather than in the Lord, is told *ibid.* § 36.

⁶ Some of these may have been used in rope making.

⁷ Mentioned in Part II nos. 3 (where by mistake it is called "palm leaf") and 598.

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The former measured 177 × 70 cm. and the latter 175 × 65 cm. and an incomplete mat from Grave 9 was 72 cm. wide. These dimensions and the fact that it was the rule to place a mat in each grave suggests that they were for beds, and one is reminded of the sleeping-mats of palm leaf mentioned among the belongings of anchorites.¹

There are two fundamental types of weaving in the ancient mats from Egypt (Fig. 28). A weave (i) which appears to have been common in dynastic times² is made by laying bundles of reeds or grass parallel to each other and weaving through them pairs of cords which cross under and over each bundle. The edges are finished by bending the ends of the bundles around a selvage cord and catching them back into the next pair of cords. This is about the only way that a mat can be made of reeds, but for grass its disadvantages are that a warp can not be stretched during weaving and the finished product is full of minute

A dynastic type
of mat weaving
(Plate XXV, A)

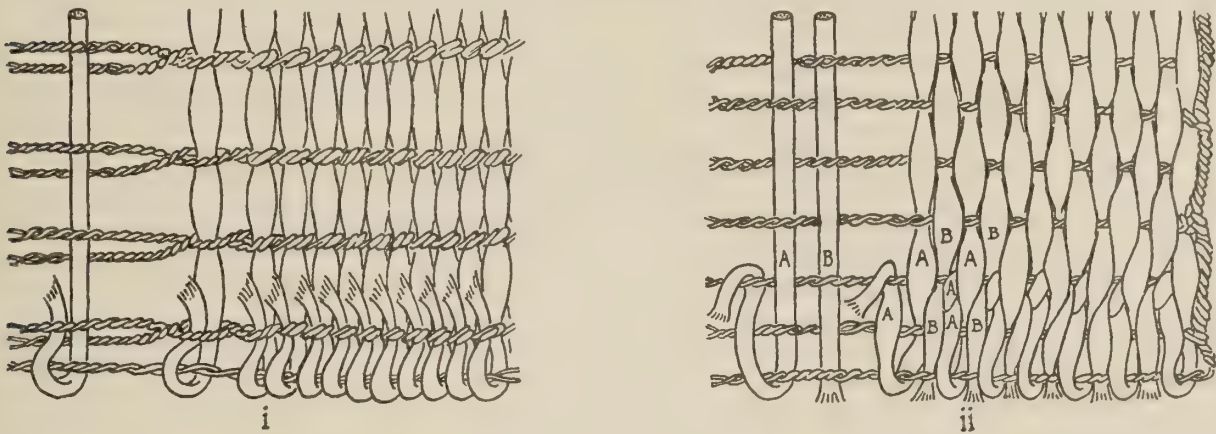


FIG. 28
GRASS MAT WEAVING : i, DYNASTIC TYPE ; ii, SIMPLEST COPTIC TYPE. SCALE 1 : 3

interstices where the cords cross. A few rare examples of this weave which appear to be Coptic were found, especially in Cell A.

The weave (ii) which was characteristic of all the rest of the Coptic mats of the Monastery, is an improvement on this. The cords are stretched like a true warp, either on pegs in the ground or on a loom, and the bundles of grass are woven into this warp like a weft. The selvage is made by bending back every alternate bundle (A) and hooking it under the third cord from the edge. The ends of the mat are finished off by twisting or weaving the warps together as in rope making. The fixed warps of this type are a great convenience in weaving and by beating the bundles in on them, closely woven, fine textured mats without interstices can be made.

The simplest
Coptic type
(Plate XXV, B)

The edging just described is the simplest one possible. Several more complicated knottings were evolved, all of them more secure and giving a more ornate border to the mat.

Selvage knots
(Plate XXV,
C-D)

¹ See references in Rosweyde's *Onomasticon*, s.v. "Psia-
thus." Mats for roofing are mentioned in 358.

² Grass mats of the same type have been found by us
in the XIX Dynasty tomb of Roma at Thebes and laid

between courses of brickwork in the pylons of the XXVI
Dynasty tomb of Mentuemhat. At Lisht in the XII to
XVIII Dynasties the type was not unknown.

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By far the commonest at the Monastery¹ is made by taking a bundle of grass (Fig. 29, iii, A) and wrapping it once completely around the outermost warp cord and then bending it back and hitching it about the next cord. The following three bundles (B', B'', B''') are twisted together into one large bundle (B) which is simply passed under the outermost cord and pinched in place by the knots on either side. An elaboration of this knot was used on the excellently woven sleeping-mat from Grave 8 where fine bundles of grass were used in weaving. In this case (iv), pairs of bundles are twisted together near the edge (A', A'', B', B'') and the second pair is brought back, wrapped twice completely around the outermost warp and then hitched around the next one. The sleeping-mat from Grave 9 was made of bundles of grass long enough to cross the mat twice. Here (v) two such bundles are started simultaneously from each side. Each crosses the mat, is wrapped completely around a double selvage cord on the opposite side, and then woven back to its starting-point. A fragment of matting from the East Buildings was woven with very fine bundles. In this weave (vi) alternate bundles are twisted together in groups of five,

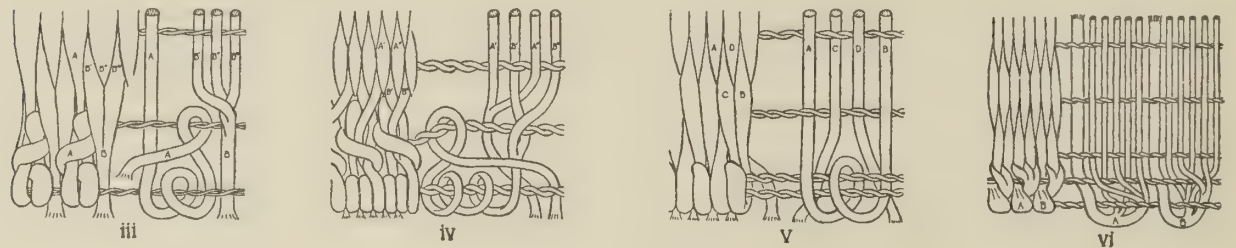


FIG. 29

TYPES OF KNOTS ON THE SELVAGE EDGES OF MATS. SCALE 1:3

and the resulting large bundles are passed under and over a selvage cord and back under the mat where they are cut off. The under side of such a mat is thus covered with unwoven grass which makes it of double thickness and very springy. A similar scheme is still used in the mats sold today in Luxor.

Basket weaving
(Plate XIX,
C-E)

Palm-leaf work-baskets have been mentioned above. They appear to have been made especially in Cell A, for strips of plaited palm leaf were found from 3 to 5 cm. wide or, of very narrowly split leaf, only 2 cm. wide. From Cell B came other strips plaited over palm-fiber cords. The better and stronger work-baskets (Plate XIX, D) were made of such strips. The lighter and less durable type—like the modern one—was plaited directly from top to bottom in one operation (Plate XIX, C). Little baskets only 22 cm. wide and 5 cm. deep were made in this second way, occasionally with a round foot beneath. A small string purse was plaited similarly, starting from an iron ring for a foot.

Coiled grass baskets seem to have been common, but only fragments were found and it was impossible to tell them from those from the nearby dynastic tombs. Round and

¹ Baraize informs us that he found it also on mats in the very early mosque over the Nectanebo portico at Denderah.

TEXTILES, WEAVING AND MAT MAKING

oval, coil-woven baskets, often of large size, are found in dynastic cemeteries and this manufacture remains one of the chief occupations from Esne to Nubia.

In the documents from the Monastery, baskets are put to various uses. When they were intended for carrying wine-jars (90) or bread (280, 531, 537?; see also below, p. 155 n. 1) they were probably of the palm-leaf work-basket type described above. When for offerings (547) or papyri (548) they were presumably of the lighter, coiled grass weave.

There is a type of little broom or brush which is frequently found on dynastic sites¹ and was still very commonly used in the 7th century A.D. They were made, usually, of *ḥalfa* grass, or for large brooms up to 40 cm. long, of split palm leaf. The grass or palm leaf is gathered into bundles which are doubled over and lashed together with cord, making a handle about 5 cm. thick. When a flat broom, rather than a round brush was required, the free ends of the cord were tied tightly about certain of the grass bunches to keep them spread out.²

Brooms and
brushes
(Plate XXIII,
B)

4. Shoemaking and Leather Work

The shoemaker's was among the trades followed in the community of Pachomius at Tabennêse³ and sandal making and other leather work was done by the followers of Epiphanius. Signs of the trade were evident everywhere. In the Lower East Buildings there were cuttings from sandal soles and pieces of lamb-skin tanned with the wool on them, which might have been thrown down from the East Buildings. In the latter we found a quantity of parings from hides.⁴ Under the floors of the First Tower there was a quantity of leather parings, many from the edges of hides, which showed that new work was being done in the Monastery. There was sole leather 5 mm. thick; soft, red goat-skin; very thin, soft, red kid, and a highly varnished, thin, black kid very much like modern patent leather. From Cell A there were leather cuttings and also acacia pods which, if they were not for cloth dyeing, had been collected for leather tanning. The varieties of red kid were practically the same thing as the "morocco leather" of today, but as the ancient Egyptians were makers of even finer colored leathers, it can not be said that the Copts had need of much instruction in the tanner's art from foreigners.

Leather work
at the
monastery

Only bits of worn-out sandals were found—there were no slippers or shoes discovered—and all were of the type with straps over the instep and a cord or thong between the big and second toes. The soles were double thickness and the ends of these straps were sewn in between the two layers. Most of the soles were stamped with small concentric circles and dots on the upper side.

Sandals

¹ Among other examples, *cf.* the paint brush from the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef found by Davies (*Five Theban Tombs* Pl. XVII).

² Crum has sent me an exactly similar broom of palm leaf which came from India, where they are used today for sweeping up floors in mills.

³ *Hist. Laus.* Butler § xxxii (p. 96).

⁴ From the East Buildings also came three letters about hides (380, 438 and 446) and an order to a shoemaker (371). In 368, from the rubbish S.E. of the Second Tower, there is a request for thongs—possibly for shoe-laces.

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Leather aprons
(Plate XXVI,
A)

The most interesting leather articles made on the spot were the soft, black, kid-skin aprons which were worn by the anchorites themselves. They appear to have been either a sort of badge¹ or the work garment of some trade, for the monks were often clad in them when they were laid in their graves, here as well as at Deir el Medîneh and at Deir el Bahri.² When placed on the bodies these aprons were suspended from the shoulders outside of the bandages (Plates XI–XII) and were belted around the waists under separate girdles. Presumably this means that they were worn thus in life. At the top they were wide enough (30–35 cm.) to cover the shoulders, and as they were about 85 cm. long they would go from the neck to the knees, between which would hang the fringed ends, 8 to 11 cm. wide. The upper corners were prolonged about 45 cm. from the center of the apron at each side, to serve as suspender straps, and as such would be long enough to cross over the back. Each suspender ended in a plaited leather cord (Fig. 31, D) which seems to have been fairly long and could have been tied around the waist or to the leather girdle.

Repairs to the
aprons

It would seem that these aprons were made in the Monastery. Certainly they were repaired there. Among the leather scraps found in the First Tower there was a piece of the red fringe from an apron; there was another fringe 30 cm. long from Cell A, and with it a patch of red “morocco” leather which had been sewn with thongs onto an apron. The apron from Grave 11 was repaired with this same red kid. On the bottom there was a patch 5 cm. wide with fringes 23 cm. long, and another patch above, under a tear, both sewn on with strips of red “morocco” leather 4 mm. wide. The apron from Grave 8 was patched with black kid-skin and the lower right-hand corner of no. 7 was patched with the same material and a torn fringe was sewn back with a leather thong. Evidently these aprons saw some rather hard use.

Pockets on the
aprons (Plate
XXVII, A–D)

Each apron had a small, shield-shaped pocket in the upper left-hand corner, inside as the apron was put on the bodies in the graves. The simplest of these pockets (no. 9) was merely a piece of leather sewn on with a thong 3 mm. wide. Another (no. 8) had a flap over the mouth, with a pair of thongs passing through piercings in the pocket to pull down and close the flap, and another, broader, thong to pull it up and open. The two most elaborate pockets (nos. 7 and 11, Fig. 30) were made of two pieces of leather, the back piece being long enough to make the flap. More complicated arrangements of thongs slipping through buttons of coiled leather were provided for closing and opening them.³

¹ White called my attention to the 5th century custom of burying monks in the *lebilôn* and cowl in which they had taken their vows (see *Apophth.* *Patr.* Phocas i = PG. 65 432 also Ch. vi pp. 150 ff. below). Possibly the apron described here is the *σχῆμα*, discussed by Crum, p. 151 below.

² In the Epiphanius cemetery five bodies remained, four of them with aprons. Since the fifth (no. 10) was plundered about the head and shoulders, it may also have had one originally. Baraize (*Ann. du S.* xiii p. 35), notes two with

aprons out of a series of nine bodies found at Deir el Medîneh (*cf. ibid.* Pls. IX and A). There is such an apron in Berlin (*Aegypt. und Vorderasiat. Altertümer* Pl. 34), either from Lepsius' dig at Deir el Bahri or from Passalacqua's at Deir el Bakhît. Finally Naville found similar ones at Deir el Bahri (EEF. *Report*, 1894–5, p. 37 = *Deir el Bahari* v p. 6).

³ D. R. Meldron Esq. informs us he has seen similar leather work in West Africa brought in by Hausas and Yorubas.

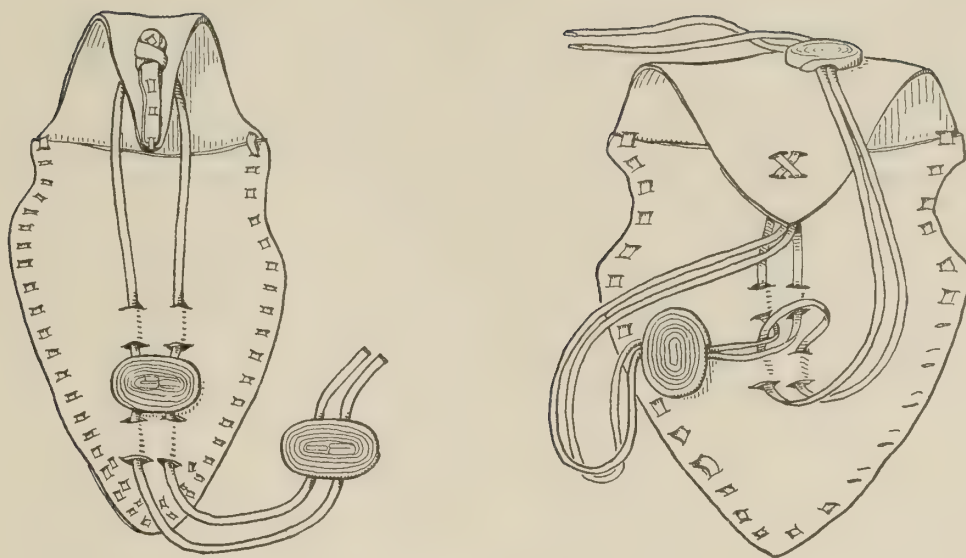


FIG. 30

POCKETS ON THE LEATHER APRONS FROM GRAVES 11 AND 7 (THONGS SLIGHTLY RESTORED). SCALE 1:2

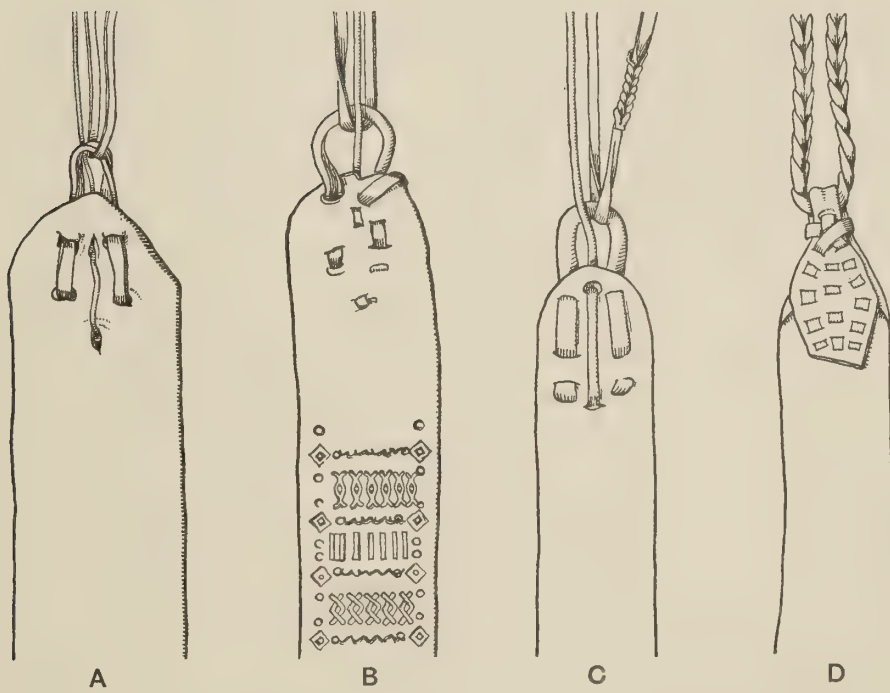


FIG. 31

A-C, LEATHER BELTS FROM GRAVES 7, 8, AND 9, AND D, SUSPENDER OF THE APRON FROM GRAVE 11. SCALE 1:2

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Belts or girdles
(Plate XXVI,
B)

A leather girdle was part of the monastic habit¹ and three were preserved in the Cemetery (Fig. 31). They were of stout, black leather 2 mm. thick and 3.2 to 4.5 cm. wide. Two (from Graves 7 and 8) were stamped on the outside near the ends with small tools.² Each end of the belt was provided with a heavy rawhide loop and a slender thong. The thongs were passed through the loops on the opposite ends of the belt and then both drawn together and knotted. Bits of a girdle 3.8 cm. wide, found in Cell A, were tooled or stamped on the outer side and had a fringe along the lower edge.

Book binding

Some of the finer grades of leather were adapted to book binding. It is true that no fragments so used were identified,³ but one of the inmates of the East Buildings was in correspondence about goat-skins which were to be used for binding books.⁴

5. Pottery Vessels

Ribbed
amphorae
(Plate XXVIII)

With wine-dealing playing such a large part in the lives of the monks,⁵ it is not surprising that the commonest pot on Coptic sites in Thebes should be the ribbed wine amphora. It is always made of the same very smooth-grained, soft, dark reddish-brown clay of a typically native quality, such as was often used at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, for bowls and dishes. The most characteristic feature is the treatment of the surface with close, horizontal, wheel-made ribbings. In the process of turning a pot on the wheel it naturally first takes form with a corrugated surface. The Coptic potter usually preserved this surface on all of his products but in the case of these pots an intentional effort was made to exaggerate them beyond the necessities of manufacture.

Shapes and
types

To attempt a hard and fast classification of types of the ribbed amphorae would be futile. There is such a progressive grading from one form to another that significant differences are hard to define. Only one rare form stood out clearly at the Monastery of Epiphanius (Plate XXVIII, 10). It was particularly characterized by uniform, shallow, rounded ribbings and a pink wash over the outside. The only complete specimen found was large (66 cm. × 21.5 cm.) and in common with all of the fragments with the same ribbing and pink wash, presents softly rounded contours, a narrow waist and a short foot, hollowed at the bottom like the foot of the *ḡâdûs*. None of the other amphorae have the pink wash, their ribbings are angular and overlapping like shingles, usually coarse at the waist and finer above and below, and their feet elongated. A certain number (Fig. 32) preserve the more or less rounded shoulders and narrow waist and the elongated proportions, their

¹ In the 4th century: *Apophth. Patr.* Macarius xxxiii; in the 7th century: Pereira *Vida do Abba Samuel* p. 140, both quoted by White in *Wadi 'n Natrân*. Cf. Crum *ut supra*.

² Athanasi *Researches and Discoveries* p. 102: "In a Christian Church at Thebes, we found a square case of simple exterior, in which was a corpse enveloped like those of the Egyptians; the only difference we perceived was, that the Christian mummies had a small belt, ornamented

with several red crosses. The body is in my house at Thebes." Presumably these crosses were tooled or applied leather.

³ Fragments of parchment which had been used as string-guards in papyrus books were found (2).

⁴ Cf. 380. A probable reference to a leather book binding is in 126.

⁵ See Part II Index VII, s.v. "Wine," and Chap. vi p. 161.

POTTERY VESSELS

heights averaging three diameters (60 cm. \times 20 cm.). Over half of the amphorae used at the Monastery, however, were more or less markedly conical. They were only twice as high as they were broad (averaging 50 cm. \times 25 cm.); had flat, smooth shoulders, and no defined waist contour. A suggestion of the waist is given, nevertheless, by the coarser ribbing in the middle which was characteristic of the narrow-waisted, elongated types, and it seems reasonable to call the conical amphorae degradations of the elongated ones.

Now and then an old amphora of this type might be used as a water-jar, for examples were found with a rope looped through one handle as though they had been slung in pairs, like the modern water-pots, over the backs of donkeys. There can be no question, however, but that their original use was for wine. Like the Greek wine-jars, the inside was coated with a black, resinous pitch to stop up the pores of the clay and thus make an air-tight receptacle in which it was possible to preserve wine during, and for a long time after, fermentation without danger of loss by leakage or of the entry of air which would sour the contents. That emptied amphorae were recoated with pitch before refilling, is shown by the fact that some examples, of which the necks were broken in removing their first stoppers, have this pitch smeared over the fractures. The stoppers, like the ancient dynastic ones, were of a tenacious mixture of black earth and chopped straw. A wad of vine leaves was rammed into the neck of the amphorae filling it to the lip¹ and over this the mud stopper was moulded roughly with the fingers, to a height of about 10 cm. When dry this formed an hermetically tight sealing.² For fermenting wine some outlet had to be provided for the gases which would otherwise have burst the jars. Hence about half of the amphora necks preserved had a small hole drilled into them with a metal awl or nail after baking. When the jar was filled, this hole was stopped with a wisp of straw through which the gas could escape but which probably prevented the reentry of air. Two of the stoppers themselves, both bearing the marks of the same vintner (nos. 19 and 33, p. 81 nn. 1, 2, below), were pierced from the top, evidently for the same purpose.

The almost universal way of labeling the contents of the amphorae appears to have been by impressing a seal or stamp into the wet mud stoppers—a method well known in dynastic times (Fig. 33). The stamps used were undoubtedly of wood, like the majority of dynastic stamps used for the same purpose.³ Most of them were roughly circular and from 4 cm. to 7 cm. in diameter. A few, bearing inscriptions, were shaped like an oblong label with tag

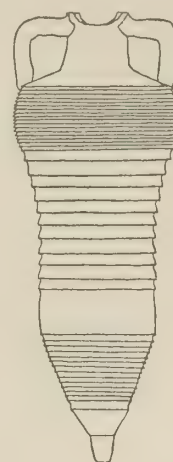


FIG. 32
WAISTED, RIBBED
AMPHORA
SCALE 1 : 10

Made for wine-jars

Resin coating

Stoppers and vents (Plate XXIX, A)

Stamps on the stoppers (Plate XXIX, B)

¹ A stopper of palm fiber bound round with palm cord was found in Cell A. This was probably from a water-pot, for exactly the same things are used in the modern water-pots.

² See the note under 253. In 549 a *τεζμε* (translated

"box?" but in 532, a vessel) here of bronze or brass, is "smeared and sealed."

³ A wooden stamp with the device no. 22 below is in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 10.130.1166.

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ends, 18 cm. to 20 cm. long and 3.5 to 4.5 cm. wide. Of the inscribed types, more than half were cut legibly in the wood and were therefore reversed in the impressions.¹ In most cases, if not all, the wooden seal was wiped over with a coloring matter which printed off

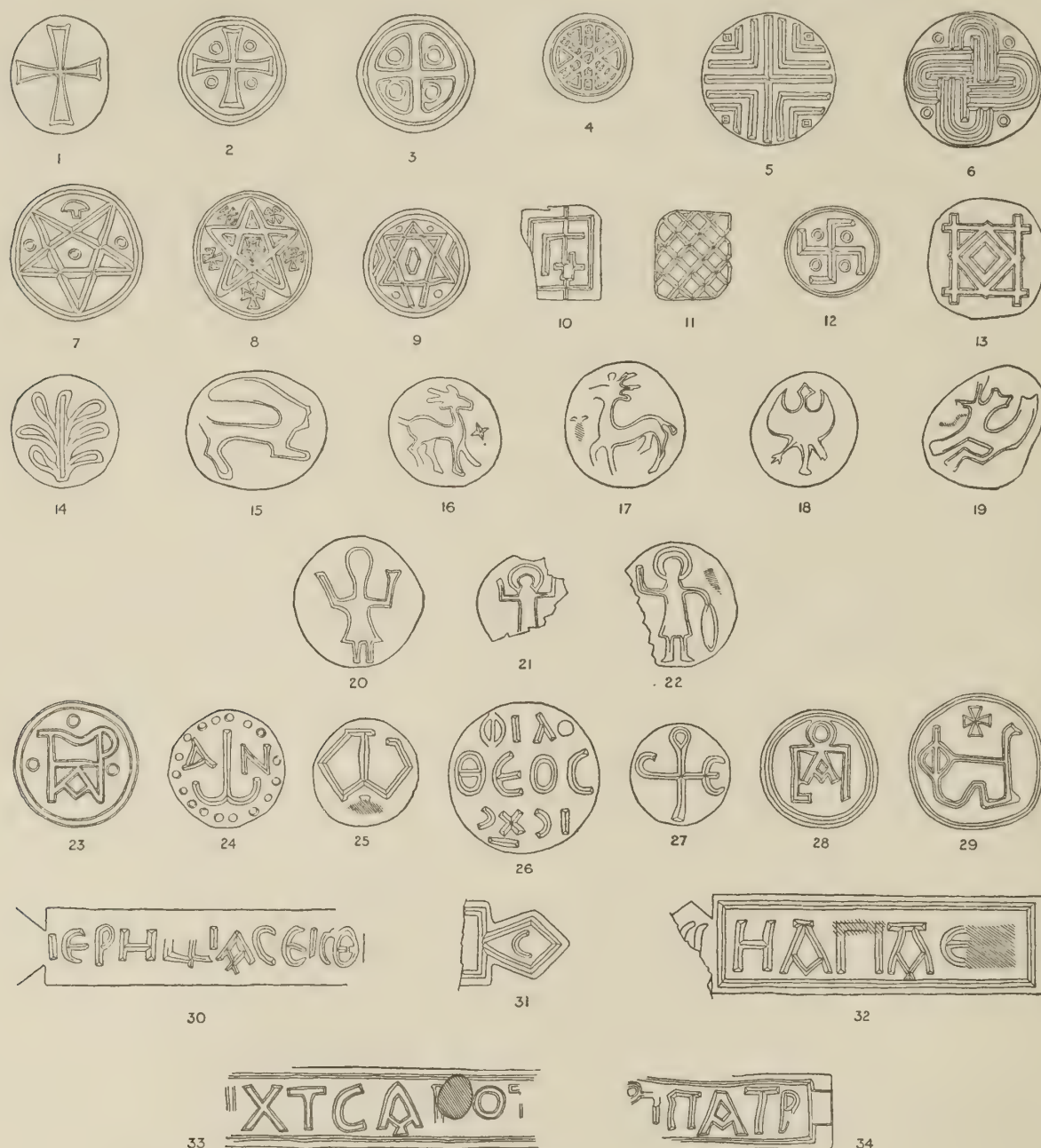


FIG. 33

STAMPS ON THE MUD STOPPERS OF RIBBED AMPHORAE. SCALE 1 : 3

onto the mud in the process of sealing.² White was used for this purpose sometimes, but red was found twice as often. Rarely, only the field of the stamp was reddened leaving the device of the impression standing out in the color of the mud against a red background. The impressions are found on the top or sides of the mud stoppers, sometimes on both.

¹ Nos. 24-27, 29-30 and 32 of Fig. 33. In copying, they were reversed with a mirror so as to be legible.

² Colors—commonly blue—were used in the XVIII Dynasty in the same way on wine-jar seals.

POTTERY VESSELS

Seven combinations were found of two different stamps on the same stopper, usually an oblong inscribed seal over the top, and a round conventional one on the side.¹ Of several types more than one specimen was found.² The series comes from all parts of the Monastery of Epiphanius, from Cell A and from the Monastery of Cyriacus,³ but only type no. 2 was common to all three sites and no. 6 to Cell A and the Monastery, and it would therefore appear that there were nearly independent sources of supply for the three establishments. In date they all appear to be contemporary.

Thirty-four devices were copied, and of these conventional designs make up four-fifths: crosses and their derivatives (1-6); stars (7-9); geometric designs (10-13); the swastika (12); a plant form (14)⁴; the rabbit (15)⁵; deer (16-17)⁶; the dove (18)⁷; an unidentified bird (19); an *orans* or a praying saint with halo (20-21), and a warrior saint with halo, shield and spear (22).⁸ Others were inscribed with those monograms, very popular in Byzantine times, in which the ingenious, but often forced, combinations of letters are almost impossible to unravel. Fairly clear are α ω (25); *μαρια η παρ*(θεος, "Mary the Virgin," 23); *παυλος* (28), and *χριστε* (27). No. 29 can perhaps be solved *φιη* for *φοιδαμμων*. Written normally are nos. 26, 30 and 32: *ις χς φιλοθεος*, *ιερημιας*⁹ *εις θεος*, and *η αγια* *θεοτοκος*. Philotheus and Jeremias may be the names of vintners, accompanied by pious ejaculations; Paul, of the monogram no. 28, may likewise be an individual, if not the Apostle, and Phoebammon may be the patron of the Monastery at Deir el Bahri.¹⁰

Devices

A further indication of the contents or ownership of the amphorae was sometimes provided in a short note written in ink on the shoulder near the base of the neck.¹¹ Often it is simply a single letter, usually *μ* or *β* (probably as the numerals 40 or 2), or combinations as *θα*, *φν* and *με* (Fig. 34). In one case (12) the label reads *κοι* for ? *κοι* = "small"; in another *ρεμες ευρα* (*ρεμες* = "ears of corn," *ευρα* = ?). But by far the greater number

Written labels

1 The combinations were 24-1; 34-10; 33-19; 30-26; 31-28; obliterated plant-17; and obliterated inscription-18.

2 Of no. 2: four, possibly representing three different wooden stamps; no. 3: two; no. 6: three, possibly representing two stamps; no. 8: two, possibly representing two stamps; no. 13: three; no. 22: three; and of the combinations nos. 33-19 and nos. 30-26: two each. These are from a series of fifty specimens.

3 From the Monastery of Epiphanius came nos. 1-3, 5-10, 14-20, 22, 24-28, 30-33; from Cell A nos. 2, 6, 13 and 21; from the Monastery of Cyriacus 2, 4, 11-12, 23 and 29.

4 The specimen shown is from a door (?) sealing but in form and technique it is identical with the amphora seals and it is probable that it was one made for jar sealing. What seemed to be a palm branch was on an obliterated seal with no. 17.

5 Common in Coptic art, on textiles and in foliage on mouldings.

6 Another common motive in Coptic art. Compare a book binding in Budge *Hom.* Pl. IV. As an early Christian emblem it may have reference to Psalm LXII or to the

solitary and pure life of the deserts and wildernesses.

7 Similar to Noah's dove with the olive branch in its bill on a stela from Kurneh (MMA. 14.1.459).

8 See also Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst* 7142, and MMA. 10.130.1166.

9 The flat *μ* suggests a northern (? Fayyûmic) origin (cf. p. 162), unless it be late (cf. p. 13 n. 1). (W. E. C.)

10 Anastasius Sinaita tells of oil-jars whereon saints' or the Virgin's names had been written to bring luck (*Oriens Christ.* 1892, 66). (W. E. C.)

11 Two labels are CO. 495, 496, and another in the British Museum reading *οινος ποτος*. Plate XXIX, A shows, in the center, the amphora neck with the labels *ηλιας* and *παυλος* written on either side of the handle. Fig. 34 shows facsimiles of other labels, all from ribbed amphorae except no. 9, *πρωτηω*—"the man of Edfû"—which was on a fragment of another, unidentified, type of vessel and is now in Cairo. Other labels from pots not amphorae were: on the neck of a small cooking pot, now in the MMA.—*υλωλ*; fragment of a pot of light red ware decorated with brown scrolls—*μακαριος*; fragment of an unidentified type of pot—*φνη*.

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are proper names of men: ἀπα μηχανῆ; ἀπα ψανς (7); πεβωψ; ἀπαρεας; θεο.....;δι.....; κολλοτθος; ισακ (3); ιακωβ (4); ηλίας and πατλος (6); ιωανν[ς] and ιακωβ (8)¹; εσαρας (1); επωπηχος (2), (the last two written in the genitive: εσαραουτς and επωπηχουτς).² Two unintelligible labels mention εζαιεας (10) and σεποτο[ιος] (11), and finally one is the name

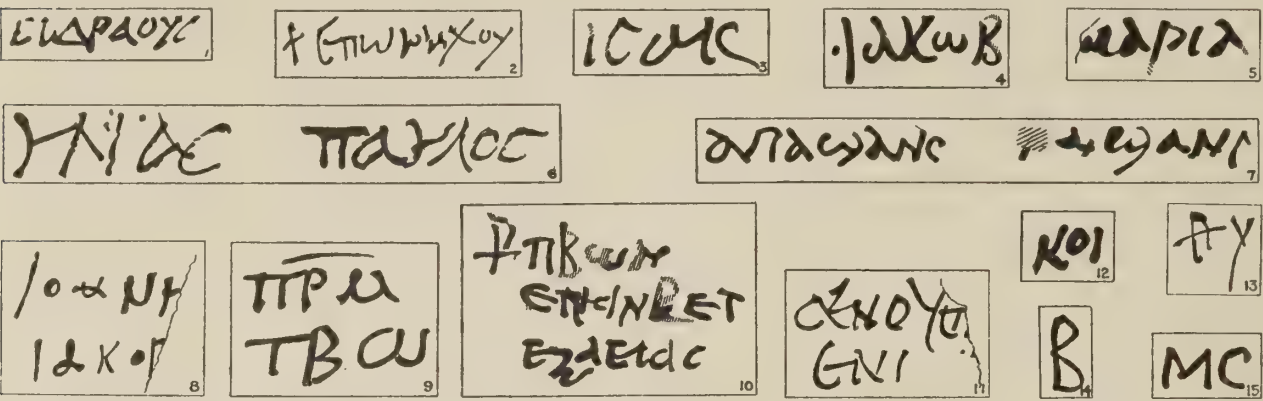


FIG. 34

LABELS WRITTEN ON RIBBED AMPHORAE

of a woman, μαρια (5). Almost all of these names occur in the documents found on the site as inmates or as correspondents of the inmates of the Monastery.

The largest amphorae used at the Monastery were of a type distinct in form and material from the ribbed wine-jars. The clay used was light brick-red, very hard baked, sonorous in quality and covered outside with a thin, hard slip variously noted as “dull drab,” “yellow,” “stone colored,” or “creamy white turning gray with use.” Only two complete

Large
amphorae
(Plate XXX, A)

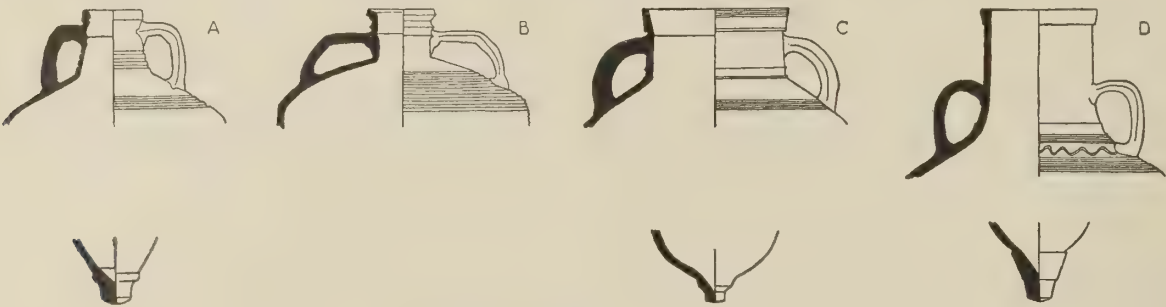


FIG. 35

TYPES OF LARGE AMPHORAE. SCALE 1 : 10

specimens were found—and they were badly broken—but fragments were scattered everywhere and a large proportion of the ostraca were on fragments of them. Of two types (Fig. 35, A–B) the necks were small, with moulded lips. Of two others they were wide, with vertical rims (C–D and Plate XXX, A). The foot in all cases was short and solid. The bodies of

¹ A third case of two names together preserved onlyιος andεος (ἅγιος ὁ θεός is not unlikely. W. E. C.).

² Another fragment preserved merely the genitive ending of a lost name.

POTTERY VESSELS

the two complete specimens showed that both narrow waisted and oval bodies were made, and that the heights ran from 80 to 104 cm. and the diameters from 30 to 40 cm. The decoration consisted of narrow ribbings on neck and shoulder, and comb marks on the bodies. String marks were visible on nearly all fragments, but they were hardly decorative. When these jars were ready for removal from the wheel, the potters had run onto them, with the last rotations, a number of short lengths of cord which bit into the still soft clay and supported it during drying.¹

A total absence of pitch lining suggests some other use than wine-jars for these amphorae. This is borne out by the fact that the necks of some were too wide for tight sealing over liquid contents. The suggestion is advanced therefore that many of them were for the carriage and storage of water especially since no large vessels were found at the Monastery better adapted to this work, so indispensable in Egypt.

Use of the large amphorae

A foreign origin for the amphora in Egypt cannot be demonstrated—unless indeed it be an importation of Hyksos times, in which case it is outside the purposes of this study. In any event it was commonly used for wine and potted foods from the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty, and at that time was even exported, presumably with Egyptian vintages, to Mycenae. Moreover not only were two handles characteristic of these dynastic amphorae, but the dynastic potter had long discovered that a pointed bottom enhanced the strength of his vessels and he often gave his amphorae a solid foot.²

The amphora type in dynastic Egypt

It is probably this very antiquity of the amphora type and its existence throughout the ancient world which has made it impossible to localize any of the varieties of the Roman amphorae to individual provinces. Thus on the Rhine, shapes are found common to Italy, and no local differences have been detected between North and South Germany.³ Again, so universal was the type that it underwent the same evolution both in the East and West. It has been suggested above that here the conical, ribbed amphorae were degenerations of the elongated ribbed types, and it is equally probable that the latter and the large amphorae were both derivatives from a common prototype which was elongated, slightly waisted and very little ribbed. The same development took place in the West. There, just such a prototype existed in the 1st century B.C.⁴ and the tendencies to exaggerated ribbing and the conical shape are as characteristic of its degeneration on the Rhine⁵ as in Upper Egypt. In short, while the amphora had been used in Egypt since dynastic times, its native traits had become merged and lost in the common types of the Roman world.

In the Roman Empire

It has been suggested that emptied, ribbed wine amphorae were used, and some of the

In Arab Egypt

¹ For this practice in dynastic times see Mace and Winlock *Senebtisi* p. 111.

² Not *primarily* for sticking it in the ground as stated by Walters *Ancient Pottery* ii, and Hölder *Formen der römischen Tongefässe diesseits und jenseits der Alpen*. The flat bottomed modern Egyptian *ballâs* always punctures at its weakest point—the bottom—but in this case strength

has been sacrificed to balance in carrying. The *zîr* which is not to be carried is egg shaped. ³ Hölder *loc. cit.*

⁴ Hölder *loc. cit.* Pl. I no. 8, Pl. II no. 2; Behn *Römische Keramik* Fig. 155. Scores of these lie about Pompeii and are to be seen in the Museums of Naples, Florence and Mayence as A. G. K. Hayter informed White.

⁵ Hölder *loc. cit.* Pl. II no. 4, from Regensburg.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

larger mouthed amphorae were made, for carrying and storing water. In fact, the latter amphorae are identical in clay, slip, comb decoration, and shape of mouth and handles with the *ballâş*, the universal water-pot of Egypt today. We even had some trouble in making our workmen save the ancient amphora fragments, so certain were they that they were only bits of their own broken *ballâlîş*. The only difference between them is that the *ballâş* has a broad, almost flat, base for balancing on the carrier's head. Hence it does not seem too much to infer that the modern *ballâş* is merely a specialized Coptic amphora—probably originally developed in the town of *naλλac*,¹ not far from Jême.

Water bucket
related to the
ḵâdûs (Plate
XVIII, B)

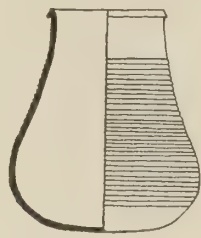


FIG. 36

WATER JAR OF *ḵâdûs*
TYPE. SCALE 1 : 10

A vessel was found in the East Buildings of the Monastery very like the *ḵâdûs* and, in a fragmentary state, easily confused with it (Fig. 36 and Plate XVIII, B, 5). It is of dark red ware, ribbed and showing rope marks; 30 cm. in height, 15.5 cm. at the mouth and 25.5 cm. at its widest. It has the same lip as the *ḵâdûs* but is wider and flatter bottomed below, and it has not the essential foot of the latter. Today a very similar pot is occasionally produced by the *ḵâdûs* makers to hold water, for which it is excellently adapted with its wide, easily accessible mouth and its center of gravity situated near the broad bottom. As a carrying vessel this same broad bottom makes it excellently designed for placing on the head, and thus introduces the special characteristic of the modern *ballâş*. It should be related to the *situla* or water bucket of which the *ḵâdûs* is a form specialized for the *sâḵiyeh*.

The term
"Samian" ware

The term "Samian" ware,² while admittedly very loose, is a convenient designation for a subdivision of the classical *terra sigillata* fabric, and since it does not expressly connote a ware with moulded or stamped decoration, it is especially convenient in describing certain cups and bowls from the Monastery of Epiphanius. There had been a "Samian" ware in classical times, still commended in Pliny's day, and from it the name "Samian" had become for the Romans a generic term on all fours with our word "china."

"Samian" and
terra sigillata
wares in the
Roman Empire

In the 3rd century B.C. certain Greek potteries with relief decoration were imported into Italy and there imitated. Of these Italian imitations, that of Arretium was preëminent throughout the Roman world from 150 B.C. to 100 A.D. for dishes, cups and small bowls. The Arretine ware was a fine grained, hard baked, red paste resembling sealing-wax, with an alkali glaze; its shapes were borrowed from metal prototypes, and the decoration was moulded or stamped in relief—whence *terra sigillata*. By the end of the 1st century A.D. it had degenerated and been replaced in Italy and the West by provincial fabrics from Gaul and the Rhine which continued to be produced at least until the invasions of the second half of the 3rd century. These latter fabrics are the typical "Samian" wares of modern

¹ See 414 note.

² See Walters *History of Ancient Pottery*, Chapters XXI–XXIII; Dragendorff *Bonner Jahrbücher* xcvi p. 25, with the accepted classification of types, and its sequel, *ibid.* ci

p. 140; Déchelette *Vases de la Gaule Romaine*. Most of the field notes on the "Samian" types from the Monastery were written, and the relations to the Dragendorff types noted, by White.

POTTERY VESSELS

archaeology. Meantime the original Greek fabrics had been succeeded at Pergamum, Tralles and Kos by local potteries highly spoken of by Pliny, and it would seem that in the East there was a "Samian" ware developed which, while little known today, was closely related to and strongly affected by the western fabrics. The disappearance of the decorated *terra sigillata* in both East and West dates from the decline of pagan art after Diocletian and the coincident increase in the production of glass vessels.

Thus up to the 4th century A.D. there had existed throughout the Roman Empire a class of small vessels, similar in form and technique in all the provinces; made of a hard, close grained, red clay with a smooth lustrous surface; and shaped after the sharp and often angular profiles of metal prototypes. Since great freedom ruled in the shapes of most types of pottery under the Roman Empire, the fixity of the "Samian" forms is all the more remarkable. The choicest pieces were articles of an empire-wide export trade, but there were also the locally made imitations,¹ undecorated but keeping to the shapes of the imported fabrics. Often they did not have the true alkali glaze of the originals, but they imitated it more or less with as much of a lustrous surface as polishing and baking would give. Such local wares naturally survived long after the extinction of the original decorated "Samian" fabrics, and it is the Egyptian survival of the 6th century with which we have to deal.

In spite of the wide separation geographically and chronologically of this Coptic fabric from the Gallic and Rhenish decorated potteries, the Coptic maintains its identity with the "Samian" in material, in technique, and in an adequate number of relationships in form. The material, wholly unlike that of any dynastic pottery and different from most other Coptic types, is a fine grained, hard, well-baked, sonorous clay, reddish in color and suggesting the appearance of sealing-wax in the best specimens. The alkali glaze of the original wares is imitated in a slightly lustrous, red, iron-oxide surface wash. A purely dynastic Egyptian touch is seen in some of the bowls where the wash is applied to the whole inside but only to the lip of the bowl or plate outside. Decoration in composed designs is not found, but the stamped P or P monograms in many dishes are a distant reminiscence of it, and the roulette tooling of the earlier western "Samian" ware persists. Naturally, considering the lapse of time from the early 3rd to the late 6th century new shapes developed and old ones degenerated, and furthermore it is reasonable to suppose that there were some types in the East not common in Gaul. Yet the shapes of the Coptic ware not only maintain the general characteristics of "Samian" in being limited to cups, bowls and dishes less than 30 cm. in diameter with angular ridges and mouldings suggestive of metal, but in addition they conserve four or five Gaulish shapes very closely and a number more in recognizable adaptations (Fig. 37).²

Late Egypto-
Roman
"Samian"

"Samian"
ware at the
monastery
(Plates XXXI
—XXXII, B)

¹ Walters *loc. cit.* i pp. 533, 547.

² Besides the parallels between the Epiphanius and Dragendorff types about to be noted, Dragendorff nos. 33 and 49 are almost exactly duplicated by a cup from the

Monastery toward Ermont mentioned on p. 24, contemporary with the Monastery of Epiphanius. The cup is in the Metropolitan Museum, MMA. 14.1.477.

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"Samian" cups A-B. Straight sided cups. Of A one example was found under the floor of the First Tower, another in the Original Monastery, and four behind the retaining walls of the higher rooms of Cell A. Their average diameter was 14 cm. and height 8 cm. Of B there was one

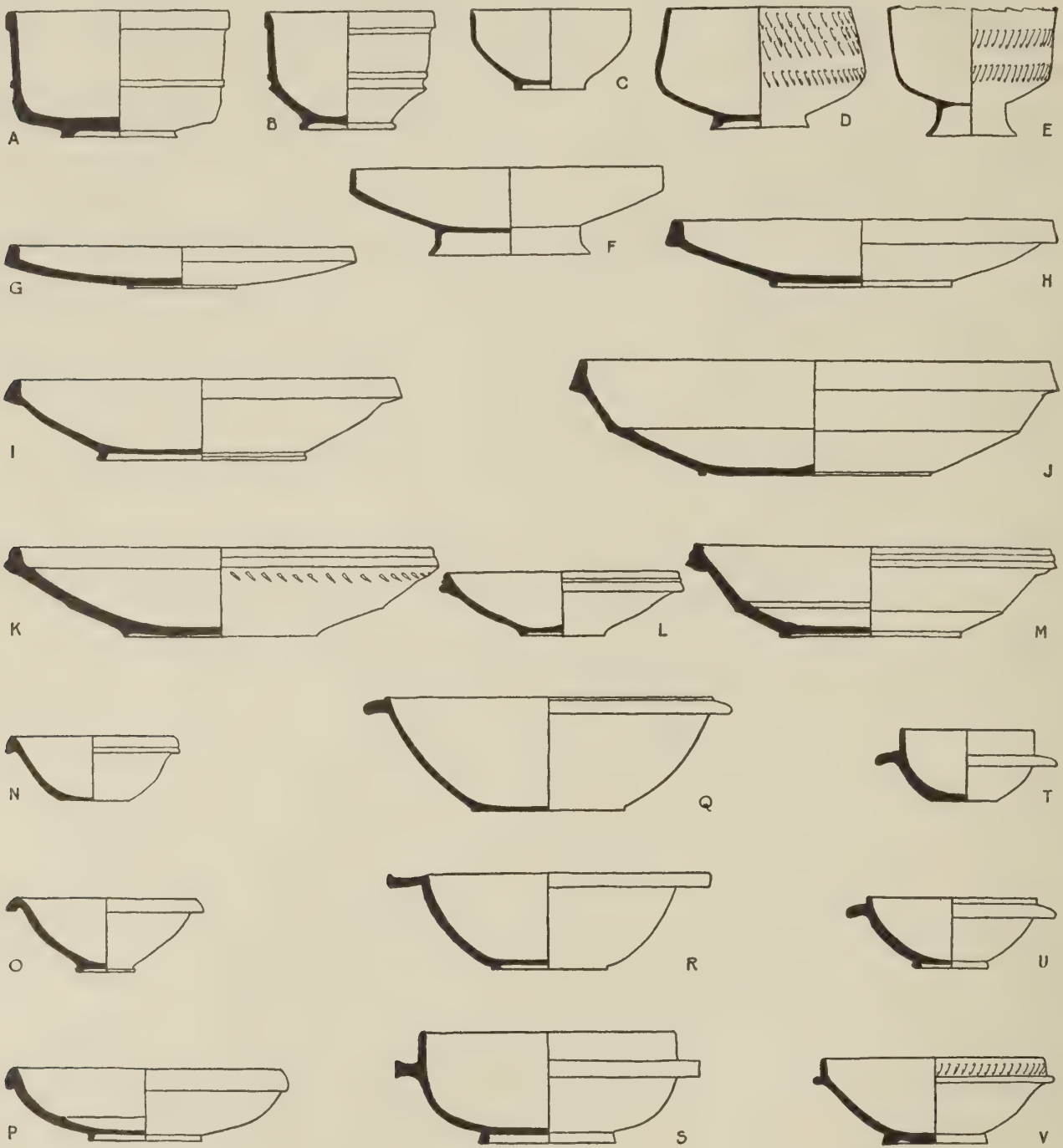


FIG. 37

TYPES OF "SAMIAN" CUPS, DISHES AND BOWLS. SCALE 1:4

example found with an unusually red slip, measuring 10.4 cm. in diameter and 7.4 cm. high. These cups are closely related to Dragendorff no. 30. That this shape should persist in 6th century Egypt, having been supplanted at the end of the 1st century in Gaul by Dragendorff's 37, attests the conservatism of Egyptian "Samian" ware.

POTTERY VESSELS

C-E. Hemispherical cups with feet. The commonest found was D, with two examples from the Monastery (one under the First Tower floor) and one each from Cells B and C. Its average size was 13 cm. in diameter by 7.5 cm. high. Of C and E there was one example each; C measuring 10 cm. in diameter by 4.5 cm. high, E 10.4 cm. in diameter. D and E have roulette tool decoration. Although they are far simpler, these three cups may be related to Dragendorff's 37 which lasted in Gaul as a very common type down to the extinction of the fabric.¹

F-G. Dishes with simple upright rims. Two examples of F were found in Cell C measuring 19.6 cm. by 5.4 cm. A single fragment of G was found in the Monastery giving the dimensions 21 cm. by 2.6 cm.

"Samian"
dishes

H-J. Dishes with solid, thickened rims. These were the largest of the "Samian" dishes, attaining a diameter of 30 cm. occasionally. They were also the commonest, sixteen examples having been identified in the Monastery (some under the floor of the First Tower) and in the outlying Cells. The surface wash was deep red, usually lustrous, covering the inside but frequently only the rim outside. The bottom often contained the monograms π and ρ surrounded by the roulette markings.

K-M. Dishes with solid moulded rims. These differ from H-J only in the moulding profiles of the rims, but it is in just that characteristic that they are identical with Dragendorff's 47.

N-P. Small bowls with turned down lips. Ten more or less complete specimens and numerous fragments were found in the Monastery and Cells, with diameters varying from 11 to 18 cm. The wash outside generally covered the rim only. The shapes suggest more or less the remote derivatives of Dragendorff's 35 and 36.

"Samian"
bowls

Q. Hemispherical bowls. Four specimens were found in the Monastery and Cell A with diameters varying from 13 cm. to 32 cm. Some were stamped inside like H-J.

R. Bowls with flat rims. Fragments of two such bowls 20.5 cm. in diameter were found in the Monastery. The type appeared in Gaul before the close of the 3rd century² and it is equally close to a pair of Coptic silver bowls in the Metropolitan Museum.³

S. Bowls with flanges. Two examples were found measuring 19 to 19.5 cm. in diameter. Outside the wash goes as far as the flange only. The form is as strongly suggestive of metal work as R.

T-U. Small bowls with turned down flanges. Two examples of T and three of U were found with diameters varying from 11 to 13 cm. They would appear to go back to Dragendorff's 38 as an eventual prototype.

V. Bowl with rouletted rim. An extremely common type at the Monastery, varying in diameter from 10.5 cm. to 23 cm. with rims varying from 1.2 cm. to 5.2 cm. high. The shape is Dragendorff's 24-25.

¹ Déchelette *Vases de la Gaule Romaine* i p. 192.

² Déchelette *loc. cit.* i Pl. V, 71.

³ MMA. 07.228.84-5.

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Pottery lamps
(Plate XXXII,
A)

Like the "Samian" pottery, the terracotta lamp shows intimate connection with the Roman world. In dynastic times the common domestic lamp was usually any small bowl or saucer, filled with oil in which floated a wick. Most of the Monastery lamps seem to have been equally primitive, for all over the site small cups were found only 7 or 8 cm. in diameter, and thickly encrusted with grease or soot (Fig. 38). However, the classical lamp was used too—though less frequently—and is represented by an elongated oval type with handle (9.8 × 5.5 cm.) decorated with the words *ταραχη* and *τιριχη* (*sic*) in raised letters on the sides, and by a round type without handle (8 × 6.5 cm.) and a frog or lizard on the top. The most interesting type, however, was an adaptation from the classical type,

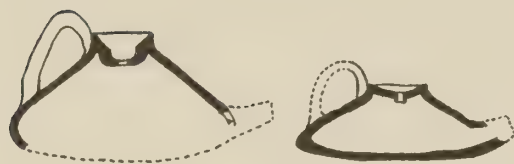
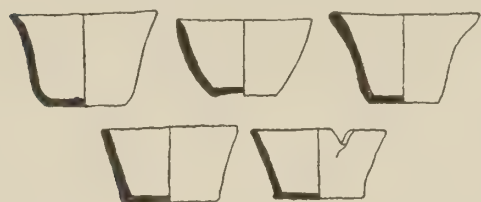


FIG. 38

LAMPS: ABOVE, BOWL TYPE; BELOW, TRANSITION
FROM CLASSICAL TO ARAB TYPE. SCALE 1:4

from 6.5 to 12 cm. in diameter (Fig. 38). It is deeper than the latter, with higher handle and more open spout and a noticeable rim around the oil hole. This is the transition between the classical lamp and that of medieval Egypt. Prolong the rim around the oil hole into a tall funnel, and lengthen the spout, and one has the glazed lamps of Fostât.

Plates, platters and dishes were very commonly made of a light colored, pinkish clay with a yellowish pink slip. The clay is of an excellent texture and the technical processes of mixing, applying the slip and

Painted dishes
(Plate XXXIII)

firing were the same as in the local "Samian" ware. These dishes were always decorated in dark brown, usually with an interlacing pattern and once with a bird in the center (Fig. 39).¹ Unfortunately none of these dishes was found complete enough to illustrate except one of a compartmented type from Cell A, known also from fragments in the Monastery (Fig. 40). This dish was 35 cm. in diameter turned on the wheel with a central bowl. Four circles were then cut through the broad rim and cups 7.5 cm. in diameter modeled in by hand. The decoration was of five-petaled rosettes.

Bowls in-
fluenced by
"Samian" ware
(Plate XXXIV)

There was a class of miscellaneous native bowls of local ware which we have grouped together (Fig. 41) because in some details they show vague suggestions of the "Samian" shapes. It would be going too far to say that there was a conscious effort to imitate "Samian" pots in any one of them. Rather it might be said that familiarity with "Samian" ware exerted a subconscious influence on their potters. All except F—which is a hard, cream colored clay—are of a coarse, hard red ware. E and J are very slightly ribbed; D and I originally had a crude—and now very indistinct—decoration of white lines and circles smeared on. B and H had been used for cooking and D was found in the oven in the West Court encrusted with soot.

¹ There is illustrated on Plate XXXIII B a dish of this class (except that the slip is red and the decorations in white as well as dark brown) found by Theodore M.

Davis in the contemporary anchorite's cell, Site XVIII. The decoration is composed of rosettes and fishes. MMA. 14.6.222. Diameter, 50 cm.



FIG. 39
POTTERY DECORATIONS. SCALE 1:3

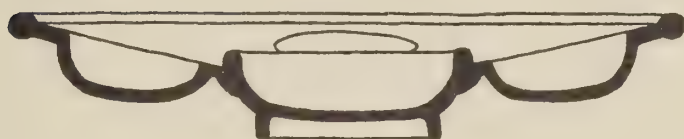


FIG. 40
SECTION OF COMPARTMENTED DISH. SCALE 1:4

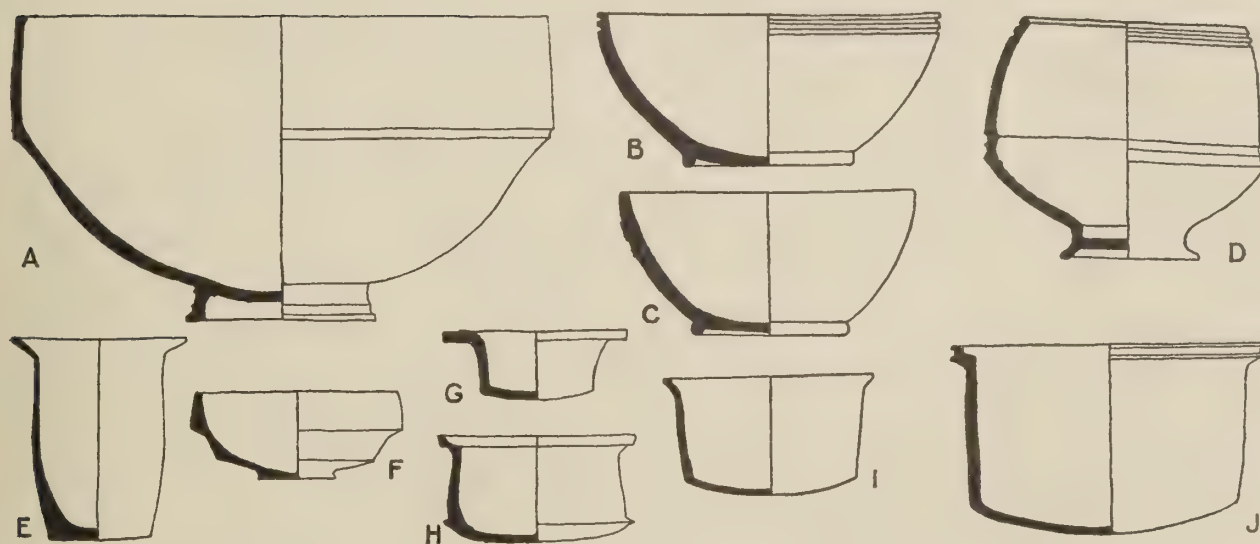


FIG. 41
TYPES OF BOWLS INFLUENCED BY "SAMIAN" SHAPES. SCALE 1:4

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Cooking pots
(Plate XXXIV)

The cooking pots of the Monastery were of the same tough red clay as the cooking pots of the same locality today (Fig. 42). In fact, even if they had not been liberally coated with soot, one could have guessed their use. All were ribbed, though on some the ribbing was very slight. A very common type was a flat pan from 20 to 25 cm. wide and comparatively shallow (A-E). A stew pot like the modern *hilleb* (F) was of a fairly light colored

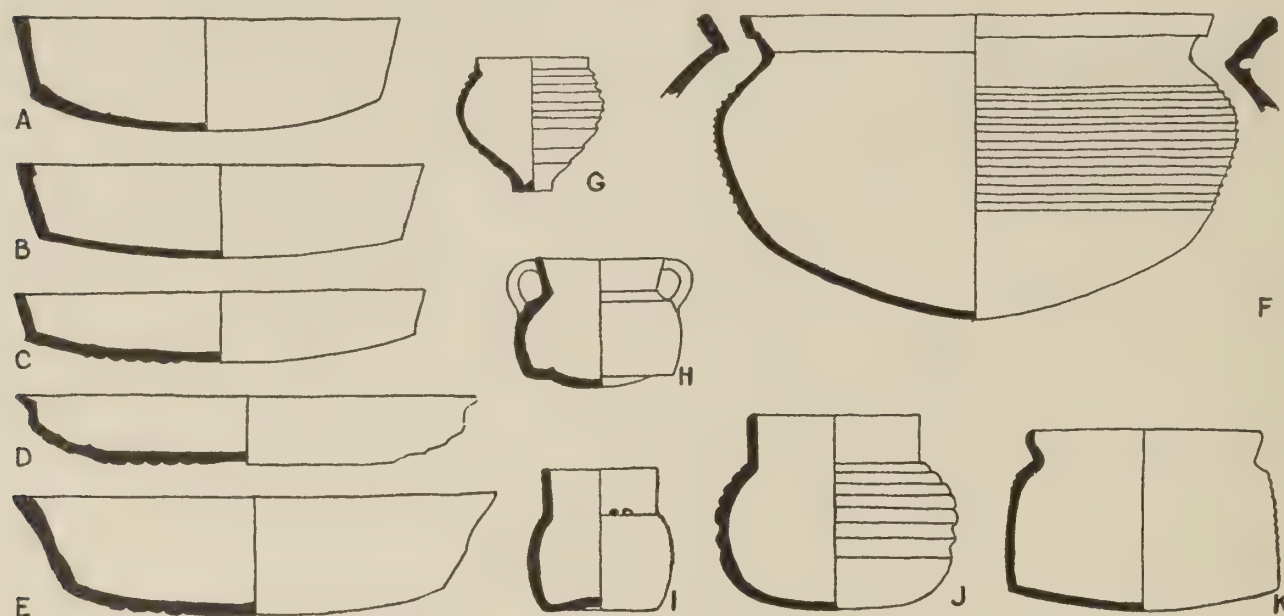


FIG. 42

COOKING POTS. SCALE 1:4

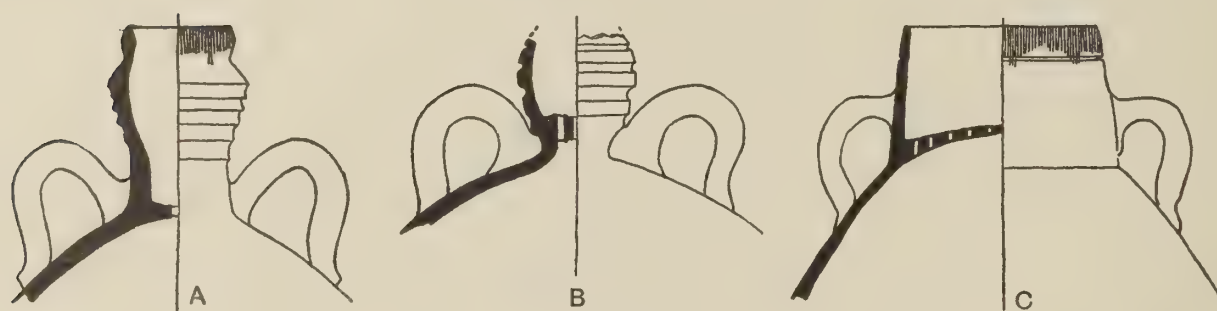


FIG. 43

NECKS OF WATER BOTTLES—*kulleb*. SCALE 1:4

clay and well made, with thin sides for a pot of 25 cm. or more in diameter. Bits of the characteristic rims were found everywhere.¹ A variety of small pots with flat bottoms to balance well over the fire (H-K) were common, and necks and handles from slightly larger pots than H were found.

Water bottles,
kullebs

Vessels of porous clay which allows a little water to seep through to the outside will keep comparatively cool by surface evaporation. An excellent clay for such vessels is found in

¹ Complete examples found by Theodore M. Davis near the paths leading to the Valley of the Kings and

at Site XVIII are in the Metropolitan Museum, nos. 14.6.225-6.

POTTERY VESSELS

Upper Egypt near Keneh where it has been worked since dynastic times. Several of the water bottles of the Monastery were made of this ware (Fig. 43, A), and some of a slightly harder and redder ware (C). Others of very inferior porosity were made of the local coarse red ware with a white slip on which a crude spiral or flower decoration was painted (B). While their shapes are scarcely suggestive of the modern *kulleh* they have the prime characteristic of the latter and the thing which has given it its name—the sieve diaphragm in the throat, which keeps out the flies and makes the water gurgle as it is poured out. In the type C, with its mouth from 7 to 10 cm. wide, the sieve is pierced with a multitude of holes.¹ A few centuries later the *kulleh* makers of Fostât were punching and cutting these holes in most delightfully lace-like and intricate designs. The dark brown glaze on the mouths of these bottles was smoother for the drinker's lips and cleaner than the porous clay itself.

Small tubs of coarse red ware were found, in diameter from 30 to 50 cm. The straight sides converged, and the bottom was absolutely flat. None was found complete, but the

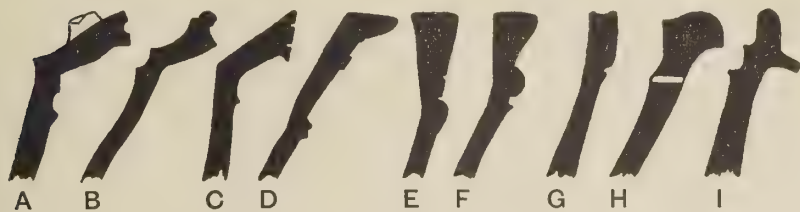


FIG. 44

SECTIONS OF THE RIMS OF POTTERY TUBS. SCALE 2 : 5

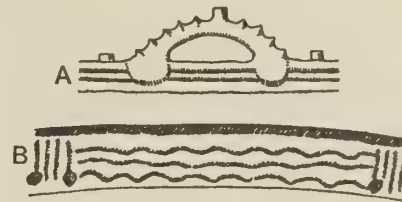


FIG. 45

HANDLE AND PAINTED RIM OF TUBS

characteristic, ornate rims were found nearly everywhere (Fig. 44). Occasionally a rim was pierced for a cord handle (H), but more often the handles were of twisted clay or they were of clay knobbed and spined on the upper side (Fig. 45, A). An almost obliterated decoration of crude white spirals, of white stripes and black spots could be detected on them, inside and out, and flat rims like A and C (Fig. 44) were given a white wash and roughly painted with wiggly black lines (Fig. 45, B). A single example was found of a tub of a whitish clay with a red surface wash.

A large vessel used for melting some sort of pitch had sides 2 cm. thick and a spout 35 cm. long.

Two types of painted pottery were represented by numerous fragments but by no complete examples. One type was a jar of red ware (Fig. 46) with a white slip on which a barbarously crude design of lines in dark brown and light red was applied. Once this design included a gazelle (Fig. 39). Related to it are some shapeless little hand-made pots with handles and false snouts and a similar decoration. Rims of another type of

¹ This type was found at the Monastery of Jeremias; see Quibell *Saqqara* iv Pl. XLIX.

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decorated pottery were found (Fig. 47). Apparently these were broad, squat, two handled pots with mouths from 15 to 25 cm. wide. They had a creamy slip and dark brown line decoration.

Terracotta
pipes (Plate
XXX, B)

A piece of ribbed terracotta pipe has been mentioned as fixed in place in the granary of Cell A. It was 36 cm. long, though broken at one end, with a flaring mouth 18 cm. in

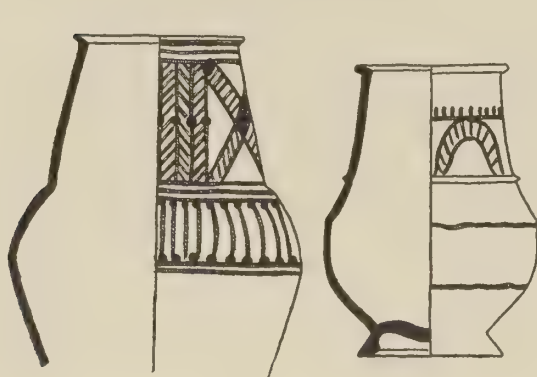


FIG. 46

DECORATED JARS. SCALE 1:5

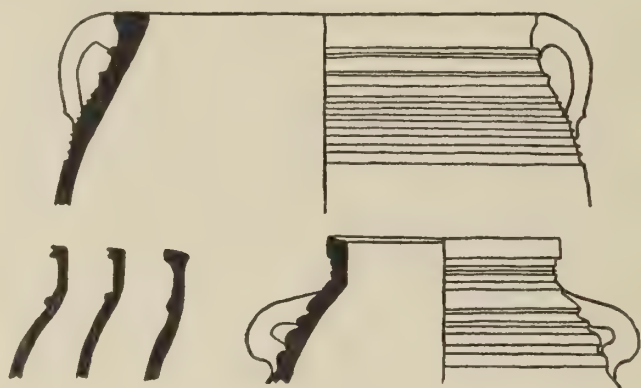


FIG. 47

NECKS OF POTS. SCALE 1:5

diameter and a least width of 13.5 cm. (Fig. 48, C). Possibly one end only was flared, and the narrow end of one pipe was introduced into the wide end of the next when lengths were joined. Another piece of pipe found in the same granary was 17 cm. in diameter, neither end being preserved. A straight piping 8 cm. in diameter and the sections, where complete, 50 cm. long, was represented by two fragments from the Original Monastery (D). Such pipe, but in shorter sections, has been found in Medînet Habu-Jême.¹

Pot stands
(Plate XXX, C)

The old dynastic pot stand existed as late as the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., for two were found in the granary of Cell A (Fig. 48, A-B). The taller was 49 cm. high and about 22 cm. in diameter at either end. It is of very dark red pottery with black bands painted on, but when found it had been completely whitewashed. The shorter was of coarse red ware, 25 cm. high and wide, with a rough, white zigzag painted around the middle in a way similar to the pottery tubs.

Miscellaneous
articles:
dippers, lids,
funnel

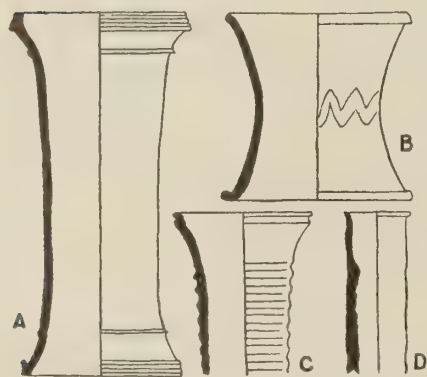


FIG. 48

A-B, POT STANDS; C-D, TERRACOTTA
PIPES. SCALE 1:10

The accessories of the larder and the wine cellar were often of pottery. All over the site were to be found the handles of dippers, ladles or saucepans. None was discovered intact but one from the monastery toward Ermont shows the contemporary shape.² It is 24 cm. long with a bowl on the end 9 cm. in diameter

¹ By Theodore M. Davis. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, nos. 14.6.229-31.

² MMA. 14.1.178.

POTTERY VESSELS

(Fig. 49, A). Jar lids of pottery had a spike or loop handle in the upper side (B-D).¹ A funnel 14 cm. in diameter was made of red ware with a white wash (E).

No attempts to identify conclusively the above pottery types with the names of vessels in the documents found on the site, have proved of great value so far. The citations are usually vague and often it is impossible to determine whether the “vessel” is of pottery or of metal, or what its form may have been. The generic name for “pot”—ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ, ⲙⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ—we have already noticed as applied to the water-wheel *kādūs* (p. 65 above), and it is equally applicable to wine-jars (101, 311). A more specific term for the latter, which may be the actual name of the ribbed amphora, is ἀγγεῖον (90, for wine; 113, for vinegar; 312 and 543). Elsewhere (340) the ⲉⲗⲉⲩⲧⲏ = ⲉⲟⲩⲧⲉ holds wine. The ⲉⲟⲩⲧⲁ of unbaked mud has already been identified with the λάκων (p. 52 above), and two other large vessels in which corn could be stored are the ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉ (532, but 549 of metal), and the ⲕⲉⲧⲱⲛ (?) (532, 543). This last from other sources is known to be adaptable for such liquids as wine and honey. The πίθος can be covered and serve for herbs (351), and the ⲕⲉⲥⲉ (551) can hold dates or grapes or serve as a well bucket—in which case it was probably of metal. This last use as a bucket recalls the metal κάδος (549) and ⲁⲣⲉ (449) which may be the ⲁⲣⲟⲩ (543), presumably of pottery. Any of these last four names might describe the water bucket noted on p. 64 above. The “Samian” ware articles may have gone under the names ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲉ, “bowl” (545); ⲭⲁⲛ, “cup” (543); ⲡίⲛⲁⲭ, “plate” (543); ⲭⲉⲥ, “dish” (543), and ⲕⲟⲡᾶⲥ, “dish” (544), but this last is often of metal. The ostrakon 543, from which come several of these terms, would appear to be an inventory of two or more camel loads of pottery sent to Jême. If so, the following also are names of pots whose shapes are not yet identified: ⲕⲡⲡⲉ, ⲕⲡⲕⲁ, ⲉⲩⲙ, ⲉⲱⲧⲁⲉ, and ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲓⲁ. Finally the “large ⲕⲟϥⲱⲛ” of 402 is a pot of unknown form.²

Coptic names of pottery types

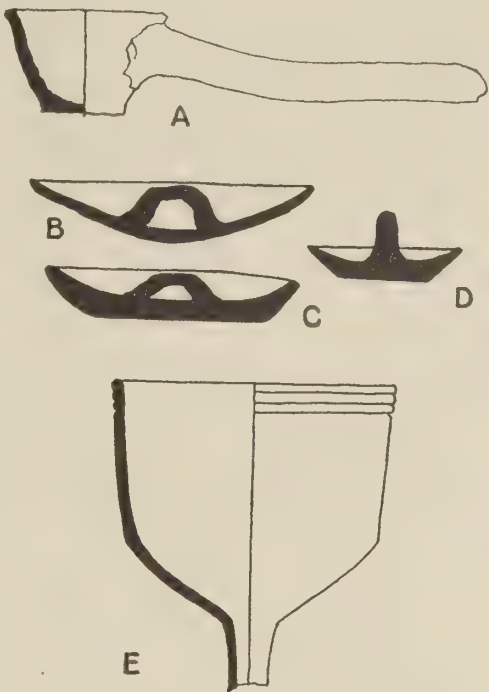


FIG. 49.
A, LADLE; B-D, JAR LIDS; E, FUNNEL
SCALE 1 : 4

6. Miscellaneous Objects

The monks wrote with reeds, pointed and split like old-fashioned quill pens, and it was curious to see that the taste of different individuals varied from pointed to stub nibs, just as they do today. The pens were made of reeds which averaged about 1 cm. in diameter.

Reed pens and writing materials (Plate XXV)

¹ A covering for the mouth of a jar of herbs is sent with 351. A wooden jar lid from Site XXII is mentioned on p. 20 above.
² V. Reil *op. cit.* pp. 38 ff.

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An unused, new pen—it had been split in making—was 26.5 cm. long (Plate XXXV, 2). The old pens had been resharpened so often that finally they were mere stumps less than 6 cm. long (no. 4) and one of them had been lengthened again by sticking a bit of wood into the end (no. 6). The native pen of today is identical (no. 1), and so were the Greek and Roman pens from the 3rd century B.C. onwards.¹ However, the dynastic pen was really a brush made by fraying out the fibers in the end of a very thin reed. The complete adoption of the split pen by the Egyptians may be safely related to the adoption of the

Greek alphabet for writing the Egyptian language, during the 4th century A.D.

The writing materials—papyrus and stone or pottery ostraca—are both of very ancient Egyptian usage,² but the binding of sheets into a codex or book is a distinctly Roman innovation of the 3rd century A.D.³

The anchorites of the Monastery of Epiphanius did not have what we might term highly developed esthetic feelings and the graphic arts did not tempt them often. There were, however, a few scraps of ostraca on which they had practised constructing the then very popular interlacing design (Fig. 50). Their attempts, often hopelessly confused, are interesting mainly as showing how the design was first laid out in rows of small circles. Since it is improbable that any pottery was decorated at the Monastery, presumably these attempts were made by scribes practising the drawing of the guilloche around a seal as on Papyrus no. 198, *verso* (Part II Plate III), or for the common decoration of the first and last pages of a quire.⁴ A lion—it would be most charitable



FIG. 50
SKETCHES ON OSTRACA AND IN
TOMB 3. SCALE 2 : 5

to call it an heraldic lion—was attempted by some monk with a bit of charcoal on a scrap of pottery, and what we may imagine to have been meant for Noah's dove was drawn by another with red ochre inside of Tomb 3.

There were quantities of fragments of glass vessels, especially in the Monastery itself and less frequently in the Cells, but none were recovered which could be reconstructed. Most were of an almost colorless, pale emerald tint. Darker emerald, brownish- or yellowish-green and ultramarine pieces were found often, while dark purples or browns were rarer. The yellowish glass with blue threads and drops on the surface so frequently found in the 4th century ruins⁵ was represented here by one fragment only. The shapes, when they

¹ Maunde Thompson *Greek and Latin Palaeography* p. 39; Schubart *Das Buch*² p. 28.
² On these see Chapter VII.
³ Maunde Thompson *ibid.* pp. 51-53.
⁴ See Tur. no. 25; CO. Pl. I (Turin); Hall Pls. 24, 28, 36. (W. E. C.)
⁵ By the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in Khargeh.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

could be guessed at, seem to have been bottles with more or less slender feet; coarse jars and bottles with flat bottoms, or bottles with ring bottoms from 1 to 3 cm. high. Three glass beads were found, of very dark blue color, twisted spirally and about 2 cm. long.

Three spoons were found, which are interesting as conforming in all cases to one type. The bowl was elongated and V-shaped in section. Spoons from the contemporary monastery in the direction of Ermont show the same shape, which may be taken as typical of the period therefore. One of the examples from these excavations was in bronze 13.4 cm. long and the other two of wood, one of them measuring 12.5 cm. long. Spoons

Hidden in a rock crevice just above the oven in the West Court was found a bronze censer¹ with a chain for suspension. The body of the object is a box 7.7 cm. long, on four feet, perforated on the sides for ventilation. On the front there is an elephant in relief. The lid—which slides out toward the front—bears a lioness attacking a boar, cast hollow in such a way that the smoke from the incense will issue from the mouths and ears of both animals.² Inside the box there still remain the ashes of incense, apparently originally in pastilles. Bronze incense burner (Plate XXXV)

A measuring rod specialized for some trade was found in the Monastery of Cyriacus. It was divided into seven sections, each 3.5 cm. long,³ each section being roughly subdivided Graduated palm stick

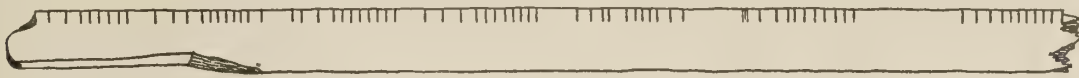


FIG. 51
A PALM-STICK MEASURE

into ten smaller sections of irregular sizes. The seven sections are separated from each other by blank intervals of 0.9, 0.9, 0.95, 1.3, 2.15, and 3.6 cm. which, when plotted by their coördinates, develop a regular curve. These intervals are, therefore, not due to chance or whim, but have some definite relation to the use for which the stick was intended. The stick was broken through the end of the seventh section where it measures 34.8 cm. in length, approximately the equivalent of ten of its sections. Possibly this length is related to a foot measure used anciently in Asia Minor, which attained a length varying from 33.25 cm. to 34.15 cm. As a double foot it was known (but little used) in dynastic Egypt. Since dynastic times, however, it has attained a wide distribution in Egypt and the East as the Constantinople cubit (*dirâ' istâmbûli*) of about 67.25 cm. length.⁴

¹ A censer is mentioned among the objects inventoried in 548.

² The lid of a similar censer in the Metropolitan Museum (89.2.551) has a lion attacking a sow, identical in workmanship.

³ The first section is broken; the fourth 3.7 cm.; the sixth 3.5 cm. corrected from 3.7 cm.; the seventh 3.3 cm.;

the others 3.5 cm.

⁴ Petrie *Weights and Measures*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *Kahun* p. 27; *Illahun* p. 14; *Deshasheh* p. 37; Lane *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1836, ii p. 377. The Asiatic double foot as found by Petrie was from 26.2 to 26.9 inches; the *dirâ' istâmbûli* is about 26.6 inches.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

7. *Technical and Material Innovations in Egyptian Life during Roman Times*

Innovations of
Roman times

In the preceding sections of this Chapter frequent reference has been made to different articles and machines introduced into Egypt in the Roman epoch and the reader will have noticed how numerous they have been. It is not to be supposed that these notes have contributed much that is new, or that they have by any means exhausted the investigations of origins, but it may be said that, taking the material finds at the Monastery of Epiphanius alone, we have a sufficiently comprehensive survey of Upper Egyptian peasant life in the 7th century to form some general conclusions on a significant point in the history of Nilotic culture.

Agriculture has always been the predominant industry of Egypt and we find that the water-wheel and the threshing-machine, the two most important pieces of apparatus of the industry, economically, were innovations of the Roman period. Of ancient trades the most important was the textile trade, and its one developed machine—the loom—was fundamentally improved at this period. The alphabet and the codex revolutionized writing and bookmaking. In building, the dome added an important device to those from which the architect might choose, and baked brick and tile provided two new, inexpensive and durable materials. In carpentry, wood turning leads on the one hand to the improvement of the screens so desirable in an eastern climate and on the other to an increased employment of native hard woods heretofore of little value. The lock and the lamp were ingenious and useful innovations, and while pottery forms and the “Samian” ware were of less significance, commercially developed glass meant much.

These innova-
tions create
modern
Egyptian Life

It goes without saying that this list does not begin to exhaust the technical innovations of the Roman period, but it does bring to notice a striking number of innovations, all of them considerable advancements on the corresponding dynastic apparatus, and the majority of permanent usefulness in the Nile Valley. This last aspect of them had one amusing outcome. So absolutely identical were the habits of the Egyptian peasants of the 7th century A.D. and those of the present day, that in these excavations our workmen were our most experienced archaeologists. They recognized the fragmentary *ḳawâdîs*, the *nôrag* beam, the loom pits and the *shâdûf* hooks before we did, and if they threw away fragments of the amphorae thinking that they were their own *ballâlîs*, it was a further proof that they were thoroughly at home in the life of their Coptic ancestors. In fact we may safely say that on its material side peasant life of today and that of the years just preceding the Arab Conquest are identical. Hence it follows that the Arab and Turkish contributions have been *nil*—always remembering that we are not considering religion, philosophy, literature or art.

To find material innovations in Egyptian life as far reaching as those introduced under the Romans we have to go back to the Hyksos period, when among other benefits the horse

TECHNICAL AND MATERIAL INNOVATIONS

and wheeled vehicle, the vertical loom, and numerous improvements in arms and armor came to the Nile, or forward to the English period when the tractor plough and the gasoline pump came to raise the echoes of the Theban Hills.

Put briefly the idea is this. The material culture of the first really historic period—the Pyramid Age—existed practically unaltered in the Nile Valley for about a millennium and a half. An invasion and a temporary subjection of the country by the Hyksos was a period during which certain important innovations penetrated Egypt from the outer world. If we are to believe the nationalist, Manethonian, tradition, the Hyksos were utter barbarians and hence themselves could not have been the inventors of these innovations. And even if we discount the exaggerations of Manetho, there is evidence that the innovations originated in widely scattered regions from the Greek Islands to the interior of Asia. About another millennium and a half passes without any material change appearing in Egyptian culture. Then the Greeks subjugated the country¹ and were in turn replaced by the Romans. The latter were not the barbarians that the Hyksos have been pictured, but on the other hand they were not an ingenious race. Hence the innovations which arrived in Egypt during the Roman period were not necessarily their own inventions. They had originated from Spain to China but they only penetrated Egypt when the latter was made part of the Roman world. Again follows nearly a millennium and a half of material stagnation for the Nile Valley, with changes of religion it is true, but with scarcely a single fundamental material change. Then the abortive invasion of Napoleon suddenly awakes Egypt from its torpor and brings it into contact with European life. The few years that followed under Albanian-Turkish rule, with European expert help, saw the beginning of the introduction of European material civilization which profoundly altered every side of Egyptian economic life as soon as the English, like the Romans before them, made the Nile part of a world-wide empire. Again the innovations have been by no means English in origin—all Europe and America have contributed—but like the Hyksos and the Romans, the English held open the doors while Egypt got into contact with the rest of the world.

The reader has kept in mind, let us hope, that the intellectual sides of culture—religion, literature, and art—have not figured in this review. To them neither Hyksos, Romans nor English made important contributions in Egypt. The sources there have been Oriental, and in return the Egyptian himself has given amply to the literature of the Jews, the religion of the Christians and the art of all the world down to the Byzantine and the Saracenic.

¹ It happens that practically all of the outstanding innovations dealt with in this Chapter have been apparently of Roman date in Egypt. The reestablishment of a strong, autocratic government, the systemization of administration and economic organization, and the introduction of science into agriculture were Greek contributions of which naturally no definable traces would survive on such a site as the Monastery of Epiphanius. However, the intro-

duction in Ptolemaic times of the camel as a practical element in husbandry, should be noted here (Rostovtzeff *Large Estate* p. 110) as well as the importation of new breeds of such other domestic animals as sheep (*ibid.* 114, 180) and new strains for the improvement of such native plants as the vine, garlic and cabbage (*ibid.* 95, 104-5). Definite evidence of the introduction, in the Ptolemaic period, of new *machinery*, however, seems to be lacking.

The three periods of material innovation—Hyksos, Roman and English

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

Dating only
approximate

Historical
figures:
Damianus

IN a former publication of texts similar to ours it was admitted that, for such material, only approximate dating was attainable. No evidence drawn from the present collection allows us to be more precise; the figures whom we may call “historical,” among those met with in the texts from Deir el Baḥri, meet us here again: Damianus the patriarch, bishop Pesenthius and bishop Abraham. Of Damianus we can only say, here as there, that he was presumably the patriarch contemporary with those who read and transcribed his works. His *Synodicon*, inscribed upon the wall of our tomb, would not long be of interest after its promulgation;¹ his Festal Letters² might, during so long a reign (578–605), be those of a decade or two later. One of these Letters, whereof we have the title only,³ might be that current in the year of writing; but elsewhere⁴ the references seem to imply that they already existed in a collected edition, which would probably have been made after the patriarch’s death.⁵

Pesenthius

Bishop Pesenthius, who seems to have occupied the see of Keft (Koptos) from 601 to 631, is a conspicuous personality, treated of at length in a later chapter. His presence in our group confirms the approximate date proposed for the texts as a whole. He is undoubtedly the recipient of several of our letters and very probably of others besides, where the episcopal title is absent; while a writer of several letters, who bears this name without title, is most likely the bishop.

Abraham

Bishop Abraham, around whom centered the correspondence from Deir el Baḥri, is here represented only by one or two stray letters.⁶ It may now be regarded as certain that he too was a contemporary of the patriarch Damianus.⁷

1 Probably in 578. *V.* Part II Appendix I p. 331. The approximate date of this copy of it can indeed be fixed; for it is hardly questionable that the scribe of this and of *RE.* 29 (also *ib.* 22), our 84 &c. is one and the same and thus a contemporary of bishop Pesenthius.

2 *V.* 53 and references. *BM.* 481 (collated) appears to refer to the “translation” of a Festal Letter (though here

fem. *ἐορταστική* is not the word used). *Cf.* the doubts expressed, Part II p. 332. 3 55. 4 *CO.* 18, 249.

5 As, for instance, in the case of Benjamin, whose Festal Letters (there would be some 38 of them) were available, within a century of his death, in at least 8 books: *PG.* 95, 77 (referred to by Jülicher in the *Harnack Festgabe*, 1921, 127).

6 154, 399.

7 *V.* *BM.* p. xx n. 2.

HISTORY

Besides the testimony of these already familiar personages, our collection contains a fresh and important chronological factor in its three or four allusions to “the Persians.” There can be no doubt—having regard to the three ecclesiastics just mentioned—that these Persians are the invaders who held Egypt from 619 to 629. In one letter¹ their arrival at Thebes appears to be spoken of as imminent, in another we see them installed there,² while a third seems to allude to their occupation as an event already past.³ Epiphanius, the central figure in the community at the tomb of Daga, himself witnessed the invasion—assuming, as seems most probable, that he is the recipient of the first of the above letters—and if the Persian menace be that referred to in yet another, addressed to him by name,⁴ this assumption will be confirmed.

The Persian
invasion

But events, whether political or ecclesiastical, in the distant world, far from Thebes, from which the stream of life had long since receded, would little affect the existence of the hermits there and we have small need to concern ourselves here with external history.⁵ The quarrels, dogmatical or personal, which reft the Alexandrine church, towards the close of the 6th and in the first quarter of the 7th century, find scarcely an echo either in the literature these hermits read or in the letters which they wrote. Such stray allusions as we meet to theological disputes⁶ or to monastic schisms⁷ are probably of purely local interest, unrelated to what was passing in the distant north, with which the patriarch’s annual Festal (or Easter) Letter, and an occasional missive to one or other of the Theban bishops or ascetics,⁸ together with the obligatory visits to Alexandria of candidates for the episcopacy,⁹ are the only links discernible to us.

Thebes little
affected by
external events

In a previous generation imperial interference with monastic affairs in the Thebaid had proved effective as far south as the Pachomian center at Pbow, where Justinian’s orthodoxy had achieved the expulsion of the Jacobite archimandrite and dispersal of the monks.¹⁰ The results of the same policy are possibly to be recognized again in the quartering of “Justinian Scythians” upon a yet more southern monastery, at Edfû.¹¹ But of its influence at Thebes we learn nothing; were it not for the unmistakable views defended in the writings of Severus and Damianus whom the hermits so held in honour,¹² we might scarcely learn from our material that divisions existed in the Egyptian church of that day. Troubles of this nature are indeed the subject of one piece, which may be an extract from a literary text and which its copyist thought applicable to contemporary conditions. The writer

Justinian

1 433. 2 324. 3 300. 4 200.

5 The history of Egyptian Christianity of the period (as far at any rate as 616) is admirably told in Jean Maspero’s posthumous *Histoire des Patriarches d’Alexandrie*, 1923.

6 132.

7 In the Pachomian community, but of uncertain date: *PO*. iii 440. Allusion perhaps to this in Budge *Apoc.* 174 (*Κατήχησις* of Pachomius).

8 131, 133 and notes.

9 *MIE*. ii 368.

10 Life of Abraham in *Synaxar.*, *PO*. xi 684. On the

fragmentary Coptic original cf. *JEA*. iv 68, and on related texts *JThSt.* xxv 430 (P. 96), to which add MS. Morgan xxxvii 275 ff., where, in the Life of Apollo of Bawît, we read an eloquent indictment of Justinian’s treatment of Pbow.

11 Which chanced likewise to bear the name of Baû; v. 517 n. The troops were there for requisitioning purposes (reading ἀγγαρευόντων with Herwerden *Appendix* p. 3). The epitaph from Edfû of Ricimer (*PSBA*. xxiv 233) may be further evidence of this Scythian garrison.

12 *V*. Part II Appendix I and Chapter VIII.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

reflects that "this great schism and this heavy strife" in the affairs of the church are doubtless due to our neglect of God, the one true king, and, as if there were no king over us, to our forsaking of Christ's teaching.¹

Phocas and
Heraclius

As to the immediately succeeding period of history, our documents offer us nothing. The name of the emperor Phocas was written upon a cliff wall, in the last year of his reign,² and twice we may read the official titulature of Heraclius.³ The Patriarchal Chronicle records indeed the attempt of the latter to supersede the monophysite organization in Upper Egypt—as far southward at any rate as Antinoë—by imposing imperial bishops upon all the sees; but whether he attempted to push so hateful a policy farther southward we know not.⁴

The Persian
invasion

If we turn from the ecclesiastical to the political history of this period, we can not, from documents of an origin such as ours, expect to gather much. One event and only one is conspicuous—the Persian invasion and occupation, alluded to above.⁵ Having subdued Palestine, the army of Chosroes marched southward and, after capturing Alexandria, advanced up the Nile. Both Greek and Arab chroniclers tell us that the invaders reached Nubia, as well as overrunning all Egypt.⁶ Our present texts, together with the Life of (or rather, Panegyric on) bishop Pesenthius, add considerably to these bare statements. The latter speaks⁷ of the advance of the Persians, "that pitiless folk," towards Keft, while several of the letters we here publish allude to the same catastrophe (*v.* above) and testify to the dread which the oncoming barbarians inspired. The invaders had indeed attained or passed Keft when certain of these letters were written and they were evidently on the road to Thebes itself, where the *castrum* of Nê was still of sufficient military value to be made their headquarters.⁸ One piece of evidence we have as to their penetration still farther south: a post-Muslim document, written at Edfû, refers to the arrival (*ἀφιξίς*) of the Persians as a past event, meaning no doubt thereby their former arrival in the vicinity of Edfû.⁹ Persian tyranny in the diocese of Esne has left a trace in the *Synaxarium*, where a bishop of the adjoining see of Ermont is charged by the patriarch with the administration of both; for the Persians "had ordained that no one more might be presented

¹ CO. 14.

² *V.* above, p. 11.

³ *Jême* no. 77 (*cf.* Steinwenter in *Byz. Z.* xxiv 81; a small Rhind fragment, Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, shows the identical formula) and on an unpublished ostrakon, *penes* Prof. G. Jéquier.

⁴ For an estimate of the Chalcedonian strength in Upper Egypt, as it had been under Justinian, *v.* J. Maspero *op. cit.* 177 ff. Yet here again, as to the Theban neighborhood nothing is known.

⁵ The name "Persian" in Sa'idic texts has normally the form *ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ* (so in the Bible: Ezek. xxvii 10, Dan. viii 20, Esth. i 14), exceptionally *ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲏⲥ* (*e.g.* BM. 323, BM. Or. 7561, 81 James the Persian, though in BM. 147 he is *ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ*). So too in Achm. *Elias* p. 82). The name recurs in later Coptic literature: in an interesting colophon (*Miss.*

iv 607, *cf.* BM. 343 n.), which R. Guest plausibly connects with Shîrkûh's invasion, A.D. 1167. He points out that these invaders, being Kurds, might well pass for Persians. Yet elsewhere they are styled "Turks" (*Rec.* vii 218). And in fact Shîrkûh's nephew Saladin is similarly termed a "Persian" in another Coptic text (Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit: *v.* Casanova in *BIF.* i 20).

⁶ Theophanes, De Boor 301, says up to the Ethiopian frontier; he is followed by Michael *Chron.* ii 401. Agapius, *PO.* viii 451, speaks of their reaching Nubia. *Cf.* Nöldeke *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber* 291.

⁷ Budge *Apoc.* 97, *MIE.* ii 397. *Cf.* A. J. Butler *Arab Conq.* 85.

⁸ 324.

⁹ *New Palaeogr. Soc.* Pl. 228. *Cf.* Wessely xiii 22 (lithographed).

HISTORY

for (ordination as) bishop in their time.”¹ A letter which we take to be written by our great anchorite, Epiphanius,² shows us perhaps—for its expressions are vague—the dwellers in Western Thebes in anxious expectation of the return northward of the invaders, after their Nubian expedition.³ The Persians are obscurely mentioned in two further fragments in our material: in a letter in which the Persians (Persian?) are said to have carried something off⁴ and in another which appears to recount the ill usage of someone, whereof the Persians are possibly accused.⁵

The Persian occupation had been foreseen by the bishop of Keft. In an epistle to his flock Pesenthius exhorts them to desist from sin, “lest God be wroth with you and give you over into the hands of the barbarians and they humble you.” “If ye repent not speedily, God will bring upon you that people (ἔθνος) without tarrying.”⁶ In another version however this epistle speaks of the evil fate as having already overtaken them: “by reason of our iniquities God hath forsaken us and hath given us over into the hands of these peoples without pity.”⁷ A later tradition indeed (in his so-called Prophetic Epistle) prolongs Pesenthius’s life to the eve of the Muslim conquest and in the epistle whereof we are speaking two successive invasions are foretold.⁸ Whether his political foresight sufficed to suggest an eventual onslaught from Arabia may be doubted, but of the Persian devastation of Palestine and the fall of Jerusalem he may well have heard news and surmised that a like fate overhung Egypt. The words of his panegyrist in fact imply some such foreknowledge: “as soon as he heard concerning the Persians, he kept nought for himself more, (but gave all) unto the poor.”⁹ The Persian conquest was either similarly foreseen by the author of Shenoute’s Life, or it was an event already past in his day.¹⁰ It is further referred to in a pseudo-prophecy, put into the mouth of Athanasius,¹¹ as destined to precede the Muslim conquest, which this writer describes at greater length. Which of the two invasions is foretold by the prophetic miracle related in the Life of Abraham of Pbow¹² it is hard to decide.

Whether the devastation of monasteries, which appears to have signalized the beginnings of the Persian invasion,¹³ was continued through Upper Egypt we know not, though, judging by what had befallen Palestine, we may presume that it would be. There the hermits occupying cells (κελλιῶται) had clearly found reason to dread them, for at their

The Persians
and Pesenthius

The Persians in
Upper Egypt

1 *PO*, iii 220.

2 *Ann. du S.* xxi 74. *V.* below, p. 220.

3 A later stage in this northward march is probably alluded to in a fragmentary letter from Ashmunain (Cairo 8074):]ⲕⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲧ. . .

4 *CO*, 270. Here ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲉ.

5 *RE*, i *bis*. In *RE*, 47, ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲉⲣⲥⲉ might be “his persea tree,” scarcely “his Persian woman,” which should be ⲧⲉⲩⲡⲉⲣⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ or (less probably) ⲧⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ. Cf. Leyden 446, ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲉ.

6 Budge *Apoc.* 94.

7 *MIE*, ii 380. But on this version *v.* below, pp. 227, 228.

8 *V.* below, p. 228.

9 Budge *l. c.* 124.

10 *Miss.* iv 340, assuming this Arabic passage to represent a lost Coptic original. Cf. Krall p. 22, Butler *Arab Conq.* 88.

11 *MS.* Morgan xxv 198 ff.

12 *Miss.* iv 753.

13 This rests upon the single witness of the Patriarchal Chronicle (*PO*, i 486 = *Synax.*, *ib.* xi 560) as to the massacre of 700 wealthy monks in their cave-monasteries. Information as to these had come from Nikiu—the text does not say that the monasteries were at Nikiu (*v. J. Th. St.* xxv 429)—when the Persian army was setting out for Southern Egypt.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

References to
distress in
the texts

approach they fled for refuge to the *coenobia*.¹ A number of allusions to distress and anxiety in our Theban texts may point to such events, but the phrases used are never sufficiently precise to justify more than a presumption. An ostrakon at Turin, the script of which shows it to be roughly contemporary with the rest of our material,² preserves either the letter of a bishop or other spiritual monitor, or perhaps an extract from a homily, which it seems worth while to translate in this connection. "I have marveled," says the writer, "at this great agitation, ere ever we have been counted worthy to suffer so much as a blow for Christ's name; and this albeit³ we know how that we die daily.⁴ Ye yourselves, beloved brethren, see the great joy that came upon our fathers the Apostles, that they were worthy to be despised for Christ's name; for by much tribulation shall we enter into the kingdom of heaven.⁵ And a great humiliation (*lit.* diminution) is it of our life⁶ that the worldlings (*κοσμικός*) should persevere more than we and should die for Christ, whilst we flee and save ourselves. Be not outdone, then, by others . . ."

"Hard times"
and persecu-
tions

These "hard times" or "times of stress" are often alluded to in our letters, but it is impossible to interpret such expressions precisely; they may refer merely to insufficient inundation and poor harvests, as in one of the letters—if indeed it be a veritable letter—noticed above,⁷ or in the Life of Pesenthius, where we read how "great mourning was spread abroad" by reason of the inadequate inundation.⁸ Perhaps it is distress in this sense of which another letter speaks: "And we pray in the measure of our humility that God preserve you from evil (*πονηρόν*) and that He dispel these troubles from the poor and grant healing unto those of them that are sick and that He turn His wrath to peace upon us (*or* them) once again."⁹ Three at any rate of the letters which make reference to contemporary troubles can be pretty closely dated: one of these, addressed by two nuns to bishop Pesenthius, concludes with a request for his prayers, "that God may protect us from the persecutions (*διωγμός*) that are spread abroad";¹⁰ another, to bishop Abraham of Ermont, asks for his prayers, "that we may be saved from trials (*πειρασμός*) in this troublous time";¹¹ while a third, warning the recipient, "take heed unto thyself, for the times are very distressful," is written by Frange, the well-known contemporary of several of our hermits.¹² These, then, are letters wherein allusions to the Persians might legitimately be expected. Again a writer reproaches his friend for neglecting to visit him: "Even shouldst thou say, I fear (to come), thou knowest the inner road,¹³ how that (there) thou meetest

References in
dateable letters

¹ *An. Boll.* vii 137.

² Published by Rossi in Turin *Atti* xxx p. 806 and Pl. (4).

³ An attempt to render the author's *μάλιστα*.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv 31.

⁵ Cf. Acts xiv 22.

⁶ *Bíos*, *i.e.* of monasticism no doubt.

⁷ P. 20. The letter is MMA. 23.3.701.

⁸ *MIE.* ii 412. Petitions that God will "remove these troubles and disturbances and famines from the land" appear as a feature in certain liturgical prayers (BM. 512).

⁹ *BKU.* 259.

¹⁰ *RE.* 28. The word *διωγμός*, if given its usual meaning, might be thought to point here to the anti-monophysite policy of Heraclius.

¹¹ *BKU.* 316.

¹² *CO.* Ad. 63. Cf. here 119.

¹³ A path, no doubt, farther round, among the hills, than that commonly used. The *provenance* of this ostrakon is given as *Ḳurneh*; one might therefore think of one of the roads named in the will of Jacob and Elias, Part II Appendix III ll. 68 ff. Cf. Winlock pp. 14, 28 above.

HISTORY

no man, neither coming nor going"; he may have in view the conditions in the district which made it hazardous to move from place to place.¹ The "barbarians that are spread abroad" are a terror to one writer, who entreats his holy father "that truly beareth Christ," to pray the Lord for protection from them.² These again may be the Persians, whom the Egyptians were of course accustomed to style barbarians;³ or they may be the desert tribes, "the barbarians that dwell upon the (desert) hills"⁴ and who under that comprehensive appellation include Blemmyes and Nubians⁵ and doubtless the Saracens whom we now and then meet with.⁶ "Barbarian" might, in one of our letters,⁷ perhaps mean "soldier," as it elsewhere does. The Copts indeed came near to having the term applied to themselves by contemptuous Hellenes.⁸

"Barbarians"

Chronological arguments from palaeography cannot be of more than a general character, where but one single document is dated. The sole fixed point which may here again serve as a criterion is the Turin ostrakon recording a solar eclipse, calculated to be that visible at Thebes on March the 10th, 601.⁹ This piece is written in a hand very similar in type to many in our collection, though differing from them in certain details.¹⁰ Some of our papyri show scripts which might belong to a period slightly earlier than this.¹¹ But since it has not, so far, been possible to differentiate the hands of the latter part of the 6th century from those of the earlier decades of the 7th, it would not be profitable to attempt stricter distinctions between the varieties of script to be found in the present collection and those like it.

Poverty of
palaeographical
arguments

One type is conspicuously absent here, as at Deir el Bahri: the ligatured hand of the early 8th century scribes, to whom we owe so many of the Jême papyri, besides the countless tax-receipts &c. on ostraca from Medînet Habu. There is in fact no evidence for the continued existence of this colony of hermits beyond the first half of the 7th century. Papyri and ostraca, which internal evidence shows to have been written after the Muslim conquest, have come either from Ermont,¹² the town of Medînet Habu or the monastery of Saint Phoebammon, which was still in being at the beginning of the 9th century.¹³

¹ *BKU.* 92. One is reminded of the traditional ill-repute of the inhabitants of Kurnah, recorded by modern travellers: W. G. Browne *Travels*, 1799, 138, Belzoni *Travels* 158.

² *ST.* 328.

³ *E.g.* our 80, Budge *Misc.* 11, 23 &c., Winstedt *Theodore* 45.

⁴ *Rec.* vi 173, *Papyruscodex* 8, *Paralip. S. Pachom.* § 9. In the first of these another ms. (Morgan xlvi 13) reads "that γένος called βάρβαροι," as if the latter were a proper name.

⁵ *Miss.* iv 642.

⁶ *Ib.* 721, BM. 280.

⁷ 170.

⁸ Βάρβαρον τίνα ἢ αἰγύπτιον ἄνθρωπον, P. Oxy. 1681 (3rd century).

⁹ *CO.* p. xvi and references. The Phocas graffito (p. 11 above) is scratched upon the rock in a hand too uncouth to be of much use here.

¹⁰ *V.* Part II Pl. XI, especially 328, also Pl. XV.

¹¹ *E.g.* Part II Pl. IV, 186.

¹² Several of the papyri lately acquired by the University of Michigan relate to Ermont.

¹³ *Jême* no. 100.

CHAPTER V

TOPOGRAPHY AS RECORDED IN THE TEXTS

Geographical
limits

IT may be as well to make clear at the outset the geographical limits which we are setting ourselves. We have aimed in this chapter, and indeed throughout the volume, at confining our attention to that part of Egypt which might be thought familiar to the dwellers in Western Thebes and which we have frequently termed “the Theban neighborhood”; from more distant parts we have but rarely drawn illustrations. By the Theban neighborhood we mean that section of the Nile valley which extends from about Esne above Thebes to Denderah or even Hou below it: a stretch of a hundred miles or thereabouts. Some such limitation appears justified by the distance, up and down stream, within which the places named in our material are situated.¹

Many names,
but few can be
located

No attempt to describe the topography of Christian Thebes is likely to result in much beyond a list of names. Such a list might by now be of some length, but rarely could a name in it be fixed at a precise locality. The documents upon which we have to draw furnish a large number—exclusive of those of the monasteries and churches—but of these some lie beyond the Theban neighborhood, while the rest include several which either are duplicates, or should not rightly be classed among true place-names, being merely local designations of farmsteads, meadows and the like.

Administrative
divisions

The administrative divisions of the country are recognizable in the terms “pagarchy,” “nome,” τομή, the last two of which are of frequent occurrence, while the first—perhaps by mere chance—is found only in the 8th century documents, wherein the pagarch is sometimes an Arab,² sometimes still a Christian.³ Whether at this period any real difference

1 A newly acquired Jême document, BM. Or. 9525 (1), makes a surprising contribution (as Bell observed) towards defining the terms “Upper” and “Lower Country” (ἄνω and κάτω χώρα). One of its witnesses, who writes in Greek, comes from τῆς Ἰουστινιάνης πόλεως τῆς κάτω (sic) χώρας. This would assign Keft (Justinianopolis, acc. to Georgius Cypr., Gelzer, 39), about the year 700, to the Lower Country, although Hierocles and the episcopal lists (Byz. Z. ii 25)

place it in the Upper Thebaid. It proves the unexpected persistence of a temporary name. Cf. Wilcken’s note, Chrest. p. 51, and J. Maspero and G. Wiet *Matériaux* 228.

2 Jême no. 45, 4, no. 70, 3, no. 106, 5, MMA. 24.2.4 (Ἀτίας υἱ(ὸς) Γοεδου).

3 Jême no. 44, 12, ST. 44, 183 (clearly of Muslim times, since the amîr is named), P. Michigan 1924 (Jordanes, pagarch of Ermont).

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is implied between the use of *νομός* and the much discussed *τομή* it is not easy to say.¹ Both words are found, for instance, designating the districts whereof Ermont and Keft were respectively the chief towns.² Here and there *τομή* is probably the episcopal see,³ but we may doubt whether, in such cases, it is consciously distinguished from the civil district.

The nomes—to retain the commonly accepted term—with which we are concerned are those of Ermont-Hermonthis and Keft-Koptos. Of the places named in the documents whereof the nome is indicated, ten are in the former of these, eight in the latter. The word *τομή* is found attached to two other nomes besides: Pouaab and Primide.⁴ The first of these bears no resemblance to the name of any district otherwise known, but the second recalls such names as *Premeitê*,⁵ presumably in the neighborhood of Memphis, *Premît* in the Fayyûm,⁶ also the personal names Papremîtis,⁷ Tapremhit.⁸ It seems at least probable that *τομή* in these cases means no more than “borders, parts, district.” Possibly this is so likewise where “the Theban nome” is spoken of.⁹

The nomes
involved

The nome of Ermont bordered to the north on that of Keft, stretching as far at least as Timamên (Damâmil).¹⁰ Southward our texts record it at Tbêbe, if we may take this to be rightly identified with Dabâibah, opposite Gebelein. To it belong the towns and villages of which our material has most to say: within it lies the monastery of Epiphanius. From this to the town itself of Ermont is a distance of some ten miles to the south. It may be assumed that it is to Ermont that the term *πόλις* usually applies, when used alone in these texts. At this period, when Thebes had survived only in a group of insignificant villages, Ermont was doubtless the foremost town of the district and the residence of various civil and military representatives of the Byzantine government.¹¹ Here a bishop had his seat, although, like other bishops of that day, he apparently preferred at times a monastic life among the Theban hermits.¹²

Ermont

A locality which meets us often is named Ape (Ἀπε). In the 7th century this was probably no more than a village, a *castrum*,¹³ supposing the title of *πόλις*, with which it is once dignified,¹⁴ to be at this date no longer necessarily an indication of importance. Where “the hill of Ape” is named we may see an allusion to a monastic settlement there. The repeated

Ape

1 Cf. BM. Gk. iv 1601 n.

2 E.g. *Jême* no. 57, 5, no. 35, 14 for the former, no. 57, 4, no. 67, 4 for the latter.

3 *Tor.* 31, *CO.* 40, prob. *ST.* 42.

4 In *Jême* no. 118, 4 and no. 79, 2 respectively. The second of these texts shows, it must be noted, a proclivity to write *i* for *e* (οἱφίλια, προτρηνη, τετραπρωμιον); therefore perhaps Premide is here intended.

5 Revillout *Actes et Contrats* 101. For other such names v. p. 118 n.

6 P. Amherst ii p. 43.

7 Preisigke *Namenbuch*. 8 *Ryl. Demot.* iii 149 n.

9 BM. Gk. v 1720. In Coptic texts this expression has not been found.

10 *Jême* no. 100, 3, Hall p. 105 (26209, 4).

11 BM. 1211, almost certainly from Ermont, gives the titles of a number of such officials. The *dux* resided at Antinoë: *Jême* no. 10, 17; cf. Steinwenter in Wessely xix 7 ff. He and his *μειζότερος* (acting as his agent or envoy) are referred to in *RE.* 33, which is assumed to be from the Pesenthius dossier.

12 E.g. bishop Abraham of the Deir el Bahri ostraca, who seems to have dwelt in the monastery of Phoebammon.

13 *Jême* no. 81, 4.

14 *CO.* 491. It could probably be shown that medieval *medînet* is found applied sometimes to sites where no former *πόλις* had been situated.

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occurrence of Ape in West Theban documents points towards the western, rather than the eastern bank and thus leads us to distinguish it from Pape-Luxor,¹ which moreover could scarcely have given its name to a "hill," as did Ape.² A tempting identification is however offered in the still unlocated *Aπις of Western Thebes.³ Further, this *Aπις-Ape in turn suggests an origin for the mediaeval name Abu (Habu), in Medînet Habu, Birket Habu, Beit Habu el Medînet.⁴ But Medînet Habu has generally been claimed as the successor to the ancient Jême⁵; can *Aπις-Ape and Jême be reconciled? Professor Spiegelberg believes that they can.⁶ He shows that this *Aπις in Western Thebes represents demotic 'py ('pt),⁷ which, in certain texts, is actually equated with Jême.⁸ There would indeed be one objection to the equation Jême-*Aπις-Ape: this last name was, in the 7th century, that of a bishopric,⁹ whereas no bishopric in the district is recorded besides those of Ermont and Thebes-Pape-Luxor. Is it possible that some mediaeval confusion of names—the name Pape-Luxor is found, as it happens, only in 14th century mss.—has played a part here?

Ancient Thebes:
The *Castra*

Around the ruins of ancient Thebes, facing the Jême hermitages across the river, villages had grown up; among them, a military post which preserved the name that had once been that of the great city itself: the *castrum* of Nê, "the city."¹⁰ On this same eastern bank there may have been other such posts, but we know the name of none in Christian times nearer than Taut (now Ṭûd),¹¹ some 12 miles further south. The term *castrum* survives, it is usually supposed, in the modern Luxor, properly El Uḫsurein, "The Two Forts,"¹² while Coptic and Greek documents speak of Τρία Κάστρα, "The Three Forts."¹³ Which of the military stations these names embrace it is hard to determine. Presumably those on the east bank only are in question, since the Κάστρον Μεμνονίων on the west is distinctly excluded.¹⁴ On the east too lay presumably "the *Castrum* of the Potter" (κεραμέως), since it belonged in the 6th century to "the nome of Thebes."¹⁵ If so, it could not be connected with the earlier village of Κεραμέα, supposing that to be located on the west.¹⁶

We learn again from texts of a later age (10th century) that Thebes (Θῆβαι, Θηβών) had

¹ Amélineau *Géogr.* 556, J. Maspero & G. Wiet *Matériaux* 23. In this name *n-* cannot be the mere article, for *ane* is doubtless feminine. *V.* Gardiner in *ÄZ.* 1908, 128 n. It is more likely to be, as Spiegelberg suggests, the ancient *pr-*, prefixed, as in many place-names. *V.* Griffith *Ryl. Demot.* iii 347.

² *Jême* no. 81, 61. Though "hill" may here indicate a monastic settlement, it ought surely to presuppose high or rising ground.

³ Wilcken *Ostr.* i 714.

⁴ The last in *Ann. du S.* vii 86. But it must be observed that Lane had ascertained (BM. MS. Add. 34,081, 328) *حابو* to be the true pronunciation.

⁵ *V.* Winlock above, p. 4.

⁶ The following from letters written in November, 1924.

⁷ E.g. in P. Berlin 3116 4, 7.

⁸ In P. Berlin 3101, a certain priest of 'mn-'py is in P. 3103 styled priest of 'mn-dm'. ⁹ *RE.* 11.

¹⁰ *V.* 151 and below, p. 110 n. 3. How far the outside world had lost all memory of it is shown by Jerome's confusion of No with Alexandria: *PL.* 22, 890, *ib.* 25, 892.

¹¹ *V.* 163.

¹² So styled by early European travelers, as well as the earlier Arabic writers. *V.* Maspero & Wiet *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Jême* nos. 27, 70, BM. Gk. iv 1460, P. Michigan, 1924 (πυρομτ ηραστρον, in a letter perhaps to the pagarch of Ermont, in whose τοῦ the place is described as being).

¹⁴ *Jême* no. 70, 3, 4.

¹⁵ BM. Gk. v 1720, τοῦ Θηβαίου νομοῦ.

¹⁶ Wilcken *loc. cit.*

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survived as an alternative name to “the *Castra*,”¹ and a like equation is found in the mediaeval episcopal lists.²

An outlying suburb of the ancient city on the north-east is represented today by Medamûd, which we have proposed to identify with the Petemout of our texts.³ A locality in the modern Karnak is possibly mentioned in one of them.⁴

It may here be observed that the name Diospolis is met with in a protocol, identical in two deeds,⁵ where the Arab *amîr* is said to rule “from the pagarchy of Diospolis as far as Lato (Esne).” This has been assumed to be a survival of the name Diospolis Magna = Thebes,⁶ but the assumption is scarcely justified. That ancient name is not found in Christian texts; it had indeed been long obsolete.⁷ Where Diospolis does occur, the name applies invariably to the town of Hou, *i.e.* Diospolis Parva.⁸ This *amîr*’s authority extended, then, from there to Esne: a stretch of about a hundred miles.

This exhausts the information to be gathered from our material as to Eastern Thebes. It is naturally with the western bank that our texts are chiefly concerned. The two names most often met with, in all Coptic texts from Thebes, are those of Ermont and Jême. The precise situation of the second of these has been often debated. That it had been an extensive part of the ancient necropolis is evident; also that, in Ptolemaic times, it was identified with the Memnonia.⁹ It is therefore to be sought somewhere in the neighborhood of Medînet Habu, thence stretching probably north-eastward, along the foothills. In Jême too there had been a *castrum*, which is presumably identical with the Κάστρον Μεμνονίων. Jême must, in the 7th and 8th centuries, have been a town with a considerable population; we meet with its magistrates—*lashanes*, μειζότεροι, διοικηταί—clergy, notaries and a number of house-owning inhabitants, besides, in the 8th century tax-receipts, the soldiers who figure now and then as witnesses and whom we should suppose to come from the local garrison; though what, after over a century of Muslim domination, such στρατιῶται might be, it is hard to say. We learn moreover the names of many of its streets¹⁰ and of several of its churches. Behind the town the rising ground bore the name of “the Hill of Jême,”¹¹ just as the hills elsewhere were known by the names of the towns that lay below them.¹²

Medamûd

The name
Diospolis

Western
Thebes

Jême

1 Cf. Budge *Apoc.* Pl. LVIII *infra*, ἀββα निकοζημος ελχ[...ελ]εν ὁ πωλεος απολλωπιον s τ[...]ἔωπ s φίλα[, *Misc.* Pl. XXII, ερ]εαββα πτωζημος ω πε-
νικοπος ετ[πο]λις τῶ μπιναστρον μπιελνη, also
ib. p. xxxiv, निकοζημος επσκοπος πωλεος θεον (all these collated afresh). Nicodemus is thus seen to be bishop of Edfû and Thebes (θεῖων, θεον), or the *Castra*, as well as of Philae. Such combinations of sees were very likely not unusual in earlier times; an instance perhaps (Ermont and Esne) in the *Synaxarium*, 20th Kîhak, 7th century. In the 18th century we find Naḳâdah, Keft, Kûs and Ibrîm all under a single bishop (Sicard in *Lettres Édifiantes*, ed. 1780, v 113).

2 Amélineau *Géogr.* 573.

3 *V.* 278.

4 *V.* 488.

5 *Jême* nos. 45, 50 (*V.* Preisigke *Sammelb.* 5582).

6 Steinwenter *loc. cit.* 9, BM. Gk. iv 1460, 158.

7 Wilcken *loc. cit.* 711.

8 Amélineau 198, adding *Synax.*, *PO.* iii 490 and *ĀZ.* 1918, 70, where Diospolis and its bishop are named. Diospolis-Thebes perhaps p. 110 n. 3.

9 *V. Ryl. Demot.* iii 123 n. 2.

10 *V.* 102 and *Jême* Index p. 468.

11 There are plenty of variants to prove that the Hill of Jême and the Hill of the *Castrum* of Jême are identical.

12 *Jême* Index p. 382. The Hill of Ermont, *CO.* 209 and in the *Synaxar.*, *PO.* iii 461, xi 515; that of Tôhe, *RE.* 32; that of Achmîm, *PO.* xi 510. Cf. also BM. Gk. ii 325 ὁρος κώμης. . . In Lemm *Misc.* xli p. 590 “the hill of her city” is equivalent to its cemetery.

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Tsenti

The hill of Jême would of course not be a precisely defined district; on the south it would merge into the hill of Ermont, on the north into that of Tsenti, which we know to have extended on that side of it.¹ Tsenti is thrice translated, in the Arabic version of the Pesentian biography, by El Asâs,² and thus Amélineau's conjecture is justified.³ Now Pesentius was buried near the monastery of Tsenti,⁴ but Abû Şâlih says that his tomb was to be seen "outside (*sic*)" his monastery, to the west of Kûş; therefore the hill of Tsenti, *i.e.* Gebel el Asâs, clearly covered a long stretch of desert. Indeed, from the Life of Andreas,⁵ we gather that the Gebel el Asâs embraced the series of monasteries lying between Danfîk and Naḳâdah. Thus it would lie mainly, as the *Synaxarium* tells us,⁶ in the diocese of Keft. At the present day the name El Asâs seems however to designate generally the mountain between the Theban necropolis and the Tombs of the Kings⁷ and thus to have usurped that of "the Hill of Jême." Apparently there had been a town (ḤARI) of Tsenti⁸; it cannot now be located.

Other "hills"

Several other "hills" are named in our texts: those of the Persea, of the Sycamore, of Penhôtep. The first lay southward of the Gebel el Asâs, of which it probably was but an extension⁹; the third was in the same neighborhood.¹⁰ Of the second we speak below. The hill of Pachme (or Pashme) is to be sought in the nome of Keft,¹¹ as also is that of Pmile(s).¹² The hill of Peîôhe has not yet been located.¹³ The hill of Ape has been already spoken of.

Monasteries
situated
on them

These desert hills, to which the Christians, like their pagan ancestors, carried out their dead, were, in the period during which Christianity was the national creed, the abode of countless ascetes, both monks and hermits. But it is difficult to locate their monasteries, most of which are for us mere names, lacking any indication of situation. It is moreover seldom possible to distinguish monasteries from churches; to both the vague term *τόπος* is applied, though more often to the former. In the present collection it only twice occurs with a name appended to it: in one case where the *τόποι* of Apa John and of Saint Mark are mentioned,¹⁴ in another where the word is used of the dwelling of Epiphanius himself,¹⁵ which is likewise so styled throughout the will in Part II Appendix III.¹⁶ The monastery of Saint Phoebammon is called as often *τόπος* as *μοναστήριον*.¹⁷ The two words are synonymous elsewhere,¹⁸ and sometimes *μα*, the Coptic equivalent of *τόπος*, is used.¹⁹ More than one text mentions the

Τόπος and
μοναστήριον

1 Budge *Apoc.* 110 distinctly says that from Jême one went northward to Tsenti.

2 Cf. *Paris arabe* 4785 ff. 107 b, 146 b, 156 b, with Budge *Apoc.* 77, 110, 120 respectively.

3 *Géogr.* 63.

4 Budge *loc. cit.* 126, *MIE.* ii 421.

5 *V.* p. 115.

6 *PO.* iii 283.

7 *V.* Erman *Aegypten*² 371 (= 1439), confirmed by information obtained at Luxor by the late G. Möller.

8 *MIE.* ii 358. One may wonder whether "Elaksas," directly to the west of Ermont on C. Sicard's map (*v. above*), is a misprint or error for El Asâs.

9 *V.* 78, 132, *PO.* iii 285.

10 *Synaxarium*, *PO.* iii 497 &c.

11 *V.* 87.

12 *V.* 161.

13 *V.* below, p. 120.

14 84.

15 142.

16 *Τόπος* as the cell of a single monk is uncommon: *PO.* xi 320, Budge *Mart.* 213, 216.

17 *Jême passim*, *e.g.* no. 92, 2, 3. It is a *τόπος* in *CO.* 219, *ST.* 324, *BKU.* 78. Bilabel (*OLZ.* 1924, 702) tries to show that, in the will of bishop Abraham (BM. Gk. i 233) *εὐκτήριον* in l. 33 being equivalent to *τόπιον* in l. 25, not a monastery, but merely a chapel, is in question. But the text mentions the *εὐκτήριον* merely as part of the *τόπιον*; it does not equate the two. Similarly in Krall lxxii, *θυσιαστήριον* = monastery.

18 *RE.* 11.

19 *E.g.* *CO.* 376, MMA. 23.3.702 (bishop Serenianus), *ib.* 14.1.59 (discarded), all referring to St. Phoebammon's.

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τόπος of Patermoute, while another clearly shows the same place to be a μοναστήριον.¹ Indeed it would not be easy to find, at any rate in documents of this class, instances of τόπος = church.²

The monasteries named in our material, as to whose situation something can be said, are the following.

Monasteries
enumerated

That of the martyr Phoebammon—to name first the best known—which is now assumed to have been the monkish settlement laid bare among the temple ruins at Deir el Bahri.³ Yet for this assumption the only positive evidence is the presence of a number of documents addressed to officials of Saint Phoebammon's monastery among the ostraca brought from those ruins.⁴ Other sites have been proposed as representing this monastery: the extensive settlement, a mile farther north, on Dra' Abû 'l Naga, known as Deir el Bakhît.⁵ But in the many Berlin ostraca, known to have come thence, this martyr's name—possibly indeed by accident—does not occur.

Who is the martyr to whom the monastery was dedicated? It appears not to have been hitherto remarked that among the martyrs of this name, two are honored in the Calendar.⁶ That they are distinct is clear from (1) their entirely different careers, (2) their different dates of commemoration and (3) the fact that their reputed places of burial do not coincide. The one, of a noble Roman family, was born at Boushêm, martyred on the 27th Tûbah at Tamâ, north of Kâu and buried at Munyat Andûnah, south of Gîzah. The magnificence with which ὁ ἅγιος Φοιβάμμων is appareled in the Bawît fresco⁷ should indicate this martyr, who appears thus clad, in the guise of a wealthy magnate,⁸ in one of the miracles of the Arabic Encomium. The other martyr was but a simple soldier, at the *castrum* of Aprehet in Middle Egypt,⁹ and was executed on the 1st Baûnah at Siût, where or near to which, he was buried. Of the former of the two we have the history in an Encomium by his friend Theodore, bishop of Boushêm, whereof the *Synaxarium* gives a long abstract. It is to him that a Hymn in the *Theotokia* is addressed;¹⁰ and to him likewise the two in the *Antiphonary* (*Difnâr*),¹¹ where he is however called "the soldier," the term properly belonging to his namesake.¹² In these hymns stress is laid on the cures

St. Phoeb-
ammon, his
identity

1 Respectively in *Jême* no. 10, 13, no. 66, 28 and *ST.* 115.

2 In Zoega 551, BM. 995 τόπος seems to be "church"; in BM. 227 τ. and ἐκκλησία are distinguished; in Paris 44, 6 b πῖτοπος is rendered "the monasteries, the churches."

3 But it is placed on the south of the hill of Jême in the Arabic Life of Pesentius: Paris 4785, 102 b. Cf. also p. 10 above.

4 *CO.* 158, 220, 232, 308, 332, 482. 5 *V.* p. 21.

6 There is indeed yet a third, from Upper Egypt, in the *Synaxar.* (5th Sanê, *PO.* i 557; the Arabic ignores him), besides an anchorite (18th Amshîr, in Abû 'l Barakât, *PO.* x 265). To which, if either, of these ὁ ἅγιος Φ. χαλλανη, named with a martyr, Apa Sklabinos, refers (*WZKM.* 1902, 260, collated; text complete, needs no brackets) must be left as yet undecided. The ostrakon came from Ermont.

7 Clédat *Baouît* Pl. LIII.

8 ابرخن ناخوذة, Vat. 172, 153 b. The second word translates πλούταρχος in Paris, 43, 79 b: apparently a new meaning.

9 πρεστ ابرخت (Amélineau *Géogr.* 12, *Theol. Texts* 165 n., *Comptes Rendus*, 1913, 299).

10 *Ed.* Tuki 183.

11 We owe knowledge of this ms. to Mgr. Hebbelynck's Inventory (*Ehrle Miscellanea*), where it is numbered "Borgia 59," and photographs to Mgr. Tisserant's kindness.

12 He is "the soldier" also in the Cairo *Abṣâlîyât*, 1913, ٢٥٨; and *ib.* ٢٦ he is associated with another Diocletian martyr, Eulampius of Nicomedia (*v. Synax. Cpol.*, Oct. 10), who in Paris 129¹⁶, 65 (Olympius, *sic*) is termed "the physician." Such an association is significant in connection with the healing powers attributed to Phoebammon.

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worked at his *τόπος*, a significant trait in view of the healing powers of our Jême saint. Of the latter the Coptic Acts are to be read in ms. Morgan xlvi, the narrator being a stylite of Shmoun named Coluthus. Fragments of these Acts are among certain papyri in the British Museum, almost certainly of Theban origin.¹ Arabic versions of the texts relating to Phoebammon are in Cod. Vat. 172: (a) the above Encomium by Theodore, with miracles, (b) the Acts of Phoebammon "the soldier" and (c) an Encomium on this last by Nilus, bishop of Ṭahâ, likewise followed by miracles. Unfortunately the end of (a) with the beginning of (b)² are missing from the ms., so that we cannot tell whether any attempt was made to relate the first martyr to the second. These texts, so far as extant, give no hint of any connection between them. The narrative of the Acts is much the same here as in the Coptic (Morgan). An echo of them is to be found in those of Ischyr(i)on and his companions.³ That it is the second, less eminent martyr, "the soldier," whose name the Jême monastery bears is made highly probable by the list of festivals in a Theban ostrakon,⁴ in which "the day of Apa Phoebammon" follows upon the dates of Ascension and Pentecost, thus clearly pointing to the 1st Baûnah (26th May).⁵ On the other hand it may be observed that the distinctively Theban recension of the *Synaxarium* is that which celebrates at length the other martyr—him of the 27th Tûbah,⁶—while the common recension has on the 1st Baûnah merely the name Phoebammon.⁷ The Arabic Calendars on the latter date confound the two namesakes, recording him of Ṭahâ (or Damanû) there, instead of in the month of Tûbah.⁸ Only in one, unusual form of the Diptychs does Phoebammon occur and there it is not possible to identify him.⁹ Nor is much help to be had from epithets applied to the monastery's patron in its cartulary; most of them befit any martyr: ἀθλοφόρος, σταυροφόρος, νικηφόρος, καλλίνικος. Once he is indeed called στρατηλάτης,¹⁰ a title unfitting both for a mere soldier and for a non-military martyr, though not unlikely perhaps to point in this case to the latter (Phoebammon of Boushêm), regarded as a person of high rank.

The etymology of the name Phoebammon has been questioned: Jean Maspero suggested¹¹ that its first element is formed, not of Phoebus, but of Phib: a view supported by the frequent spelling of Phibammon, although names compounded of Ammon and a classical deity are by no means unknown.¹²

Etymology
of the name

1 *V.* p. 205. Some from another source, BM. 999.

2 Pp. 81–100 of the ms. (after f. 188).

3 *Synax.*, 7th Baûnah, where the last name, قيرايون and vars., should probably be فيوامون. Here however Ischyrion is from قلين, which Amélineau (p. 390) identifies with a Delta village so named; whereas the Ischyrion in the Coptic Acts of Phoebammon is a soldier from the παρεμβολή of Esne. The liability to confusion between снн (Esne) and пн (Thebes), referred to in 151 n., is evident here; for the Ethiopic *i.e.* Arabic Acts (*v.* below, p. 204 n.) have "the Ḳaṣr of Diospolis," in place of Esne. 4 *CO.* 455.

5 For this portion of the Sa'idic Calendar *v.*, for example, Leyden pp. 203, 204.

6 *PO.* xi 711.

7 *PO.* xvii 530 = *ib.* i 532.

8 *PO.* x 204, 227, 272. The Sa'idic Calendar (BM. 146) has the name only.

9 BM. Or. 8805 f. 25, Leyden no. 41 (in Catal. 1900) and in the Cairo *Psalmodia*, 1908, p. 82. He appears here between John of Heraclea and Pistaurus (*cf.* *PO.* i 557).

10 *Jême* no. 93, 3. In *ib.* 100, 5 he is styled πνευματοφόρος, which if not a simple blunder, should indicate an ascete.

11 I had noted this suggestion, but I cannot now trace the authority for it.

12 *E.g.* Dionysammon, Heraclammon, Hermammon, Hephaestammon, Ploutammon, Sarapammon (all in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*), besides those where the first name is that of an Egyptian god: Besammon, Chnoubammon, Isammon, Pachoumammon, Souchammon.

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The monastery of Abraham, which we read of in the Life of Pesenthius¹ as γενεετε, μονή or μοναστήριον, must have been in this neighborhood. Presumably it is that named in one of our letters.² Since bishop Abraham, who governed the monastery of Saint Phoebammon, was Pesenthius's contemporary, it may be asked whether the two monasteries are not one and the same. It is remarkable that a monastery of Saint Phoebammon is not named in the Life of Pesenthius.³ Another "monastery (τόπος) of the holy Abraham, the anchorite" was that restored by the sons of Zacharias in A.D. 698; but of this it is impossible now to ascertain the situation.⁴

Other
monasteries

The Life of Pesenthius speaks of the monastery or congregation of Tsenti as that in which the saint at one time dwelt⁵ and near to which he was buried.⁶ These statements should, as we have already seen, allow of locating it near Ḳûṣ. Clerics mentioned as belonging to the Hill of Tsenti presumably came thence.⁷ The fact that the 8th century documents from Jême never name it is perhaps evidence that the forebodings of Pesenthius's contemporaries⁸ had by then been realized and that the community did not long survive the holy man who had adorned it.

A monastery of Macarius, (son) of Patoure, occurs in a document contemporary with the present texts.⁹ It is referred to as opposite Pshenhôr, south of Ḳûṣ. The document is addressed to bishop Pesenthius, in whose diocese the monastery doubtless lay.

The τόπος of Patermouthius at Jême¹⁰ and "the brethren of Apa Patermouthius"¹¹ may be assumed to refer to one place, named after "the great bishop, him that shineth among the saints, the holy Apa Patermouthius."¹²

The Forty Martyrs (of Sebaste) shared a τόπος at Ermont with the holy Theophilus.¹³ One of the forty is indeed named Theophilus, but he would not be in place here; nor do the Alexandrian martyrs either of the 15th Bâbeh, or of Eusebius¹⁴ seem likely; less still Theophilus the patriarch, to whom no dedication has as yet been met with.

The monastery of the holy Apa Sergius at Ape¹⁵ may either preserve its founder's name, or commemorate a saint, perhaps the martyr of the 13th Amshîr. The latter is indeed a Delta saint, but the popularity of Decian and Diocletian martyrs was great throughout the country.

It is likewise impossible to say whether the monastery of Mena at Jême¹⁶ commemorates

1 Budge *Apoc.* 79, 81, *MIE.* ii 352, 357. 2 330.
3 Except only in the introductory passage of the Arabic version: v. *ZDMG.* 68, 180, where its mysterious epithet دجوج was left unexplained.
4 Alexandria, stele 274 (Botti. A squeeze kindly sent by Prof. Breccia). *Provenance* unknown. Dated as follows: Symeon being Archbishop, A.M. 414, 11th Indiction, "the people of the Saracens ruling the land 55 years."
5 *MIE.* ii 393. 6 Budge *Apoc.* 126.
7 *CO.* 248, *ST.* 435. 8 Budge 123.
9 *RE.* 11. Cf. *CO.* 174, 368, which show that Patoure is a person, not a place.

10 *Jême* no. 10, 12. Cf. here 488. 11 *ST.* 115.
12 *Jême* no. 21, 36, no. 66, 28. "The feast of Apa P.", alluded to on an ostrakon (*Proc. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 1890, p. 32, now belonging to New York Histor. Society. *V.* below, p. 162). The name in the *Synaxar.* is درمتاوس, 7th *Kihak*.
13 *ST.* 46.
14 *HE.* vi 41 (22). 15 *Jême* no. 81, 4.
16 *Jême* no. 75, 137. *V.* Part II p. 347. Graffiti, thrice naming ὁ ἅγιος Μῆνας, in the temple of Medinet Habu (Lefebvre *Recueil* 376) suggest that his church was there. Other graffiti (or ? the same), inadequately published in the *Description de l'Égypte*, also name him. *V.* above, p. 5.

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the *μεγαλομάρτυς* of Mareotis, or some local bishop or abbot. That he is not merely an owner or benefactor is clear from the epithet *ἅγιος* prefixed to the name in a Jême deed¹ and in a letter from the steward, perhaps of this same *τόπος*.²

A like uncertainty attaches to the monastery of the holy Apa Coluthus in the diocese of Keft:³ he may be the celebrated martyr of Antinoë, or he may be some local worthy, possibly the revered ascete who, in the days of Pesenthius, dwelt on the hill of Tsenti.⁴

The holy Apa Papnoute again had a "place" (*μα* = *τόπος*) in the hill of Ape.⁵ Is he the hermit-martyr of Denderah? A graffito, written perhaps by an inmate of this monastery, would make it appear so.⁶

The *τόπος* of the holy Apa Psate, "that shineth among the saints," lay on the hill of Jême.⁷ Two martyrs of this name figure in the *Synaxarium*: the bishop of Psoi (27th Kîhak) and a saint of Oxyrhynchus (24th Tûbah). Impossible to say which is here intended.

The holy Apa Paul, "the great anchorite," had a monastery in "the *κολλῶλ*, Cup" (? hollow), of the hill of Jême.⁸ This monastery is conspicuous in mss. recently come to light, where it is called "the *κολλῶλ* of Apa Paul, in the hill of Jême,"⁹ while in another of these this appellation seems to be translated by *καῦκοι*, whereby its meaning as here given is confirmed.¹⁰ The name recurs indeed elsewhere, spelt normally.¹¹ Paul, a monk of Penhôtep, left a name and is commemorated in the Theban *Synaxarium* on the 17th Hatûr, but we know not if this be he. Of the above texts two are dated, one in 699, the other in 735, and since Epiphanius's day many a holy man had doubtless come to fame in these hills.

The great Shenoute's name is presumably that borne by a "holy *τόπος*" mentioned in our Appendix III.¹²

The holy Apa Victor's *τόπος*, evidently dependent upon the bishop of Ermont,¹³ is presumably the monastery of "the victorious, the conquering, the encrowned, the triumphant, the far-shining, the holy Abba Victor," in the *castrum* of Jême.¹⁴ It is called, one may take it, after the famous son of Romanus, whose *μαρτύρια* in Egypt could not, we are told, be counted.¹⁵ A different monastery therefore must be that of Victor, still to be seen in the plain W. of Naḳâdah, "on the desert edge (*ḥâgir*) of 'Izab Ḳamûlah." This Victor is "the

¹ Rylands Library, acquired in 1920 (v. Rylands *Bulletin* v 497 ff.). Perhaps a distinct church, since it has two patrons, *Φατίος ἀπ᾽ ἀννα ἀννα π*].

² *ST.* 217.

³ *Jême* no. 67, 137 (cf. *ib.* 4).

⁴ Budge *Apoc.* 91.

⁵ *Jême* no. 81, 61.

⁶ 698. On saints of this name v. Ryl. 53 n.

⁷ *Jême* no. 50, 17. Cf. *ST.* 88.

⁸ *Jême* no. 106, 69.

⁹ MMA. 24.2.6. The same monastery is elsewhere (MMA. 24.2.3) that of "the late Apa Paul, the anchorite, that is now among the saints."

¹⁰ MMA. 24.2.4, addressed to the monks as *ὑμῶν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι καύκοις*. Note that *κελλῶλ* regularly translates

βανκάλιον, which is considered a variant (probably a mis-writing) of *κανκάλιον*.

¹¹ *πκελλῶλ ετερνήε*, in the hill of Jême, on an ostrakon kindly copied by M. Munier. The second of these names recurs in *ST.* 224, Hall p. 68. There is a well-known street in Jême named *πριρ πκελλῶλ*, which may or may not be connected with this monastery (*V. Jême Index* p. 469). Cf. *πκελλῶλ ἀπισι* in the Acts of Nilus, Paris 129¹⁶, 39.

¹² Also perhaps in *BKU.* 284. The monastery of the Cross, SW. of Naḳâdah, adjoins that of Shenoute, now in ruins (*El Luluwah el babîyah* p. 351 and information kindly obtained on the spot by Mr. W. M. Hayes of the Survey Department, Gizah).

¹³ *CO.* 30. ¹⁴ *Jême* no. 15, 32. ¹⁵ Lemm *KKS.* 559.

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great martyr," with the epithet **الصحراوي**, whatever that may here imply, and his monastery is known as Deir el Kûlah.¹

That of Apa George² may have the great martyr as patron and, if identical with "the holy George" named elsewhere,³ should point to him. For it may probably be assumed that the epithet **ἅγιος** implies at least some sort of popular canonization and that it would scarcely be applied where the deceased is no more than a local contemporary. Yet certain of the local bishops, doubtless deceased, are honored with it: Ananias, Germanus, Paternouthius.⁴ While writers of letters now and then abuse it,⁵ several monasteries lack the epithet. Such are:

The **τόπος** of Apa Elias,⁶ perhaps identical with that of Elias "of the Rock,"⁷ recalls the church hollowed in the rock, 3 miles W. of Naḳâdah.⁸ "The Rock" occurs again, both near Thebes and elsewhere.

The monastery of Moses,⁹ perhaps the same as that of "the holy Moses" (where however the Coptic original probably had **ἅγιος**), visited by Pesenthius and his disciple from Jême.¹⁰ The story seems to imply that this lay farther north, for returning thence the visitors journeyed "upstream"¹¹; but at what distance we know not. The well-known monastery of Moses at Balyanâ would seem too far off to be here in question. Or is this merely another designation for that of Samuel, whose abbot at that time was named Moses?¹²

The monastery of Apa Samuel is named in a contract,¹³ in the *Synaxarium*¹⁴ and in the Life of Pesenthius.¹⁵ In the Arabic texts this monastery bears also the name of Deir es Sanad.¹⁶ Whether this be the transcription of some Coptic word, or the Arabic for "slope of a hill," is an open question. The latter appears the more probable.¹⁷ Sanad is indeed a local term in the district today—at Barâhmah, opposite Ballâṣ, and at Harâġîyah, below Kûṣ; but these are both upon the east bank, whereas the Life of Andrew¹⁸ tells how, quitting Shanhûr, he crossed westward, to the monastery of Abba Samuel.¹⁹ This text further relates that the monastery was subsequently devastated; in fact there still exists a ruined monastery thus named 1½ hours W. of Naḳâdah.²⁰

1 Paris 44 f. 139, in a note, printed by Mallon in Beyrouth *Mélanges* i 115. 'Iṣab for ḡarb is preferred by the editors of Ibn Gi'ân, p. 194, though the latter seems the more intelligible. As to Kûlah, cf. Kûlet Ghazzâl, a locality at Ḳamûlah (*Reassessment of Land Tax*, Qena (Qamulah), p. 18). One might wonder whether **الصحراوي** could transcribe (and misunderstand) **εἰς τὰς βάραι**, apparently the designation of an unlocated monastery of Victor, named in an Aswân graffito (*Rec.* 37, 46). The epithet might however be due to position, since the monastery is upon a conspicuous rock (Hayes). 2 Hall p. 99.

3 Here 87, *Jême* no. 43, 44. One also near Naḳâdah.

4 Respectively *Jême* no. 24, 68, no. 3, 22, no. 21, 37.

5 Here 247, *CO.* 396, both by the irrepressible Frange (*V.* 119 and Part II Addenda).

6 Hall p. 148, reprinted by Preisigke *Sammelb.* 3972. Cf. *ST.* 197.

7 *V.* p. 197; also *CO.* 455, *BKU.* 284, prob. Cairo 8467. Also in Tur. 8, instead of **τριστολ** (revised reading by

Prof. Jernstedt). On the use of **πέτρα** thus *v. WS.* p. 7. The meaning of **ḥâġir**, which seems to be its equivalent, had been already noted by G. Wilkinson *Topogr. of Thebes* 40. **Ḥâġir** is employed several times in the catalogue of monasteries and churches in *El Luluwâh* p. 348 ff. in reference to those situated upon the desert edge.

8 Bock *Matériaux* p. 83.

9 *CO.* 191.

10 Paris *arabe* 4785, 185 b. The name is there spelt **موساس**.

11 **قد رجعنا مصعدين**.

12 *Loc. cit.* 194 b.

13 *ST.* 340.

14 21st Kîhak, *PO.* iii 497. 15 Paris *arabe* 4785, 194 b.

16 *Loc. cit.* 201. The explanation **سنط** = **سند**, proposed in *ZDMG.* 68, 181, seems inadmissible.

17 Cf. perhaps **εαντοοτ**, *Papyruscod.* 105 n. (*leg.* **τοοτ**), miswritten **εανταοτ** in certain of the Morgan mss.

18 Paris *arabe* 4882, 3 b.

19 A Senad, put by the Atlas of the *Description*, Pl. V, above Ermont, would lie too far south for consideration.

20 Mr. Hayes, as above.

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Among the monasteries near Naḳâdah Sicard alone names that of “St. Palémon” (Palamôn).¹ If this were correctly located here, we might include it in the present catalogue. But other evidence places the monastery of Palamôn at Ḳaṣr eṣ Ṣaiyâd, some 40 miles farther downstream² and so hardly within our Theban limits. That it is the name of Pachomius’s teacher which the monastery bears—the name is as likely to be a native one, compounded with Ammon, as the Greek Παλαίμων³—seems, from its locality, probable. He indeed is once called “the father of Pbow (Fâu),”⁴ whence we might conjecture that his monastery is none other than that of Pachomius. The Palamôn who, in the *Synaxarium*, is connected with Lataṣôn (Latṣôn) and who belongs to more northern Egypt, would be a namesake.⁵

A monastery known as that of Pachomius—presumably at Pbow—although figuring in the Theban *Synaxarium*,⁶ is not named in our texts. There appears formerly to have been one, some distance to the NW. of Esne,⁷ while one still in use outside Luxor pretends to high antiquity.⁸

The τόπος of Apa John, named in a contract, recalls monasteries bearing this name in other texts,⁹ though its designation, “in the desert,” seems rather to show that it had namesakes elsewhere. We cannot of course identify its patron saint.

Posidonius, whether saint or abbot, had given his name to a monastery in these parts.¹⁰ In our material the name recurs but once.¹¹

Apa Leontius had a τόπος, evidently within the diocese of Ermont,¹² called perhaps after its abbot, perhaps after one of the martyrs of that name.

Several other monasteries are met with in the vicinity, besides those that bear the names of individuals. That of the Cross, Deir eṣ Ṣalīb, is twice mentioned in the Arabic Life of Pesenthius,¹³ who at one time appears to have dwelt there.¹⁴ An ancient monastery of this name is to be seen today, upon the desert edge, west of Naḳâdah¹⁵; its position, in the midst of the diocese of Keft, suggests identity with its 7th century namesake. Moreover

Monasteries
not bearing
names of
persons

1 In *Lettres Édifiantes*, 1780, v 253.

2 Vansleb in Paulus *Samlg. d. Merkw. Reisen* iii 377. Cf. *El Luluwah* 350. So too Mr. Hayes.

3 The Βίος Παχουμ. as printed has Παλαίμων, but a variant, *PO.* iv 481, reads Παλάμων. Palamôn corresponds rather to Παλαμοῦνις (v. Preisigke).

4 *Miss.* iv 460. His day is 25th Abīb: Forget ii 246.

5 Indeed the Cairo *Abṣalyāt*, 1913, ٣٧٤, ٣٧٥, identifies (or confuses) them. For this Palamôn v. *PO.* xi 747 = i 622, also *ib.* x 275 (Abū ’l Barakât’s Calendar). For Lataṣôn v. *PO.* xvii 570. A fragt. of his Arabic Acts, by his disciple Philotheus: BM. Or. 5650, 69, 70. The name تلاتصون seems to be nothing but a metathesis of تلاتصون, Talâṣôn, which again represents Θαλασσίων (Baḥrân), as can be seen in the Arabic version of the Thalassius legend in the pseudo-Athanasian homily on Michael, printed in *الميامر السيدية التعازي الروحية في* *Bibl. Hag. Or.* no. 768). It is to be noted that (1) at

Oxyrhynchus, Lataṣôn’s home, we find the name Θαλαττίων (P. Oxy. no. 1905) and that (2) the names بلامون, and تلاتصون have a suspicious graphic resemblance.

6 *PO.* iii 283, xi 667.

7 Rohlf’s *Drei Monate in d. Lib. Wüste* 316. It is marked on the map in the *Guide Joanne*.

8 Legrain *Louqsor sans les Pharaons*, 1914, 38.

9 *V.* 397 n.

10 F. Petrie *Qurneh Pl.* XLVIII, unless we take the writer of this graffito to be a stranger from Palestine. *V.* Butler in *Hist. Laus.* ii p. 213 n. 66.

11 Hall p. 118.

12 *CO.* Ad. 9.

13 *Paris arabe* 4785, 180 b, 201.

14 “At that moment it befell that our father was coming forth from the tower and was upon the stair اسقالة, so as to descend to the lower part of the monastery,” *loc. cit.* 180.

15 *Baedeker*, 1914, 224, Murray’s *Handbook*, 1896, 768.

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this is that monastery which elsewhere is apparently called that of Andrew¹; if so, it should be that named on the *Survey Map* both *دير ورياس* (*i.e.* دير انبا ندراس) and *دير ابو الليف*; for the Life of Andrew tells us² that he removed from Deir es Sanad (*i.e.* the monastery of Samuel) to Deir eṣ Ṣalīb. Yet the modern registers give both a monastery (or church?) of the Cross and one of Andrew, although next one to another.³

The monastery of the Dyke meets us more than once. A note on this in Part II calls for modification.⁴ Tīnah, or Et Tīnah, "the Dyke," is a common name in villages of this district.⁵ The expression *πρωτοε*, discussed there in connection with this, may however sometimes designate an independent "congregation." It recalls the monastery in the plain of Naḳâdah, named by Vansleb "El Magma,"⁶ unless this word be held more likely to translate *πρωτοε*, a term applied to the monastery of Tsenti.⁷

We learn the names, if nothing more, of the New Monastery⁸ and the Monastery of the Well;⁹ the latter recalling on the one hand Deir el 'Ain, another name for the monastery of Saint Michael at Ḳamûlah¹⁰ (*cf.* probably that extant to the W. of Naḳâdah), and on the other the story of the anchorite Ezekiel and the well which God blessed for him.¹¹ A monastery of Ezekiel is named again in the *Synaxarium*¹² and perhaps elsewhere.¹³ The term *πρωτοε*, in the name of another, is still of uncertain meaning.¹⁴

To the monasteries named after Pesenthus we shall refer when speaking of that saint.

There is one well-known monastic site in the vicinity, the modern name of which demands notice: Deir el Bakhît.¹⁵ This name has been given an Arabic explanation,¹⁶ but its situation, relatively to the other monasteries about Jême, suggests that Bakhît contains the Coptic word for "north," preceded by a prefix. Several Theban expressions, which could be regarded as real place-names, support this etymology¹⁷: most striking among them a place *Παχητος* (genit.), in an 8th century fiscal (?) list,¹⁸ wherein several churches are

1 Paris *arabe* 4785, 201, Pesenthus's friend A., head of Deir eṣ Ṣalīb; *arabe* 4793, 2, A.'s festival held in his monastery of Deir eṣ Ṣ., where his body lies. The allusion in *Tor.* 27 (*v.* below, p. 182) to "the priest Andrew" may point to this place. 2 Paris *arabe* 4882, 9.

3 *El Luluwah* p. 351. Mr. Hayes (*v.* above) likewise distinguishes the monastery of the Cross from that of Andrew.

4 300 n. 3.

5 *V. Reassessment of Land Tax, e.g.* (under Luxor) at Aqâlta, Ba'irât, Zineyât. The obvious Arabic etymology may well conceal a Coptic original.

6 *Nouv. Relat.* 411. C. Sicard (*loc. cit.* 119, 253) translates this as "Mon. of the Synod," and in earlier writers *συνοδία* is indeed equivalent now and then to *κοινόβιον* (Evagrius *TuU.* xxxix 4). Mr. Hayes was informed that this term refers to the monastery of St. George, W. of Naḳâdah. *El Magma'* is also the name given to the great church at the White Monastery (*Miss.* iv 353).

7 Budge 120, 126.

8 [ΘΕ]ΠΕΤΕ *nēppe*, in a Philipps fragment probably from the Pesenthusian *dossier*. In Deir el Gedîd, outside Ed Deir (N. of Ballâs) this may possibly survive.

9 ΠΕΣΗΤ Π[Τ]ΠΗΤ, Hall p. 88 and ? *BKU.* 293. In the first case it does not seem possible to read [ΠΕ]ΠΗΤ = the *ἐποίκιον*, on which *v.* below. It must however be admitted that "the brethren" need not imply a monastic congregation; in *CO.* 292 the term seems to mean the clergy of two churches. "Brethren," *plus* bishops and deacons, should mean the laity (*Vita Anton.*, PG. 26, 941 A).

10 Abû Ṣalîḥ f. 104 b.

11 *PO.* iii 462.

12 *PO.* xi 515.

13 *CO.* Ad. 16, also the invocation *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* no. 11, 345. For the simple genit. *ΠΑΠΑ ΙΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ*, *cf.* Golenischeff's pap., *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Archaeol. Soc.* xviii 026, ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΡΩΜ, also *ST.* 197, Lefebvre *Rec.* 582.

14 *Zapiski* as above, p. 032. *Cf.* Ryl. 129 n.

15 *V.* above, p. 21.

16 Lepsius *Briefe* 295.

17 *ST.* 222 ΔΡΗΤ, *Tor.* 3 ΔΡΙΤ (?), *ST.* 308 ΠΡΗΤ, *ib.* 376 ΠΑΡΤ. *Cf.* also at Aphrodito ΦΗΤ (BM. Gk. iv nos. 1419, 1615) and terms surviving into modern nomenclature: Bikhêt (*cf.* Barîs) in *Reassessment &c.* Qena (Isna), pp. 9, 10; and Nag' Yûsuf Bakhêt (El Zintyeh), 'Ezbet Bikhît (Bahgûra).

18 P. Michigan, 1924.

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named, so that a monastery would not seem out of place. As to the Arabic duplicate of such a name: Deir el Baḥri, see Winlock's observations.¹

Churches

In a certain number of cases it is evident that churches, not monasteries, are referred to. "The holy church of Jême," which constantly recurs,² we take to be a particular building and not merely an inclusive term, embracing all the churches of the town. "The catholic church of Jême," likewise often mentioned, would be the principal church,³ equivalent probably to the *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία* of Greek texts.

Churches of Saint Mary—sometimes merely *θεοτόκος*—are naturally to be found in Jême,⁴ in Ermont⁵ and elsewhere: in "the Field"⁶ and at Tregata.⁷

Presumably a church is "The Apostle" (? Paul),⁸ although "The Apostles" might be church or monastery.⁹ Once this is called a *τόπος*,¹⁰ while in the *Synaxarium* we read of a church dedicated to the Apostles in Gebel Bishwêw.¹¹

The church of Saint Michael is probably meant when a legal transaction (here not an oath apparently) is carried out "in St. Michael, the Archangel."¹² Whether at Kalba it was a church or monastery of his we cannot tell¹³; Abû Şâlih shows that there existed many of both.¹⁴

A church of Stephen is mentioned, in relation to the town of Ape.¹⁵

A church of the holy Peter is thrice referred to.¹⁶ The church of Peter the Elder (or the Great), a saint not as yet identified, was at Keft.¹⁷ He himself, though plainly venerated in the district and one of its earliest hermits,¹⁸ does not appear to have found a place in the local *Synaxarium*.

The church of Apa Onnophrius, the Anchorite, was probably at or near Keft. It was there that one of bishop Pesenthius's homilies is recorded to have been delivered.¹⁹

"The victorious martyr" Cyriacus had a church no doubt, for in it oaths are administered and it has a *lector*.²⁰ It was presumably at Jême, since the documents which allude to it have several witnesses from there. Which martyr this Cyriacus is remains doubtful; the Coptic church honors two of the name at least: the bishop of Jerusalem (Judas), and the son of Julitta. Yet another is invoked, it seems, among the military saints.²¹

1 P. 12 n. It may be noted that, perhaps in contrast to one of these names, the so-called Temple of Hadrian, S. of Medinet Habu, is, or was, known as Deir el Kiblî (Sayce in *PSBA.* iv 122).

2 *Jême* Index p. 470. The expression can be found often elsewhere, e.g. Wessely *Stud.* iii + viii Index p. 304. In *Jême* no. 66, 84, "the church of Jême" may be a slip for "the holy church."

3 *Jême* no. 37, 108, no. 48, 65. Cf. *PSBA.* xxvii 171. In Vat. lxvii 77 it is contrasted with a *ἐκκλήριον*.

4 *Jême* Index p. 469. 5 678. 6 *CO.* 36.

7 *Jême* no. 94, 63. Cf. our 468 n.

8 *Jême* no. 38, 68.

9 *Jême* no. 36, 77 &c. Maḡrizi's Catalogue gives both churches and monasteries under this vocable.

10 *Jême* no. 109, 7.

11 *PO.* iii 285, 13th Hatûr.

12 *ST.* 177, a papyrus from the Pesenthius correspondence, so that we may imagine the church to be near Keft. It may indeed be still extant in Deir el Malâk, W. of Kamûlah. This conjecture is supported by another text (*ST.* 176) which speaks simply of (the *τόπος* of) "the Archangel."

13 *Jême* no. 90, 47.

14 Index p. 369.

15 *BKU.* 35.

16 Louvre R. 49, *CO.* 301, *Jême* no. 73, 18.

17 *Synax.*, *PO.* iii 498; cf. *ib.* 300, 301, in the last of which Peter's "cave" is in question.

18 *PO.* xi 783.

19 *ST.* 156, *ROC.* xx 40.

20 *Jême* no. 37, 15, no. 69, 83, *RE.* 18.

21 Bock *Matériaux* p. 38 and copy by N. de G. Davies; Cyriacus on the 29th Tûbah is but one of the many errors in the Calendar published by Nilles (*Kalend. Man.* ii² 714). All others read Syriacus.

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It would be in a church likewise of the holy Theodore that a legal matter is decided,¹ but here again the saint's identity is doubtful. A still existing church, bearing the name of Theodore the General, is noticed in Chapter 1. A church of Cosmas and Theodore occurs in documents connected both with Keft and Jême.² In one of these it is placed "in the territory (ἐνορία) of Pakôthis (?)," a name recalling πακεῖτ.³

Allusion is also made in Chapter I to the church of Isidore the martyr.

It is presumably the church of Philotheus the martyr whose clerics are twice named⁴ and whose land (or buildings) is alluded to as near Ermont.⁵ Doubtless this is the martyr of the 16th Tûbah.⁶

Apa Patape gave his name to a church.⁷ As this is presumably the martyr bishop of Keft, commemorated upon the 19th Abîb, his church should be sought in that diocese.⁸

Whether "the field of the holy Apa Hatre, in the hill of Pmiles"⁹ points to church or monastic property it is not possible to tell. This saint is most likely to be the early hermit, commemorated upon the 3rd Amshîr, "the first to be a monk on the desert edge (ḥâgir) of Benhadeb (Penhôtep) in our country," says the compiler of the Theban *Synaxarium*.

At Ballâş, a little to the north of Keft, was, we know, the church of Apa Sansnô.¹⁰ No saint of this name is to be traced, though another church under his name was in the Fayyûm.¹¹

An equally obscure saint named Psamô had a church in the neighborhood of Luxor, since its priest is "a man of the *castrum* of Nê."¹²

Apa Faustus, who may or may not be one of the accredited saints of the name, had a church (or monastery), perhaps in the diocese of Ermont, since one of its clergy appears in a document addressed to bishop Abraham.¹³

Whether the church of Saint Phoebammon, as to which bishop Abraham gives certain instructions,¹⁴ is distinct from his monastery we know not.

Finally a few monasteries or churches are distinguished merely by their places of situation. One at the Southern Pake recalls the name of one presumably at Jême.¹⁵ It might

Monasteries
or churches
known only
by situation

1 CO. 105.

2 MMA. 24.2.3 and 24.2.7. Cosmas is presumably the brother of Damianus. Churches of Cosmas alone are rare: BM. 1100, Abû Şâlih f. 56a.

3 Jême no. 91, 36. Cf. the other names in Jême beginning with πα-. Pakôthis is a hypothetical nominative, presumed from πακωθεος in the text. For ἐνορία v. Wilcken *Grundz.* 77.

4 Cairo 46304, 26 and 30, both discarded.

5 ST. 37.

6 Cf. *Theol. Texts* nos. 16, 17. Complete text of the Acts in MS. Morgan xli.

7 Tur. 14, a text exactly parallel to CO. 57, where also a church is in question.

8 But who is Bidâbius, martyr, on the 7th Amshîr, according to Abû 'l Barakât? (PO. x 264). To what was said CO., Final Additions, no. 169, reference may here be added to the Diptychs, in one form of which Pitape with his companion Andrew is named (BM. Or. 8805 f. 26 b);

also to his monastery still extant, near Bahgûrah (*Recensement Général* 582, the Jesuit *Études* T. 89, 253, and Vansleb in Paulus *Sammlung* &c. iii 377), doubtless the same as that in the "hill" of Farshût (*El Luluwab* p. 350). The Egyptian hermit at Constantinople (*Bibl. Hagiogr. Graec.* 198), invoked, it seems, in a mediaeval charm (A. Vassiliev *Anecdota* 337), is of course a different person.

9 Jême no. 107, 14.

10 ST. 156. The text appears to be a list of churches, though Cairo 8492 might point to a monastery whose abbot's epitaph this would be.

11 Wessely *loc. cit.* 710 &c.

12 WZKM. 1902, 261 (collated). The name is there spelt Pesamou.

13 CO. 51.

14 *Sphinx* x 149; *sic leg.* on photograph kindly sent by Prof. G. Farina.

15 Jême no. 50, 42, no. 66, 81.

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be questioned whether $\tau\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ is there a true place-name, though as such it is found farther north.¹

The church of Pkôh $\pi\kappa\omega\zeta$, perhaps = of "the (hill) top," one might imagine to have stood on some high point behind Jême. It lay within the bishopric of Ermont.² The name could however be otherwise explained. A Jême ostrakon³ names one Sabinus, $\pi\rho\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$, a place with which we might perhaps identify $\pi\kappa\omega\zeta$ and which might possibly be read elsewhere.⁴ Whether this name ought to recall to us the otherwise unknown saint of the White Monastery Calendar, Pachôm, the anchorite $\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$,⁵ is questionable.

Of the church at $\kappa\rho\alpha$ nothing can be said so long as the name remains uncompleted.⁶

An $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ Ακ^θ , i.e. ? Ἀκανθῶν , is named in two fragmentary topographical lists relating certainly to the vicinity of Ermont and Thebes.⁷ A $\chi\omicron\rho\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\theta\eta\nu$ (? = $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$) occurs in a document from the same district⁸ and places so named were to be found elsewhere.⁹ What ought to correspond thereto in Coptic, $\pi\psi\omicron\pi\tau\epsilon$ (or $\tau\psi\omicron\pi\tau\epsilon$, if a single tree), is not found here, though we see it at Aphrodito.¹⁰

Notes may in conclusion be added upon a selection of names—chosen, for the most part, from those not already discussed elsewhere—because something can be found to say of them, whereas in too many cases we are not yet able to contribute anything beyond the bare name.

$\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\iota\omega\sigma\eta\Phi$, BP. 5141, "they said he would go to Apa Joseph tomorrow." This has the appearance rather of a place than a person and recalls the Nag'a Abû Yûsuf, near Barâhmah, opposite Ballâş.

$\alpha\pi\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$, Hall pp. 103, 111 ($\alpha\pi\iota\tau\eta\lambda\eta$), probably in the nome of Ermont, recurs, among villages in that nome, in a Greek papyrus fragment,¹¹ where we see its genitive, Απιτελίου . This is very likely the $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ in the same nome which should be read $\alpha\pi\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda[\epsilon]$, not $\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota$.¹²

$\epsilon\delta\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda\epsilon$, CO. 179 (Cf. our 156), wherewith compare Kôm Bilâl, north-west of Kûş, which, written بلل , is no doubt pronounced *Belêl* or *Balêl*.

$\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\kappa$, in ST. 296 as "the Ἐποίκιον ," without further qualification. Cf., in a Phillippis fragment, $\pi\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota$, in MMA. 24.2.7 $\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$ (perhaps in the vicinity of Keft) and again on a milestone (v. below, Tchoue). The last instance suggests proximity to

1 V. Thompson's note, *Saqqara* no. 27, and the same village perhaps in PO. iv 132, BGU. 553, 892 &c. Labib *Dict. s.v.* has $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$ as a place; he does not give his source. In our present instance $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma(\iota\varsigma)$ may be compared with several "southern" places: $\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\eta$ $\rho\eta\varsigma$, $\tau\iota\Phi\alpha$ $\rho\eta\varsigma$ (De Morgan *Catal.* i 136), $\pi\mu\omicron\tau$ $\rho\eta\varsigma$ (RE. 38, *sic leg.*, not $\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$), $\Pi\rho\eta\mu\rho\eta\varsigma$ (BM. Gk. iv 1419), $\Pi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$ (and $\Pi\alpha\tau\rho\eta$, BGU. 552, Wessely iii 216). But the only other case in which a Greek termination is thus suffixed is $\Psi\omega\beta\iota\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ P. Amherst cix, wherewith cf. the simple $\Psi\omega\beta\theta\iota\varsigma$ at Oxyrhynchus. A few places, it may be observed, show the corresponding "northern" termination: $\Pi\kappa\alpha\nu\mu\eta\tau$ (Cairo 67109), Τσαμητ (BM. Gk. iv 1419), $\Phi\alpha\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau$ (Wessely iii

119), $\Pi\rho\epsilon\mu\tau$ (P. Amh. xxxv, cf. ? $\Pi\rho\eta\mu\rho\eta\varsigma$ above), $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\tau\eta\varsigma$ (BGU. 552 &c.).

2 CO. 57, from bishop Abraham. 3 BM. 44721.

4 CO. 167 v. 5 Leyden p. 214.

6 ST. 156. Cf. 154. 7 P. Michigan, 1924.

8 Ostrakon formerly in the Amherst collection. On its verso is CO. 395.

9 V. Mitlb. Rainer v 17, BM. Gk. iv p. 413, *ib.* v p. 91.

10 BM. Gk. iv Index p. 597. $\pi\psi\omicron\pi\tau\epsilon$ in the Life of Pesenthus (Budge 89, 107) is merely "acacia-thicket."

11 P. Michigan, 1924.

12 Jême no. 93, 1. A facsimile shows the last visible letter to be λ , after which the papyrus is broken off.

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Ermont. It has already been proposed to take the word *bebîg* بيبج, prefixed to certain place-names in the Fayyûm,¹ for a transcription of *ἐποίκιον*,² which, with Coptic article, appears as ππικ, ³ (π)επισι,⁴ πεπετε.⁵ The sole recorded occurrence of *bebîg* in Southern Egypt is *Bebîg el Qahramân*, province of Qûs.⁶ This one might suppose to be the rendering of a πεποίκιον μποικοπομος; but no such name has been found.

ζωιλε, *RE.* 50, a village evidently, since its *lashane* is mentioned. Perhaps the same as σετελε.⁷ Seeing that the text is a report or complaint to bishop Pesenthus, one would look for this place in the neighborhood of Keft.

καριορε, *RE.* 10 *vo.* = Louvre R. 51 (not published by Revillout), recalls the name of Pachomius's foundation at Kahior. But that was clearly far distant, in the nome of Hermopolis.⁸

κωc. Two semi-legible graffiti from Deir el Baḥri (described above, p. 13) show this familiar name, with the addition ερετρ in one case, ρρηρ in the other. What can these be but forms of the word, found added in later times to the town's name under the form *kerêr* وارور?⁹ The formulae of these graffiti (ⲉⲩⲧ "son of") indicate a late date. On Qûs *v.* also πϣηρλια below.

λοηγε. *V.* below, at πατη.

μπεωρσ, Hall p. 106, or μπκωρκ, *ST.* 420, a κώμη in the nome of Ermont. *Cf.* σωρσ (π)πσοος, πσιμ πεωρσ,¹⁰ πτιμε σωρσ¹¹ as place-names. Menk- here would hardly be the feminine word μπσ,¹² μπρε,¹³ found several times as a place-name. Whether the latter of these, which is sometimes joined with a second word, as τμπε μπχος,¹⁴ is related to μπρε, apparently a field implement,¹⁵ we cannot yet say.¹⁶

ⲡⲁⲩⲱ, Hall p. 127. If this is not to be read ⲡ[ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲱ, "of Edfû," we have here one of the rare mentions of Ombos in Coptic texts. τμοτε ⲡⲡⲁⲩⲱ, "the Isle of Ombos," is named in a Vienna ostrakon and the town has a place in the Catalogue of bishoprics.¹⁷ But which Ombos would be here in question? That north-west of Qûs¹⁸ is considerably nearer to Thebes than that beyond Gebel Silsilah. The episcopal see was no doubt the southern Ombos; the other would be in the diocese of Keft.

πατη. In MMA. 24.2.3, among the witnesses, is Shenetôm πλδϣⲁⲡⲉ πατη πϣηπμακαριος ιωκωⲁ (*sic*). Here Pauê should, by position, be a place-name.¹⁹ It may be noted that a

1 Salmon in *BIF.* i 235.

2 *PO.* xiv 320.

10 *Ann. du S.* viii 90, 91.

3 *Jême* no. 81, 54.

4 Krall ccli.

11 BM. 1134. A similar, if not identical, name is Πτεμεγ-κυρκis (Antaeopolite nome), Athanasius *Apol. c. Ar.* § 67.

5 *Jême* no. 81, 3. No difficulty in accepting this equation is caused by the name πεπωσμ, which in Krall cxlv, though it corresponds to *ἐποίκιον*, does not transcribe it and recurs in Ryl. 340 as a place (in BM. 1137 as a mere noun).

12 *ST.* 273.

13 *CO.* 53, Hall p. 80.

6 Ibn Duqmâḡ v 31, Ibn Gi'ân 192. Proximity to Bahgûrah is not there implied, as M. Salmon assumed; the sequence in these lists is simply alphabetical.

14 *CO.* 307. *Cf.* *BKU.* 48 παμε μπχος = ϣοος.

15 *BKU.* 94 = *ÄZ.* 1885, 74.

7 *ST.* 169, assuming this Theban.

16 A division in the village of El Ba'irât, opposite Luxor, is El Manḡa' (منقاع), though this indeed admits of an Arabic etymology.

8 Amélineau *Géogr.* 208.

17 Amélineau *Géogr.* 573, 577.

18 F. Petrie *Nagada* 65.

9 J. Maspero & G. Wiet *Matériaux* 155.

19 We may emend to ππατη. This scribe writes incorrectly, confusing η and ε.

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Shenetôm is *lashane* in another text, where the following word, $\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$, must be his father's name (Longinus), placed as here, after his title.

$\pi\epsilon\alpha\tau$, *BKU*. 64, *ST*. 95, the name of the famous monastery of Pachomius. The name, which in certain Sa'idic mss. is written as here,¹ in others $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau$, is evidently among those whereof the meaning—uninterpreted so far—was such as to account for its recurrence in several localities. The Pachomian monastery was in the nome of Hou-Diospolis²; another monastery named $\text{Ba}\hat{\upsilon}$ was at Edfû³; a village $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\tau$ lay near Hermopolis⁴; yet another, $\Phi\omega\beta\omega\upsilon$ (*cf.* the Bohairic $\Phi\epsilon\omega\upsilon$) at Oxyrhynchus.⁵ $\Phi\mu\alpha\hat{\upsilon}$ (for $\Phi\beta\alpha\hat{\upsilon}$?), a Theban village,⁶ may be that of our texts.

$\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\alpha\tau$, "the East." In some cases probably the eastern side of the river; perhaps, more precisely, some quarter of the towns there. Once it occurs in conjunction with "the north,"⁷ elsewhere with Ermont and "the north,"⁸ or with Ermont and Jême,⁹ or with Taud.¹⁰ Going "to the east" is sometimes spoken of as if to a place.¹¹ A similar meaning is perhaps to be recognized where a priest "of the people of the East" comes to visit Pesenthius, who, we may suppose, was then to be found in Western Thebes¹²; an incident to which we see an allusion in the man "whose name was Anatolês" (? $\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\varsigma$), in another version of the saint's Life.¹³ Finally a very fragmentary list of monasteries (as it seems)¹⁴ gives $\alpha\lceil\pi\alpha\tau\omega\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ between $\lceil\pi\epsilon\rceil\mu\omicron\mu\tau$ and $\rho\lceil\pi\tau\alpha\alpha\epsilon$, allowing the conjecture that a place is thereby intended, although scarcely justifying its reference to one at Thebes.¹⁵

$\pi\iota\omega\epsilon$, *ST*. 44, where a pagarch of Ermont is mentioned, and *CO*. 470, where Temamên occurs. This is found again, in a fragmentary list of Hermonthite places.¹⁶ It seems most likely to be the $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$ spelt $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\epsilon$ in Coptic texts.¹⁷

$\pi\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\eta$, Budge *Misc.* 421 (colophon), a village "in the plain ($\pi\epsilon\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$), on the south of the city Snê (Esne)." A division of the village land at Es-Sebâ'iyah, some ten miles south of that town, has the name $\text{Kur}\hat{\upsilon}\text{sah}$,¹⁸ probably showing whereabouts this Pkourose is to be sought.

$\pi\pi\rho\omega\tau\tau$, *v.* 269 n. It remains to draw attention to the latter part of this name, which

¹ *E.g. Mus. Guim.* xvii 327, *Miss.* iv 548, *Papyruscod.* 54.
² *Epist. Ammon.* § 1. ³ *V.* 517 n.
⁴ Krall cxxxii, Giorgi *Panesniv* 183, doubtless the same as $\epsilon\omega\omicron\tau$, *BM.* 1077, Wessely iii 271.
⁵ *P. Oxy.* 1041.
⁶ *P.M. Meyer Gr. Texte* p. 177 = Deissmann *Licht*¹ 131. Bell confirms the reading.
⁷ *CO.* Ad. 67. ⁸ Hall p. 97.
⁹ *BP.* 986. ¹⁰ *CO.* 439.
¹¹ *CO.* 355, *ST.* 384.
¹² *Paris arabe* 4785, 158. *Cf. ZDMG.* 68, 183. But the "people of the East" are elsewhere those from the E. of Suez, the $\delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\varsigma$, *e.g. PO.* v 27.
¹³ Budge *Apoc.* 90. *Cf. ZDMG. ut supra.*
¹⁴ Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum, ms. copt. 25 (F). The other places legible are $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\tau$, $\pi\epsilon\alpha\alpha\tau$, $\psi\iota\eta\tau$, *i.e.* a series of important monasteries. Of this, the first, column the

ends are preserved; of the opposite one, the beginnings and these appear to be personal names. On the other side was a continuous text: last legible line $\lceil\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\tau \epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ ($\epsilon\tau\iota$) $\omicron\pi$ $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ [, signifying no doubt the above list of "hills" or monasteries.

¹⁵ Whether the villages El Baiyâdîah, Bayâdah (pron. Beiyêdieh), near Luxor and Karnak, can be compared here we will not venture to decide. (Note the forms $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon$ &c., *Jême Index* p. 367.) An Arabic etymology is obvious, but might be mistaken. The suggested Coptic one might be supported by the name Baiyâdîah bil nâzir, on the west or "opposite" bank (below El Minshâh), as if such a name, upon that bank, needed justification.¹

¹⁶ *P. Michigan*, 1924.

¹⁷ *CO.* 36, 184. The latter of these refers probably to monasteries there.

¹⁸ *Reassessment of Land Tax*, Aswân, p. 12.

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plainly shows the ancient $\frac{\text{ⲁ}}{\text{ⲓ}} \text{ⲛⲓⲡ}$ *h̄tp*. Whether the Coptic form resulted from a personal name (such as Amenhôtep or Imhôtep?¹), or represents a previous place-name, remains to be investigated.

ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲓⲣ, ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉⲣ, *ST.* 87, 220, *Jême* no. 89, 50. It is شيمير in the Arabic Life of Pesenthius, who was born there, and is located in the district (تخوم) of Ermont.² The other places named beside it are Temamên³ and Tabennêse, the former being at the northern extremity of the Hermonthite nome.

Ⲳⲉⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲡⲓⲟⲥ, ⲡⲥⲉ-, *Jême* no. 67, 4, 138, *CO.* Ad. 17, *ST.* 157, in the nome of Keft, appears, with the exception of Ⲳⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲛⲓⲥ, Ⲳⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲥⲏⲛⲓⲥ,⁴ and possibly that next following, to be the only place-name formed of *Pse-* and a personal name.

ⲡⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, ⲡⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, ⲡⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, ⲡⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, Ⲳⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, *MMA.* 24.2.3 and 24.2.7, Guidi *Coptica*⁵ and an ostracon copied by Professor A. Baumstark. Likewise in the nome of Keft. Whether ⲥⲓⲱⲡ, the man's name, all but unknown at Thebes,⁶ is an element here we cannot tell.

ⲡⲥⲏⲛⲥⲓⲱⲡ, *MMA.* 24.2.3, is a name similarly formed and can hardly but be identical with Pishenai,⁷ of which it may be a more primitive form. An ostracon *penes* A. H. Gardiner shows that Pishenai (there Pesenai) is "in the nome of Kôs."⁸ But no nome of Kôs (Ⲭⲱⲥ) has as yet been demonstrated, though "the eparchy of Kôs" and the iniquities committed therein are the subject of a report to bishop Pesenthius,⁹ albeit Kôs had a bishop of its own. Bishinai is, in the Theban *Synaxarium*, the home of Matthew the Poor,¹⁰ or the Potter.¹¹

ⲡⲣⲁⲡⲉⲙⲱⲧⲡ, *RE.* 45. *Cf.* the formations Ⲳⲏⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛ at Aphrodito,¹² ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉⲙⲱⲛ [ν?].¹³

ⲥⲁⲣⲥ, a village with a *lashane*, found in a Philipps fragment. If this papyrus—a deed, not a letter—were from the Pesenthian *dossier*, the place might be sought near to Keft.¹⁴

ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲡⲏⲛⲥⲉ. To what has been said in Part II, where a new etymology is proposed,¹⁵ we may add that, since the texts show Pachomius's Pbow to be Fâu, a day's journey from Tabennêse, we might perhaps see the latter name surviving in طناسي (officially transcribed Tanâsi), a division of the village of Tiweirât, some twenty miles distant, up the river, near Denderah.¹⁶

ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲧ, *CO.* 163, *ST.* 199, without any guide to its whereabouts. Perhaps Nag'a Darâu, a hamlet close to Asmant (Ⲭⲱⲥ). Another, south of Kôm Ombo, seems less likely here.

1 ? *Pr'yumh̄tp*. He was invoked at Deir el Baḥri; *v.* Milne in *JE.* i 96.

2 Paris *arabe* 4785, 103b, 196b. *Cf.* below, p. 225.

3 *Sic leg.*, thanks to a collation by M. Munier, instead of ⲧⲉⲙⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ. The places in *Jême* 89 may be compared with those in our 519, 526.

4 *BGU.* 379, 708 &c.

5 *Accad. dei Lincei Rendic.* 1906, 475.

6 Cairo stele 8564.

7 *V.* 433 n. Perhaps Pinai in 627 is meant for this.

8 ⲉⲁⲡⲓⲙⲱⲥ ⲡⲏⲱⲥ.

9 *RE.* 19. On the long persistence of the ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ, at least in name, *v.* Bell in *BM. Gk.* iv pp. xviii, xix.

10 7th Kîhak, *PO.* iii 397. The Matthew of Abû Ṣâliḥ, ff. 79 b, 87 a, should not be this one, but on f. 102 a he is clearly mentioned. There is however a confusion in these

references among several place-names: Aṣḫûn, where Matthew's monastery undoubtedly was situated (*BM. Or.* 6954 (53), ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲉⲡⲣⲱⲧⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲡⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲓ ⲙⲙⲱⲡⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲡ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲧⲓ ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲱⲛ); Aswân, in the current *Synax.*, obviously intended for Aṣḫûn; Esne, in his story as told in the Patriarchal Chron. (*PO.* v 79), and Anṣînâ-Antinoe, which in the Hamburg ms. of this, p. 147, as well as in Abû Ṣâliḥ, takes the place of Esne.

11 El Fâkhûrî: *v.* Labîb's periodical *Heliopolis-Ainsbems* iii 97, Lefebvre *Recueil* p. 97 n.

12 *BM. Gk.* iv p. 590, also in a Balaizah fragt.

13 P. Casati 8, 5 (H. Thompson).

14 Sarf (in Tir'at eṣ ṣarf, recorded in various villages) is of course the Arabic word. For a like reason Es Sarb, in several villages, is improbable here.

15 163 n.

16 *Reassessment*, Qena, p. 5.

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τᾱηῆε, *Jême* no. 118, 4, in the nome of Ermont. The village of Dabâbîyah, or Dabâibah, opposite Gebelein, should represent this (allowing for *imâlah* in the pronunciation). An identification with the Pachomian monastery at τᾱηῆε¹ is tempting, but the latter is in the Diospolite nome and would thus be irreconcilable with Dabâibah. Yet a Τβῆνε does occur among Hermonthite places, in a fragmentary list.²

τρκωτ, τερσωτ, *ST.* 51, 392, Hall p. 111, *CO.* 206, Vienna ostr. no. 12, Cairo ostr. 8233 (unpublished). In Greek Τερκυθις, Ταρκυτις, Τερκυθε³; in Demotic *T'rgt.*⁴ Hall's text probably locates it in the nome of Ermont. The name of Rizeikât, above Ermont, may be compared with it: metathesis of the first two consonants—the letter *r* is especially liable to this in Southern Egypt—and the assumption that ζ represents an earlier *t* and the equation becomes at least plausible.

τερρηῆε, *ST.* 224, Hall p. 68 and an ostracon copied by M. Munier. The last of these is a letter from Frange, who says that he dwells in the hill of Jême, ζῖπεκλωλ ετερρηῆε. This connects it with “the hollow” discussed above.⁵

τμεκρα, Budge *Misc.* 574, in the nome of Ermont. This we propose to assimilate to Timikratôn, the bishopric which the *Scalae* identify with Damikrât.⁶ This form, current in the Middle Ages,⁷ appears to have given place subsequently to Damkarîyah or Dimikrîyah, whereof the situation is between Rizeikât and Maḥâmîd. That the word μικρά forms part of this name is made more likely by comparing that of a village above Esne, named El Megaliyah el Kiblî, “the southern μεγάλη,” which should presuppose another of the same name more nearly opposite Dimikrîyah.⁸

τμοσε, *CO.* 116, *BP.* 4967,⁹ Leyden p. 486.¹⁰ Whether this is merely “the island”—*cf.* the countless recurrences of *gezîrah* in all topographical registers and gazetteers—or one in particular, like that of Pishenai,¹¹ is uncertain.

τηοτσε, though discussed already,¹² may be noticed again, since additional papyrus fragments from Thebes¹³ show, among several villages and monasteries, Συκαμίνου or Συκ^a, apparently in some relation to Terkôt-Terkuthis.

τοτρησε, *CO.* 160 (so, not τοτρηε), in the nome of Ermont, seems to be formed with the name of Isis. Locality unknown.

¹ Wessely xi no. 112a, Bohairic in *Mus. Guim.* xvii 76 &c. *Cf.* Ladeuze *Étude* 174.

² P. Michigan, 1924.

³ Mummy label from Deir el Bahri (*v. Eg. Expl. Fund Arch. Report* 1894-95, Pl. II), now BM. no. 26273.

⁴ P. Casati 9, 7. (H. Thompson).

⁵ P. 112.

⁶ Amélineau *Géogr.* 561. What the termination -ôn or -tôn here implies remains to be explained; possibly a mere analogy from Φιλῶν, Ὀμβων, Λύκων, though such forms are unknown to these *Scalae*.

⁷ Ibn Duqmâk, Ibn Gi'ân, *s.v.* *Cf.* also Norden's

Demegrat *Description Atlas* Pl. 5, Daqmirât. The Patriarchal Chronicle mentions it (Renaudot *Hist.* 436).

⁸ One might also recall the still obscure Μικροῦ, on the Luxor silver treasure (Cairo Catal., Strzygowski, p. 342), which may be a place-name.

⁹ ? π]αῖωκ ετμοσε πτα.[.

¹⁰ L. 3, perhaps ζιτμοσε.

¹¹ *Jême* no. 97, 95 and Gardiner's ostracon, above referred to. “The Island” (*el gezîrah*) near Esne might be a real place-name, or simply a common noun (*PO.* xi 520).

¹² 520 n.

¹³ P. Michigan, 1924.

TOPOGRAPHY

τχοϋε, Cairo 8395, a milestone marking the distance between Περὶ πόλιν κάτω, this place and the Ἐποίκιον (*v.* above). Tchoue reappears in a 6th century Greek papyrus,¹ whereof the addressee resides at [κώμη]ς Τσῆ τοῦ Ἑρμωνθίου νομοῦ [.]. Τχοϋε. Hence it appears that we must seek it near Ermont, the *provenance* likewise of the above milestone. Περὶ πόλιν κάτω here can therefore hardly be that at Hermopolis, for its distance from Tchoue is given as but 8 σχοινία. More probably it was a quarter of Ermont itself.

τωρε, *RE.* 32, *ST.* 123, on the "hill" whereof there stood a monastery (*v.* above). A Phillipps fragment names the place, which might therefore be sought near Keft. Moreover the history of the hermits Daniel and Moses refers to the hill of Ṭûkh as near that of Benhadab.² Since Tôhe = Ṭûkh,³ this should be Ṭûkh Damnû,⁴ presumably the Ṭûkh upon the western bank, below Naḡâdah. Is there a confusion here with Damnû near Akhmîm? The part played by a place so named in the Acts of both the martyrs Phoebammon (*v.* above, p. 110) suggests it.

φελ, *ST.* 340, is entered here with hesitation, for it could be argued that a person and not a place is intended. The letter (or contract) wherein it occurs is written by "John, the monk of (the τόπος of) Apa Samuel of Phel." One might suppose the word to be used to distinguish this from that other monastery of Samuel with which we have already met.⁵ But though we may hesitate to regard it as a place-name, it seems equally unlikely to be the name of the abbot's father. The subject of another letter is "the chapel (ἐκκλήριον) of Saint John πφαλλο."⁶ Here again a patronymic seems out of place. There exists, it is true, a personal name φερ, but as its owner elsewhere writes it πρηρ,⁷ we may suppose this to be but a variant of the more frequent πχερ, πχηρ, which might also be written φελ (πρελ), as here.

ϣατωπε. This is to be read upon a scrap of papyrus in the Phillipps collection:] πϣατωπε ϣω [μπτρε, *i.e.* ["I,] of Shatône, am [witness." The term is found only in Judges vi 2, as a compliment to ξη, "quarry."⁸ The present phrase might therefore be completed as πμα (or τρη) πϣατωπε, "the place of stone-cutting." Several places named *Magdscher*, *i.e.* no doubt محجر, "quarry," appear on Norden's map: below Denderah, north of Karnak, north of Ṭaud, opposite Aṣfûn. No other map records them. That ancient quarries near to Jême were subsequently occupied by Copts we have seen above (p. 22, Site XXIX).

¹ *Penes* the Rev. Colin Campbell D.D., copied for us by B. P. Grenfell.

² Paris *arabe* 4895, 48 b.

³ Ryl. 369 n.

⁴ Ibn Duḡmâḡ v 32, Ibn Gi'ân 194.

⁵ *V.* p. 113.

⁶ *RE.* 8. If πρελλο be here a place, it might be compared with El Ḥillah near Ḳûṣ. This letter is addressed to the bishop of Ḳûṣ.

⁷ MMA. 24.2.3 and 24.2.5 respectively.

⁸ Cf. Spiegelberg in *ÄZ.* 1918, 131. The word ωπε, "stone," is perhaps to be recognized in a local name at Ermont: that given to the church (بيعة) into which the

martyr Eudaemon's house was converted (*Synax.* Forget ii 274, 5 ff. Basset's reading, *PO.* xvii 734, is the same). But the text as printed hardly represents the very ambiguous ms., which, rather than كنييسة الحي and الجيشونة, shows كيت الحجب and الجيئونة. In -ونة- we might see ωπε and in حجب possibly حجر; but كيت remains to be emended. It may be observed that this martyr's name can hardly be Eudaemon, which is written اوظامن in Forget's *Synaxar.* ii 101. His name, Wadamûn, is probably a compound of Ammon.

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ⲉⲁⲙⲉⲧⲟⲟⲡ occurs on an unpublished ostrakon,¹ the writer of which is the well-known scribe David of the Deir el Baḥri ostraca. With this is to be compared the Deir Hamyûz ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲟⲡ, which one may emend to Hamyûr ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲟⲡ, a monastery "in our district," mentioned in the Theban *Synaxarium* together with that of Denderah.² The name is found again near Siût as ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲟⲡ.³ These names contain the word ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲧⲱⲣⲟⲩ⁴ and the monastery here was in fact situated "on the bank of the river."⁵ "Our district" is a vague term, but its use by the compiler of this *Synaxarium*,⁶ besides other localities named only in his recension, suggest that this is either the "Guide" (دلال) attributed to John bishop of Keft,⁷ or the source whence his work was drawn.

1 *Penes* A. H. Gardiner.

2 *PO*, xi 785.

3 *V*. BM. 865 n. One might conjecture that the unidentified village printed الجيودات, Abû Şâlih f. 84 a, should be emended الحميورات and taken into account here.

4 As does Hanepioor (1) near Shmoun: Ryl. 215, 319, (2) in the Heracleopolite nome: MS. Morgan xli 341.

5 علي ساحل البحر.

6 *V*. 17th Hatûr, 21st Kihak, 3rd Amshîr, *PO*, iii 301, 496, xi 783 (omitted in transl.). Wüstenfeld *Synax*. pp. v,

119, translates inaccurately here. The phrase is again applied, in the Life of Daniel and Moses (v. above, p. 123), to the same country: Benhadab, Tôhe, Jême.

7 *PO*, iii 302 = Forget i 110. This suggestion is supported by the absence from the ms. of this recension (*Paris arabe* 4869 f. 79 b) of all mention of bishop John's work. Dom L. Villecourt indeed is of opinion that دلال would more probably refer to the abbreviated calendar prefixed to a lectionary than to a *Synaxarium* at length.

CHAPTER VI

THEBAN HERMITS AND THEIR LIFE

AT Thebes, as indeed throughout the Nile valley, all the varieties of monasticism appear to have flourished side by side. There we may distinguish the organized coenobitic community on the Pachomian model¹; the informal group of ascetes, gathered about the dwelling of some holy man; the solitary, perhaps with a disciple, apart from his fellows in some tomb or desert cave, and the recluse, self-confined in a cell which for years he never quits. Indeed we know that Epiphanius himself was at one time a recluse (*v.* below, p. 218).² Perhaps we have yet another class to recognize in some at least of the countless "poor men" who come begging of hermits, as of cloistered monks, fortified usually with commendatory letters.³ Of such letters the following is an average specimen.⁴ "The Lord bless thee and grant thee a long time (to live). Seeing that this poor man is come unto me, begging and entreating me that I would write concerning him unto thee, that thou mightest do charity with him, so that the Lord may bless all thy hope (ἐλπίς).⁵ Give it unto my dear son. . . ." Such may be the wandering monks, *girovagi*, of whom we read often enough elsewhere,⁶ but who had not hitherto been conspicuous in Egypt. Here and there a letter seems to refer to some such vagrant ascete, as, for example, where a writer says: "At times they tell how that thou art in the east, at times again that thou art in

Various types
of monastic
life at Thebes

¹ It has been assumed that coenobitic monasticism developed but little in the far south (Ladeuze *Étude* 179 n.). If this be true of the earliest age, it soon ceased to be so: witness the monasteries of Hatre (Simeon) at Aswân, of Mercurius at Edfû, of the martyrs at Esne, of Matthew the Poor at Aşfûn, of — at Ṭaud (*Synax.*, 20th Kihak, *v.* below, p. 136), of Phoebammon at Jême, as also the series, some of them traditionally of great age, in the plain of Naḳâdah.

² Cf. the enumeration, *Miss.* iv 450 *inf.*, of those who received supplies from the garden of the White Monastery: "the needy brethren, dwelling apart in the caves, and

them that inhabited the tombs and the solitaries that were in cells." This last word is *ḡowâma'*, which we have already met with applied to conical ovens (*v.* above, p. 52 n.). What type of hermit's cell this describes is doubtful: clearly an artificial construction.

³ *CO.* 75, 256, 258–264, 269; *ST.* 197, 218, 346, 361.

⁴ *MMA.* 24.6.11.

⁵ Cf. *ST.* 283 and such phrases as in *BM.* 1223, 4.

⁶ *PRE.*³ 7, 272, 32. The term *κυκλευτής* occurs once in Coptic literature, applied to Meletian schismatics (*Miss.* iv 740). But in *Esaias Scet.* p. 11 no reproach is implied by its use.

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the north," although the recipient here is a member of some sort of community.¹ Epiphanius himself appears to have been somewhat unstable in his abode.²

No stylite has so far been read of in the south.³

The present
settlement of
the informal
type

The texts from the settlement round about the tomb of Daga introduce us to a community of the informal type, that to which elsewhere the term *laura* is sometimes applied.⁴ It is the sole community of this class with which any document in the well-known "cartulary" of Jême is concerned—see Part II Appendix III—all others, where monastic affairs are in question, relate to coenobites. Just as in Nitria, so here, the great coenobites, Pachomius, Theodore &c., are seldom named,⁵ possibly owing to the anachoretic character of this and the surrounding settlements.⁶ Antony on the other hand is sometimes invoked⁷ or referred to.⁸

Probable
course of its
evolution

Whether our settlement had, as in other, similar cases, grown up around some holy man, who, for righteousness' sake, had withdrawn from communal to solitary life, we cannot tell, but that seems to have been the normal and here the probable course of evolution.⁹ Other motives indeed, less exalted, might impel monks to quit the coenobitic and prefer the anchorite's life: discord, for instance, within the community.¹⁰ Neither can we tell how many hermits dwelt there at one time. The names of some fifty-five recipients are preserved among the total of letters from our site—several of them among the names most common and very possibly covering more than a single individual—and in many cases the recipient's name has been lost. Obviously we cannot assume these to have been all contemporaries, but how many among them were alive at one time it would be impossible to estimate.¹¹

Its components
and boundaries

That the settlement had recognized boundaries of some sort is clear from the terms of the will translated in Appendix III.¹² The property therein bequeathed consists of "the dwelling-places (μα ἡγῶνε), namely, the caves and the tower." The former of these would no doubt embrace not only the various buildings which had by degrees arisen around the

¹ "The brethren that are with thee," *CO.* Ad. 67.

² *V.* below, p. 218.

³ One at Shmoun, probably apocryphal, is the alleged narrator of the Acts of Phoebammon (MS. Morgan xlvi 59) and one in the Delta, *ca.* 700, has found a place in the *Synaxarium* (*PO.* i 265, *cf. ib.* xiv 337, which, with *ib.* v 83, give his date). *Cf.* above, p. 23.

⁴ Λαύρα is rare with Coptic writers: *Miss.* iv 214 (contrasted with "desert"), *ib.* 817 (where it varies with μοναστ.), *PO.* xi 313 (of Macarius), MS. Morgan xxxvii 89 (the Ennaton), BM. 672, Krall clviii (both in sense of "monastery"), E. White *New Texts* 136. None of these (unless the second) refers to Upper Egypt. In Greek texts relating to Egypt it is likewise rare: Bousset *Apophthegmata* 38 n. In Palestine the term was current and had acquired a precise meaning, *e.g.* in the community of St. Sabas, where it consists of a group of "cells" with their chapel (*Sabae Vita* p. 243). It is found contrasted with μονή (*Anal. Boll.* vii 101).

⁵ Pachôm, "father of the Community," on an ostrakon from a neighboring site (MMA. 23.3.723), the list of

Pachomian abbots on another (Tur. 20) and on a stele (Cairo 8636); also in Theban graffiti. (*V.* above, p. 19.)

⁶ *V.* Bousset in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* xlii 1 ff. It is perhaps worth noting that in the Pesentian biography (Budge *Apoc.* 105) Pachomius and the coenobites are themselves referred to as "anchorites," while in the last-named graffiti they are simply "the fathers."

⁷ "The holy A., the anchorite," upon a Vienna ostrakon (102). 8 247.

⁹ *Cf.* Holl *Enthusiasmus* 174, 192 ff., *Vie d'Euthyme*, *ROC.* 1903, 186, *Vie d'Auxence*, *l.c.* 243.

¹⁰ *E.g.* *Synax.*, 13th Kihak, *PO.* iii 440.

¹¹ In certain cases the letters must be copies, preserved by their writers: *e.g.* 160, 278, *CO.* 342, addressed to local magistrates, whom we cannot suppose to have resided among the hermits. The first of these examples is moreover written by a couple themselves the recipients of a number of letters: *v.* 110. Similar problems are raised by 136 and by 186, where the recipients should be laymen.

¹² Discussed by Winlock, p. 28 above.

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mouths of the six dynastic tombs, but also these tombs themselves and possibly certain others of those that lay a little farther off, such as Cells A and B, in both of which were found letters addressed, if we mistake not, to Epiphanius himself, as indeed were some discovered in a yet more remote tomb,¹ about 500 yards north of that of Daga. To what distance from its center, then, did the possessions of the *τόπος* extend? When we reach the tomb last named, we are not far distant from Deir el-Bahri and should be close upon the confines of the property of Saint Phoebammon's monastery. As to boundaries we must in short make the best of but vague information; one may indeed surmise that the facts themselves, where mere rocks, sand and rubble make up the land in question, would be indefinite and that precise boundaries are scarcely to be expected.

In two texts only do we find a term used to designate the settlement: in both it is called by the vague word *τόπος*.² Once it is alluded to under the equally ambiguous phrase *μακρυωρε*, "dwelling-place."³ The few examples of *μοναστήριον* in these texts cannot in any instance be related to the community of Epiphanius. On the other hand, throughout the Jême documents the *μοναστήριον* of Saint Phoebammon is constantly mentioned, the same word being employed where it is called the monastery of Apa Abraham.⁴ A *coenobium* is in Coptic *γενεετ*,⁵ a word which, in one of the Jême deeds (no. 106), varies constantly with *μοναστήριον*. Only in one of our texts is the latter word used of a single ascete's cell,⁶ although this, its primitive use, is less exceptional in Northern Egypt.⁷ Another word, occasionally employed, is *κοοτζ* "congregation."⁸ Of this the instances in the present texts are less instructive than others, where it sometimes designates the whole group of communities,⁹ or is equivalent to *γενεετ*,¹⁰ or is used of a single congregation.¹¹ From evidence thus negative as to names, it may be concluded that the Epiphanian settlement did not claim the character of a *coenobium*. The monasteries and hermitages among the West Theban rocks are dignified now and then by the general name of "the Holy Hill," borrowed, if not directly from the Psalter, perhaps from Sinai,¹² or from the Mount of Olives¹³: the will of bishop Abraham speaks of the *θεῖον ὄρος Μεμνονίων*,¹⁴ another deed of "the holy hill of the *castrum* of Jême."¹⁵ Elsewhere other monkish settlements are thus

How designated. Words for "monastery," "congregation"

The "Holy Hill"

1 Site XX, on which v. p. 20 below.

2 142 and the will, Part II App. III, l. 27 &c.

3 92 and note there.

4 MIE. ii 357, if the two be accepted as identical: v. p. 111 above.

5 Zoega 307, 347 = PG. 65, 260C *κοινόβιον*, and regularly of the Pachomian foundations: Miss. viii 5, Munier Catal. 63, cf. Theol. Texts 182. In the account of the additional building at Pbow by Martyrius (Vat. arab. 172 f. 107) the 24 establishments constituting the Pachomian *κοινωνία* are termed *hanâdab*. It may be noted that a place opposite Ṭafnîs el Maṭa'nah is still named El Hanâdi. The term "cell," *قلاية*, is rarely used of a large *coenobium*, e.g. Apollo's at Bawîṭ (Miss. iv 321).

6 The letter of bishop Serenianus, v. p. 134; but in the life of Pesenthius (MIE. ii 403) there is a clear instance.

7 PG. 65, 297 A, 300 B; PG. 87, 2925 C, 3069 D; ROC. 1912, 294. On this original use of the word v. Reitzenstein in Sitzb. Heidelb. Akad., 1914, Abh. 8, 41.

8 V. 300 n. It is the word which Jerome transcribed as *saubes*: v. Spiegelberg in Rec. xxviii 211, Reitzenstein loc. cit. 40.

9 Wessely no. 112 b, Budge Mart. 210 (perhaps).

10 MS. Morgan li 31. *κοοτζ εζοτη* and *γενεετ* appear to be equivalent in Miss. iv 630, 631.

11 ST. 175, BP. 8714, a list in which several bear the names of their abbesses.

12 PG. 87, 2988, 3037.

13 Ib. 2869. Applied to Athos from ca. the 10th century (K. Lake Early Monast. Athos 17).

14 BM. Gk. i no. lxxvii 27.

15 MMA. 24.2.3 l. 15.

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called: for instance, that adjoining on "the holy [hill] of Penhôtep."¹ Such phrases recall "the holy πέτρα" whereon stood the monastery of Thomas in the Wadi Sarga.²

Caves and cells

The Coptic word signifying the caves (*e.g.* in Appendix III) in which the hermits dwelt is ⲁⲛⲁ, primarily a hole, or den.³ To sit ⲕⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁ is the hermit's phrase for sitting in his cell. That in which Pesenthius lived is so called⁴ and there the word clearly varies with ⲡⲓ, which is also found in just this phrase.⁵ The scene of Pesenthius's death was "the Great Cell," ⲡⲓ.⁶ Whether this is to be compared with the same name, given to a part of the monastery of Macarius at Shiêt,⁷ may be doubted. One might imagine it the principal room in the monastery or ἐπισκοπεῖον in which he appears to have then resided.⁸ Doubtless the words ⲁⲛⲁ and ⲡⲓ had once distinct meanings: the former an ancient tomb cave, the latter perhaps a chamber or subdivision, set up within or in front of it.⁹

Other terms

The ⲙⲁ ⲛⲩⲱⲛⲉ, which we find used to include both caves and a tower,¹⁰ is equivalent sometimes to "monastery" as a whole.¹¹

The only remaining word expressing in our texts a material part of the monastery is ⲱⲱⲕ,¹² which though not thus used elsewhere, can mean nothing but a place deep dug. It might well apply to subterranean store-rooms, such as were found at the Daga settlement.¹³ The Tower, regularly coupled in Appendix III with the caves and once (l. 41) styled "the new tower"—showing that both towers were in existence at the date of this will—was doubtless similar to that whence Pesenthius looked down upon his terrified disciple,¹⁴ or to that the staircase of which he was descending when accosted by a disreputable woman.¹⁵

Churches

One would expect, in such texts as ours, to find reference to the church which the brethren frequented for divine service, but none which can be related to our community is mentioned, nor has a church been identified in any part of the ruins. Churches enough are named in Theban texts,¹⁶ several of them in the town of Jême, and we must suppose that it was thither that the hermits went on Sundays, if they did not gather, as the approved

1 269, the probable reading. Other places: Tur. *Mat.* no. 53 (Atripe), Alexandria stele 291, *Ann.* viii 82. The opening formula, "Peace (be) unto this holy hill," is common to all these epitaphs. In the 2 stelae: Preisigke *Sammelbuch* 4216 and *Amer. Journ. Philol.* 38, 420, ⲡⲉⲧⲗⲟⲩ and ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ respectively are probably both meant for ⲡⲉ(1)-ⲧⲟⲟⲩ.

2 *WS.* p. 6.

3 Whence Egyptian Arabic باب (usually confounded with باب "gate"; cf. De Sacy, cited, with disapproval, by Quatremère *Méms.* i 251), as in Bâb el Mulûk. In Bonomi's *Notes* (*Ann.* vii 78 ff.) 27 Theban tombs are thus designated.

4 Budge *Apoc.* 79, *MIE.* ii 353.

5 205. ⲡⲓ is also a small (?) chamber in a private house (cf. κέλλα) and has other uses besides; v. 466 n.

6 Budge *loc. cit.* 124.

7 *PSBA.* xxix 290 n. Cf. Evelyn-White's forthcoming *History of the Nitrian Monasteries.*

8 *MIE.* ii 389, 394, 397.

9 Eventually such words tended to lose precision; thus a hermit is said to "build" himself a cave, بني له مغارة, *PO.* xvi 399. ⲡⲓ are rooms in a house in *Mus. Guim.* xvii 321, where the Βίος § 47 has τόποι ἢ κελλῖα. In *Journ. As.* 1905, 438, a ⲙⲁ ⲛⲩⲱⲛⲉ has in it four ⲡⲓ.

10 Appendix III l. 9 &c., *Jême* no. 65, 32.

11 *E.g.* *Miss.* iv 717, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 32. In BM. Or. 6203 (a sale-contract from near Ashmunain) it includes "churches (? small chapels), κύπαι, ἄντρα and roof-terraces"; elsewhere it is equivalent merely to ⲡⲓ (*Miss.* iv 709).

12 *Jême* no. 65, 55. The monastery is that of Phoebammon.

13 *V.* p. 42 above. Cf. the κύπαι in note 11.

14 Budge *loc. cit.* 110.

15 Paris *arabe* 4785, 180 b. اسقالة is used for "stair." The incident befell, we are told, at the monastery of the Cross, Deir es Şalib. References to monastic towers: *CO.* 310 n.

16 *V.* pp. 116 ff. above.

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custom was, on Sabbath and Sunday at some neighboring monastery—such as that of Saint Phoebammon—for divine service.¹

Who were the inmates of “the cells and tower” which constituted the Christian settlement around the tomb of Daga? Were all religious? In similar circumstances elsewhere this has been assumed and, to judge by titles and epithets given by the writers of letters to their correspondents, one would conclude that the large majority at any rate of the community were either ascetes or clerics. Among the letters recovered from this site there are relatively few whereof the recipients are not addressed either as “thy piety,” “thy saintliness,” “holy fathership,” “pious brother,” “God-loving”² or “truly Christ-bearing,” with requests for remembrance in prayers,³ “at the lifting up of thy holy hands.” Such phraseology is surely in place only where holy men are addressed; one needs but to compare it with the totally different style in letters where no ecclesiastical atmosphere pervades, as, for instance, in the Byzantine letters from Oxyrhynchus,⁴ or in much of the Coptic material from Ashmunain and the Fayyûm. Even those of our letters from which such phrases are entirely absent⁵ we can suppose to have passed between the hermits and their friends, perhaps in circumstances which demanded less expenditure of formal compliments; in many cases they are strictly “business” letters.

If such phrases are constantly applied to the recipients of these letters, the epithet ἐλάχιστος, appended by innumerable writers to their own names,—over a hundred instances may be seen in our collection alone—is probably evidence that the correspondents of our hermits were, for the most part, themselves hermits or clerics. It is true that it was not the habit among these letter-writers to add a title “monk,” “priest,” or the like; but it is sufficiently clear, from parallel groups of texts, that this epithet of humility belongs, with hardly an exception,⁶ to the clergy and religious. This is a conspicuous fact in the Ashmunain and Aphrodito as well as in the Jême documents: ἐλάχιστος is scarcely to be found unaccompanied by some ecclesiastical title. The same is the rule in Greek texts, so far as the word there occurs.⁷ Other such epithets are occasionally used: ἀτϣⲁⲩ = ἀχρεῖος,⁸ sometimes by the abbot himself; so “the worthless Samuel,” who sends instructions to “the steward of the τόπος”⁹; or again ἀτⲙⲡⲱⲩⲁ = ἀνάξιος.¹⁰

The occupants
of the buildings

Ἐλάχιστος,
use of the term

1 A text published by Clugnet, *ROC.* 1906, 48 (ἔχουσι γὰρ τὰ κοινόβια κτλ.), tells how monasteries in the Thebaid have small ἀναχωρητικὰ κελλία, whither the monks, when old in asceticism, are wont to retire, rejoining the brethren at the *coenobium* only for Sabbath and Sunday (doubtless in order to be present at mass). Similarly in many Lives, e.g. *Anal. Boll.* vii 108, 115, *Sabae Vita*, Cotelier 232.

2 Thus the Copt translates θεόφιλος, θεοφιλέστατος, whatever may be the right interpretation of the Greek term.

3 “Pray for me” is often a formula of farewell: Budge *Apoc.* 79, *MIE.* ii 405, *Miss.* iv 833 and here 330, 366, 378, 390, *CO.* 251, 375, 402, *Ad.* 19 &c.; or in fuller form, *ib.* 272, 339, *ST.* 275. With these cf. *Mus. Guim.* xvii 290. Greek parallels: εὖξαι περὶ (ὑπὲρ) ἐμοῦ, *ROC.* 1912, 297, *PG.* 65,

177 c, *PO.* xvii 121, 134, 207. Its counterpart perhaps in phrases such as μετὰ εὐχῆς . . . ἀπελύθη (*Sabae Vita* 228, cf. *PO.* xviii 629). Terminating a few epitaphs (in 1st plur.) this formula seems more probably to beg the deceased’s intercession: Cairo 8497, 8509. 4 *P. Oxy.* vol. xvi.

5 E.g. 176, 230, 297, 308, 313, 322, 353, 380.

6 In 216 it is used of a *lshane* (not in *CO.* 107: an error), in *ST.* 343 of a village scribe (possibly a cleric); surely misplaced in *MMA.* 23.2.3, l. 141, where one witness refers to another, for whom he signs, as “this humblest monk.” Similarly in our 386.

7 E.g. in *BM.* Gk. v.

8 *V.* 128.

9 ϣⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ ἀτϣⲁⲩ (*sic*), *Ostr.* Bodleian, Copt. Inscr. 432. 10 178, *CO.* 382.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

"Monk" and
"anchorite"

If the word *μοναστήριον* but rarely designates their dwelling, equally rare is *μοναχός* as a name for the inmates. Twice it is applied to Epiphanius¹; in one of our documents—the will, in Appendix III—it is used throughout of the superior of this very settlement. Otherwise the title often given is *ἀναχωρητής*, which here occurs thirty-two times: Epiphanius has it a dozen times, Psan his successor six times, Cyriacus thrice.² To Epiphanius both titles are given and a distinction is now hardly recognized between them. Pesenthius is called both monk and anchorite, in the years preceding his episcopate.³ The prevalent habit of passing from the communal to the anachoretic life and *vice versâ* might account for some instability in usage. A somewhat confused story in the *Synaxarium*⁴ shows that an ascete, renowned for his virtues, might decline to take the habit, although he appears nevertheless to be an inmate of Pachomius's monastery.

"Ascete"

In these texts, *ἀσκητής* is but rarely found. Once it is applied to a cleric,⁵ though later the two may be contrasted⁶; and bishop Pesenthius is so styled by his biographer,⁷ as is (we take it) his successor Moses.⁸

Absence of
certain
monastic
officials

What officials
are named

In the group of anchorites with whom we are concerned we should not expect to encounter monastic officials and in fact the titles of *οἰκονόμος* and *προεστώς*, so common in the deeds relating to the *coenobium* of Saint Phoebammon, are absent here. The highest dignitary, the archimandrite, does indeed occur; but being referred to simply as "the archimandrite,"⁹ it is doubtful who is intended. Since all these occurrences, excepting the first cited, are related to Pesenthius of Keft and his circle, we might hesitate to assume this archimandrite to have exercised jurisdiction at the Daga settlement; indeed it may be questioned whether the anchorites would be amenable to the supervision of an archimandrite.¹⁰ The title was proper, in Egypt as elsewhere, to the abbots of only the larger coenobitic communities: in the neighborhood of Thebes conspicuously to the successor of Pachomius. He, then, is perhaps "the archimandrite" here in question. There was indeed another archimandrite at Thebes: Paul, of the monastery at Pkelôl, who had himself lived the life of an anchorite at some date previous to 685¹¹; but of him and his position we know nothing.

1 87, 415, perhaps 411 A. A good example of *μοναχός* applied to a hermit, disciple of a hermit, is in Budge *Misc.* 473.

2 *Ἀναχωρητής* occurs, beyond the instances in Part II Index p. 364, in 130, 133, 137 (?), 185, 193, 211, 318, 422. It may be noted in passing that a papyrus now at Michigan (1924) names one Abraham with the title *παναχωρε*, i.e. "the anchorite," thus accounting for the name Panachôre, met with in these letters and elsewhere.

3 Budge *loc. cit.* 77, 105. Of Apollo it is said that "he went and became a monk and devoted himself to *ἀναχώρησις*" (BM. Or. 7561, 146). Shenoute apparently differentiates the two terms (*CSCO.* 42, 220).

4 *PO.* xi 670 ff.

5 203.

6 W. Nissen *Regelung d. Klosterwesens* 7, citing Balsamon.

7 Budge *loc. cit.* 77, 96.

8 *ST.* 405.

9 281, 133, 505 and *ST.* 179, which is by the scribe of the two last named.

10 In Palestine both *λαῖπαι* and hermits were subordinated to him: Usener *Theodosius* 110. In the Life of Sabas he appears as archimandrite of the Palestinian anchorites (p. 229), though elsewhere the title implies headship of the *coenobia* (pp. 261, 332).

11 *V.* above, p. 112. MMA. 24.2.3 is a Jême deed concerned with this monastery and dated in 699; there Paul is already deceased and venerable.

THEBAN HERMITS AND THEIR LIFE

An ascete, set in authority over his fellows, is exceptional: such a "head and director"¹ was Samuel of Penhôtep, who owed the position to his bishop. But this is perhaps an instance of the transformation of a hermits' *laura* into a *coenobium*. Authority somewhat similar seems to have been entrusted to Paul of Danfik.²

"Head,"
"Great man"

Of Coptic terms there are two—one occurring frequently, the other seldom—which indicate a monastic dignitary: *πὸς πρῶμε*, "great man," and *ἀπε*, "head." Of the former enough has been said elsewhere³ to show that it is applicable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical magnates, but that it is often equivalent to abbot or archimandrite.⁴ Sometimes its use must be more vaguely honorific, as where it is applied to bishop Pesenthius, who never, so far as is known, held monastic office.⁵ In the will in Appendix III (l. 29) this term is employed to designate the testators' predecessors in occupation of the *τόπος*, namely Epiphanius himself and Psan.⁶

The word *ἀπε* on the other hand is scarcely to be met with in this sense. Commonly it means the village headman, the *πρωτοκωμήτης*.⁷ As the "head" of a monastic congregation⁸ we find it once or twice: Paham, head of the mount of Tsenti,⁹ being the clearest instance. One may compare with it the use of *κεφαλὴ* in the Pachomian literature¹⁰ and may suppose the title *رئيس*¹¹ to be its translation. That the local (?) bishop had authority more than merely episcopal over these monasteries has often been observed.¹²

A problem is raised by the presence, among our letters, of several addressed to women, conspicuously those from Epiphanius to his mother.¹³ There are others addressed, either to women singly,¹⁴ or including a woman among the addressees.¹⁵ Several letters in other collections are directed to women, but these cannot for the most part be connected with ascetic communities.¹⁶ Are we to suppose that, here as elsewhere,¹⁷ the sanctity of these anchorites had drawn women to choose their abode near to them and that such close

Presence of
women

¹ *رئيس ومدبر* PO. iii 497. On the latter of these words cf. JEA. iv 209, there adding *Mus. Guim.* xvii 385, Pachôm to be *mudabbir* of all monks in the diocese.

² PO. iii 301.

³ CO. 119 n. and here 143 n., 276 n. An unnoted instance of its civilian use is Acts xiii 50 (*πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως*), recalling ὁ πρῶτος, as designating the *hegumenus* of Scete (Clugnet *Daniel* 19). Cf. *ابروطس*, spokesman of the Alexandrine clergy, PO. v 107.

⁴ Clearly so in Leyden 162, 163, where it is contrasted with the title *δευτεράριος*, and in Wessely no. 27 b, where it = archbishops and archimandrites.

⁵ Budge *loc. cit.* 107.

⁶ In 482 "the great man" is at any rate not Epiphanius. The reference may be either to an ecclesiastical or to a civil personage. Who are addressed as *ἄγιοι μεγάλοι* in the graffito 689 may be questioned: perhaps the local saints departed.

⁷ Cf. CO. 308 n.

⁸ *σοοργε* in Zoega 302. Cf. Budge *Misc.* 150, where an explanatory gloss is added.

⁹ *Sic leg.*, ST. 435; probably again *ib.* 446 and Cairo 8492.

¹⁰ *Bíos* § 76, *Regula* (Hieron.) §§ xii, xxi, xlix &c., though the Coptic term there translated is sometimes *ρ῁ηηη*.

¹¹ As in the two cases cited in notes 1, 2.

¹² CO. p. xvi.

¹³ 259, 374 B, 397, CO. Ad. 58. These letters constitute a further difficulty: how comes Epiphanius, himself residing here, to send letters to someone dwelling close at hand? Were they sent when he was absent—perhaps at Site XX—or did he write to his mother because oral communication was held unseemly? Here we are brought to the dilemma as to the identity or multiplicity of persons named Epiphanius in our texts, a question upon which see what is said on p. xxv.

¹⁴ 407, 464, perhaps 148, 388.

¹⁵ 167.

¹⁶ Hall pp. 36 *inf.*, 50 *sup.*, ST. 201, 257, 336, 381, CO. 242, 337. On Hall p. 43 *inf.* is a contract with a woman.

¹⁷ The reputation of Auxentius in time attracted many women of the world to embrace the ascetic life close to his cell (ROC. 1903, 13; cf. PG. 114, 1429 ff.).

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

neighborhood was tolerated? The attitude of Pesenthius who, drawing his cowl over his head, fled at the mere approach of a woman¹ and the complaints contained in the letter of bishop Serenianus (*v.* below) would hardly encourage such a supposition. This last letter implies the presence of women visitors at Saint Phoebammon's monastery, which we know indeed to have been frequented by pilgrims and suppliants of both sexes; while there is a case recorded of a woman actually residing—though perhaps temporarily, since she names her home as far distant—in “the monastery of Apa Sergius.”² We read again of the sister of a hermit of Ermont, who seems to have maintained her intercourse with him and to have been eventually interred in the “monastery” where he dwelt.³ That the ascetes were themselves not uniformly unmarried is evident from such texts as that which refers to a monk's daughter and from a monk's will, in which his three sons appear.⁴ In these cases the father had presumably become a widower, though the perfect (τέλειος) monk is, in view of some, he who for religion forsakes wife and child.⁵ It may in this connection be recalled how Shenoute, addressing certain nuns, alludes to their husbands and sons.⁶ Such nuns would be either widows, or such as had renounced married life for the nunnery.⁷

Children
(spiritual?)

Where a letter to a reverend personage includes greetings to “thy children,”⁸ we can generally suppose spiritual children to be meant, though in some cases this interpretation may be questionable.⁹ In a document relating to the monastery of Paul already referred to, the persons addressed are styled “the sons of Apa Paul,” the same individuals re-appearing in another text as its priors.¹⁰

Nuns

To revert to the references to women in the present texts: these can hardly be brought into relation to such evidence as there is of nuns dwelling in the district at this period. The title *μοναχή*, sometimes with the epithets “the holy,” “the good,” is borne by a number of women commemorated upon stelae from Ermont.¹¹ One is from Tabennêse and recalls the nunnery established there by Pachomius.¹² An interesting letter from a *μοναχή* begs the prayers of an anchorite for a possessed boy who had been bequeathed to her charge.¹³ She asks besides for the holy man's “blessing” (*i.e.* *εὐλογία*), to keep in her “house.” The writer of this is hardly the inmate of a convent; we should suppose her, if not those named upon the stelae,¹⁴ to be the solitary tenant of a cave. But the *provenance* of this letter, though

¹ *MIE.* ii 345.

² *Jême* no. 81, 4.

³ 2nd Tûbah, *PO.* xi 515, 517.

⁴ *Jême* no. 35, 11 and no. 67 respectively.

⁵ MS. Morgan lv 95, in the Dialogue of John, 40th Patriarch (*ob.* 686), and Theodore. Cf. also Esaias Scet. 18 *μὴ ἐάσης . . . εὐσπλαγχνίας τέκνων, ἣ θελήματος γυναικὸς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, ἃ κατέλιπες.* Further, the stories in BM. 341 and the Apophthegmata, *PG.* 65, 249 (72).

⁶ Amélineau *Oeuvres de Sch.* ii 269, 284; cf. *CSCO.* 73, 62. Elsewhere we read of a monk's son: Clugnet *Daniel* 17. On the status of monks with families *v.* W. Nissen *Regelung* 22, Pargoire *Égl. Byz.* 215.

⁷ Note here the strange usage in *CSCO.* 73, 214 (unknown authorship), where a novice undertakes to observe

her *παρθένια* and her *γάμος*; and in Ryl. 70, *ϥ̅π̅*, where Shenoute (probably) refers to monks who are ascetes as virgins, whilst others “observe their *γάμος*.” *Durus sermo* in truth.

⁸ *E.g.* 318, 337, 448.

⁹ 174.

¹⁰ MMA. 24.2.3 l. 12 and 24.2.7 l. 3 respectively.

¹¹ Cairo 8417, 8453, 8479, 8484, 8494, 8516, 8651, Alexandria 285.

¹² Ladeuze *Étude* 176. This assumes that Tabennêse in both cases is but one. Cf. 163 n. ¹³ Hall p. 146.

¹⁴ Alexandria no. 296 is the epitaph of Cyra, who was “ἡγουμένη (Copt. *ἡγουμένη*) of the whole *παρθενοτήριον*.” But the date, A.D. 742, and the appearance of this stele point to Nubia.

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doubtless Theban, is unrecorded, so that it may be one sent to the desert from a neighboring town.¹ The widow who wrote one of our letters² lived in a "congregation," presumably of nuns, and we hear of the nunnery which Abraham of Pbow set up at Tbergôt.³ Among the correspondence of bishop Pesenthius there is a letter from "his daughters"⁴ and another from two women, "his humblest servants," who appear to be nuns.⁵ But these letters to the bishop had probably come from his diocese of Keft and so hardly concern us at present.⁶

Although in this, as in other collections of like texts, a large number of clerics can be counted, we cannot draw more than the obvious inference that hermits and clergy were in frequent communication. The proportion of the latter resident in our community can only be deduced from the number of them who appear as receiving letters. Among this small number is no deacon, while of the many priests named, only five are addressees of letters,⁷ two are spoken of as if residing here,⁸ three more perhaps do so.⁹ Such clerics would presumably be leading the life of anchorites; in only one instance however is a monk in orders actually named and he does not seem to be a resident here.¹⁰ Among the coenobites, on the other hand, the two characters are not seldom combined; the Jême documents mention three or four monks in priest's orders.¹¹ In such a question the argument *e silentio* has some weight: only rarely can it have been needful or fitting to make use when writing of these titles. Moreover, here as always, we have unfortunately to remember that an overwhelming proportion of all these texts are now but broken fragments, whence none but the most cautious deductions are permissible.

Bishops we here read of often enough; certain of them evidently resided among these hermits.¹² Of these Pesenthius of Keft is the most conspicuous and is the recipient of a number of letters.¹³ With him we deal in a separate section.¹⁴ Another bishop, who reappears in other texts besides ours, is named Ananias.¹⁵ He held the see of Ermont and

1 Possibly **ни**, "house," points to this. One is reminded of the 98th and 104th Canons of Athanasius—current at Thebes, we know, at this period—which assume that in each household there dwells a virgin; and of the words of Pesenthius as to those that preserve their virginity whilst dwelling with their parents (*ROC.* xx 60).

2 300.

3 *PO.* xi 685. This nunnery at Fargût is called a **هنازة** **генесте**.

4 A Philipps fragment. The address is **Πενθοεῖς πειωτ ετφορεῖ απερχς εν[οτμε] ενπνευσσερε**. The subject of the letter was a woman: "As to the woman [whereof we] spake unto thee. . ."

5 *RE.* 28.

6 Nuns are alluded to in another letter related to this dossier, *ST.* 176 vo., 19. The tone of the letter Hall p. 93, regarding a girl who had been living under the recipient's protection (*leg.* **εδρε[τητη]**), is that of an ecclesiastic to a layman.

7 97, 154, 272, 282, 471.

8 240, 327.

9 198, 281, 460.

10 87.

11 *Jême* no. 75, 136, 146 (= our App. III), no. 98, 9, no. 103, 18.

12 Instances of bishops who preferred to reside in monasteries (if not actually as hermits), often in those where they had formerly been monks, are given in *CO.* p. xvi n. To these add: Budge *Misc.* 465, 467, 469, 470 (bishops of Philae, who returned to their cells, or **τόποι**, after consecration and remained there till death) and the Egyptian bishop, named by Zacharias (*ed.* Ahrens-Krüger 263), who retired to his former monastery; further, the northern bishops mentioned in *PO.* v 203. That bishops should come from monasteries was of course habitual: *Mus. Guim.* xvii 593 (*leg.* "qui avaient été solitaires à Tabennisi").

13 117, 152, 153, 254, 469, 494 and doubtless several more.

14 *V.* p. 223 below.

15 Cf. 565.

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might perhaps be the writer of an interesting letter¹ and if so, his date would be fixed by that of his friend, bishop Serenianus, there mentioned, who is a known contemporary of Epiphanius. That he was a predecessor at Ermont of bishop Abraham is suggested by the quotation of his "canons" in a text almost certainly coeval with that bishop.² This is a conjecture supported moreover by the sequence of the names upon the Moir-Bryce diptych.³ From a Jême deed⁴ we gather that, at any rate before the middle of the 8th century, Ananias was dead and venerated.

This Serenianus has left us a letter,⁵ addressed to "his beloved and truly religious brother Epiphanius, the anchorite," whom he begs to come forthwith to the "place" (*i.e.* τόπος) of Apa Phoebammon, upon the first Sunday of the Pascha, and upon his behalf to reprove (?)⁶ Papas; "for he hath profaned (*or* brought to nought) my monastery (μοναστήριον⁷) and hath brought in (thither) a multitude of women and communicated (συνάγειν) them. . . . Do not delay. . . ." Of his diocese we know nothing. His name is not common, at any rate in southern Egypt.⁸

Bishop Abraham, the central figure in the ostraca from Deir el Bahri, makes his appearance only once or twice among our texts.⁹ It is he, we must suppose, who, as bishop of Ermont, was the ecclesiastical superior of all the monkish colonies in the hill of Jême and those adjoining. This is in fact indicated by one of his episcopal letters.¹⁰ After threatening inhibition to a steward who shall neglect his τόπος—details are lost—on Sabbath or Sunday, the bishop adds, "I am not. . . .,¹¹ but rather I am intent upon the governance (διοίκησις) of the τόποι and the life of your souls." One would assume that it is to the bishop of Ermont that the many texts refer which name simply "the bishop," "our father the bishop," without farther indication as to who is meant.¹² One letter mentions "our father the bishop and the elders," as if they together exercised some sort of authority¹³; in another, where "Apa Pesenthius and all the elders" are greeted,¹⁴ a like conjecture is perhaps permissible.

1 Tur. 8, reading *verso* as follows, τας [μπαμ]ερίτ πσον [πε]τρος ριτπαπα[η]ας πιαλαχ/ [η]ππετρα. (Prof. V. Struve kindly procured a photograph, whereon Turaieff's πτιστολ[] is seen to be an intercalated line, which Prof. Jernstedt reads as here printed. On the place ππετρα *v.* above, p. 113. With this *cf.* Hall p. 63 *inf.*, where he seems to sign πεπισκ/ [η]λαχ/. Could any argument be drawn as to the writer's position in Tur. 8 from the concluding formula: "Peace unto thee," so rare in Theban letters? *CO.* Ad. 28 is almost unique. Non-Theban are *ST.* 266, BM. Gk. v no. 1892, *Crum Copt. MSS.* xiii, xxx. Oftener at beginning: *CO.* 499, BM. 546, 602, 1116, 1125, 1164 &c., Krall ccxxv (mostly post-muslim); also *PG.* 88, 1840.

2 *V.* *CO.* 85.

3 *V.* below.

4 *Jême* no. 24, 68. *Cf.* *CO.* 212.

5 MMA. 23.3.702, from Site XX. The text is: ρ τας μπαμερίτ πσον ατω πρεψμμε ποτε ρπομε επιφανιος παπαχωριτης ριτπ(sic)ερπιαπος πεπισκ/ αρι ππα πτρ πεσκλμος ρητσορη [η]κτριακη ππασχα πτει επμ[α] παπα φοιδαμων

πρρησιοι μππαπας πεαχβωλ παμο[η]αстиριον εβωλ αχβι οτμινше [πс]рим[е] εροπн асспнаге ммост [. . . .] ρωλ μοτне εβωλ μ[η]ρηπατ. . .

6 *ρηιο* is here strangely used; its meaning can only be surmised. For *εωλ εβωλ* *cf.* *Mat.* xii 5, *βεβηλουν*.

7 This bishop, then, occupied a cell in the *coenobium*. One is reminded of such bishops as John, *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἡσυχαστής*, who had withdrawn to the *Laura* of St Sabas (*Vita* p. 148).

8 Could this be the name of which *Σερην* in a Syene papyrus (*P. Mon.* 14) appears to be an abbreviation?

9 154. *Cf.* 268, 399.

10 *CO.* 76.

11 "Sowing strife" might possibly suit the gap.

12 129, 134, 144, 145, 147, 162, 166, 249, 277, Hall pp. 71, 76, 104, *ST.* 301 and many in *CO.*, *e.g.* 36, 38, 81, 90, 155, 312. In *ib.* 94, 97, 486 bishop Abraham, though not named, is evidently to be understood; so too in several others.

13 Hall p. 71 (14213).

14 *ST.* 360. Whether such "elders" would be monks, anchorites or possibly clergy, is a doubtful matter.

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Various other bishops are incidentally mentioned: in the present texts, John, the name of whose see is lost,¹ a nameless bishop of Ermont² and bishop Pisrael,³ whom we may take to be that bishop of Kô's, member of the council which dealt with the incriminated prior Cyriacus⁴ and who—doubtless the same—is the recipient of certain letters⁵ and the writer perhaps of others.⁶ That relative to Cyriacus shows Pisrael to be contemporary both with Pesenthius and with Psan, if not with Epiphanius himself; and we may perhaps further supply his name in a letter wherein greetings are sent to Psan and to a bishop who seems to be residing with him.⁷ In one of the above letters two bishops, Pisrael and some other, are addressed jointly.⁸ Here one is tempted to fill the gap with the name Ananias, suggesting thereby that Ananias and Pisrael, several times joint recipients,⁹ once joint writers,¹⁰ are none other than the two bishops of whom we are speaking, albeit in none of these texts is the episcopal title given to either. "The bishops" are again alluded to anonymously in another letter to Psan.¹¹

Another bishop, Andrew, is writer of two letters¹² and recipient of one.¹³ Bishop Antonius, who, with Elias (perhaps his disciple) receives a letter,¹⁴ is presumably the bishop of Ape, who also took part in the affair of Cyriacus and was therefore another contemporary of Pesenthius. A later occupant of Pesenthius's own see is Mena¹⁵; not his immediate successor, who is assumed to have been Moses,¹⁶ but more probably one in the 8th century.¹⁷

In the so-called Jême cartulary the names of three more bishops occur: Coluthus of Ermont,¹⁸ Germanus¹⁹ and Patermouthius.²⁰ The texts in which these names are read belong all to about the middle of the 8th century, but the two last were no longer living at the time of writing. We may suppose them to have been bishops of Ermont.

The episcopal catalogue of that diocese, embracing the period which concerns us, is probably to be read upon the Moir-Bryce diptych²¹ and it has been proposed to identify the Ananias, Andrew and Patermouthius of whom we have been speaking with bishops thereon named. The penultimate name, Abramius, may point us to the well-known bishop of the Deir el Baḥri texts. Seeing that after him another bishop, Moses, had reigned and died, the date of this Abramius might bring us back some sixty years and thus allow of the identification here proposed. To the bishops of Ermont may now be added John, who, the *Synaxarium* tells us,²² lived while paganism yet survived in that district and whom

An episcopal
catalogue

1 133.

2 435.

3 426. Cf. 150 n.

4 RE. 11.

5 RE. 8, ST. 255.

6 RE. 7, our 150.

7 277. The names of Pisrael and Psan stand next each other in RE. 11.

8 ST. 255.

9 ST. 321, Hall pp. 27, 70.

10 Hall p. 86.

11 165.

12 Tur. Mater. no. 12, ST. 326.

13 CO. 288.

14 CO. 344.

15 ST. 352.

16 This Moses is probably named in ST. 405 as "bishop, confessor and ascete" (ἀσκητής).

17 This on the supposition that John, son of Patermouthius, the subject of ST. 352, is identical with his namesake in Jême no. 63, 1; for this last text can be shown to date from the middle of the 8th century. On other bishops of Keft v. PSBA. xxx 260.

18 Jême no. 97, 73.

19 Ib. no. 3, 22.

20 Ib. no. 21, 37.

21 V. Crum in PSBA. xxx 255 ff. Now in the Brit. Museum: v. Guide to Early Christ. and Byz. Antiq., 1921, fig. 66.

22 7th Kihak, PO. iii 394.

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An addition to
the *Synaxarium*

we might see either in the fourth or seventh name in the above diptych. The difficulty of accommodating Pesenthius, the occupant of this see, at the time of making the last addition to the diptych, with any known bishop of Ermont¹ has been since removed by the discovery of just such a bishop, suitable in date, in the Theban *Synaxarium*. With the help of a complete copy of this, it is now possible to understand the story, imperfect as published and unintelligible, relating to a certain Pesenthius, commemorated on the 20th Kihak.² The history of this Pesenthius shows that he was a younger contemporary of his namesake of Keft; he may therefore well have outlived the patriarch Benjamin.³

From this, then, we learn that the boy's maternal uncle was "head" of the monastery on the east of the *castrum* of Taud, unto which, before birth, his mother had vowed him and whither, at the age of three, his father took him (travelling up-stream). After learning Psalter and New Testament by heart, he was, *æt.* eleven, taught the scribe's craft and the book-binder's and that of making colored fans,⁴ as well as the builder's and carpenter's. His amiability and leniency secured him popularity, so that the monks chose him successor to his uncle. In office he displayed the usual ascetic virtues. On the bishop of Ermont's

¹ V. Paul Maas's criticism in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xviii 624, also *PSBA.* xxxi 288.

² *PO.* iii 490 = Forget i 345. Thanks to the late G. Legrain, a transcript was made by Hâkim Effendi Abû

Seif from a ms. now in one of the Luxor churches. The Paris ms. (Forget's G, Basset's B) lacks the first half and more of the text. The following is the hitherto missing portion:

اليوم العشرون من شهر كيهك المبارك . في مثل هذا اليوم تنيح الاب الفاضل الاسقف الطاهر كوكب الصبح المضي انبا بستناووس اسقف مدينة ارمنت . وهذا القديس كان خاله رئيس علي الدير الذي شرقي قصر طود . وكانت له اخت سالكة في سنن الرب ووصاياه . وكانت قد مكثت مع زوجها سنين كثيرة ولم تجد نسل انسان . فسألت اخوها انه يصلي عنها . فقال لها انذري عليك . اذا وهب الرب لك ولد تجيبه للدير وهو طفل صغير . ومضت من عنده . وبعد اياماً حملت ام هذا القديس . واكملت تسعة اشهر واوهبها الرب هذا الاناء المختار . وكان فرح كثير عند ميلاده . ولما اكمل ثلاثة سنين اصعده ابوه الي عند خاله فرباه بمخافت الله . وعلمه القراءة والكتب المقدسة . وحفظ المزمور والاربعة الانجيل ورسائل بولس والقتاليقون والابركسيس والابوغليمسيس . وحفظهم ظاهر قلب وعند كمال احدي عشر سنة وتعلم صنعة النسخ والتجليد . وتعلم صنعة المراوح الملونة . وصنعة البناية والنجارة . وكان ورعاً عفيفاً حتي انه ما توسط قط عند خاله الا بالخير في الاخوة الرهبان . حتي ان رهبان الدير اتفقوا علي محبته . واما خاله تنيح بشيخوخة حسنة . ولما كملت له اياماً قالوا الرهبان فيما بينهم ما يصلح علينا رئيس الا هذا . واقاموه في مكان خاله . ولما اخذ تقدمه الرئاسة ولم يتعظم قلبه ولم يفتخر بل كان متواضع ورع . ودفع نفسه للجهاد والصوم الكثير والسير وضرب المطانوات والصلوات بلا ملل في الليل والنهار حتي ان سكان الدير تعجبوا من حسن صورته . ولما تنيح اسقف المدينة طلبوا من يقدموه فاتفقت ايضاً الشعوب علي راهب في جبل شامة فارسلوه الي البطريك فعاد اليهم ولم يقدمه . وطلبوا راهب آخر وارسلوه بالتزكية فرذه ايضاً . فاجتمعت الشعوب الي مدينة ارمنت فاتفقوا علي راي واحد من اجل القديس بستناووس وارسلوه الي والي طود واعلموه بالخير . ثم انه ركب وطلع الي الدير فخرج القديس للقاء فقبضه وارسله سريعاً الي مدينة ارمنت . فلما وصل اليهم فرحوا به واصعدوه الي الانبل . وكتبوا تزكية وارسلوه . فلما وصل انصنا اجتمعوا بالاب الاسقف انبا شنودة لانه نائب البطريك علي الوجه (here begins the printed portion)

³ As argued by Dr. Maas.

⁴ Dr. George Sobhy kindly informs us that fans of colored straw, woven onto a skeleton of sticks and having a rectangular or hexagonal form, were, until a generation ago, a well-known product of the monastery of El Moḥarraḡ. He has himself recently (1925) found nuns thus employed at Deir Abû Seifein, Old Cairo. These fans are described

by Lane *Thousand & One Nights* ch. ii note 43. Fans similar are those now sold by the Berberin at Aswân. Liturgical fans are mentioned in *Can. Eccles.* Lagarde § 65, *Can. Athanas.* § 39 and in *Can. Basil.* § 97 (Riedel), where the untranslated word is in BM. Add. 7211 مديات (*leg. هويات*). The fans described by A. J. Butler *Churches* ii 46 ff. have no resemblance to those here in question.

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death, the people chose a monk of Jême, but the patriarch refused him. This happened a second time, after which the people decided upon Pesenthius and notified the governor of Taud, who forthwith laying hold on him, sent him to Ermont. Thence he was sent, with a formal recommendation, to Anşinâ (Antinoe), whence bishops Shenoute (the patriarch's vicar for the South) and Constantine of Siût¹ sent him to the patriarch at Alexandria for consecration, and so on . . .

Of rules and canons regulating the life of monks or anchorites we hear scarcely anything. The Canons of bishop Ananias of Ermont are named, but they would appear to have been ecclesiastical rather than monastic² and it is probably to ecclesiastical canons, such as those of the Apostles, that the word relates in one of our letters.³ One ought again perhaps to see a canonical text in one of the fragments classed among the Pesenthan correspondence, but too imperfect to be intelligible.⁴ We know, from extant mss. and from the testimony of the book catalogues,⁵ that the Pachomian Canons and those ascribed to Athanasius were familiar in Theban monasteries. Moreover it was through the agency of a Pachomian abbot that the Canons of Shenoute—avowedly an amplification of the Pachomian Rule—were brought to the South⁶ and these we find authoritative in another Pachomian community of the period.⁷ Pachom's successors also appear to have issued canons, relating at any rate to the practical concerns of monastic life.⁸

But although the hermits who tenanted the caves in "the holy hill of Jême" practised austerities in various forms—those related of Pesenthius and of other ascetes of the period in the *Synaxarium* show the admiration in which these virtues were held⁹—we need not suppose them to have observed any systematized discipline such as was incumbent upon the inmates of a *coenobium*; these anchorites more probably lived, like those in Nitria, each following his own "polity," to the extent of his capacity.¹⁰ In a remarkable letter¹¹ the unhappy writer—a secular cleric—is seen begging Epiphanius to prescribe for him some ascetic rule which he may follow and doubtless the more venerable of the Theban anchorites were used thus to direct the spiritual exercises of disciples and admirers, just

Rules
and Canons

1 Is it simply a coincidence that the letter *RE*. 10, relating to the transmission of a patriarchal missive, should be written by a Shenoute, to whom it had been directed jointly with "Apa Constantine, the bishop"? Shenoute would thus appear to be himself a bishop. *V*. below, p. 229.

2 *CO*. 85. One may read "which he gave unto the churches," or "unto his church," or possibly, though ungrammatically, "to the church." It may be that canons such as these are intended by "the συντάγματα of the bishops," learnt by heart by an ascete (*Zoega* 350).

3 133.

4 *RE*. 42, relating, at any rate, to the *hebdomadarius* and to the distribution of victuals at certain functions. However the 1st plur., which is twice used, perhaps invalidates the above conjecture; yet the script being more than usually formal and the *verso* blank may be marks of an official document.

5 *V*. below, p. 202.

6 Abraham, the last "orthodox" archimandrite of Pbow, expelled by Justinian, copied and sent them to the monastery of Apa Moses (or ? Manasse): *Synaxar*. 24th Tûbah.

7 This on the assumption that Wessely no. 286 is from the Life of Manasse. The reference *CO*. p. xviii n., to the Rule of John Kame in Upper Egypt, is perhaps too precise. *Cf.* the Life, *ed.* M. H. Davis, *PO*. xiv 354, 355.

8 *CSCO*. 73, 148 l. 7 = *Zoega* 563.

9 *E.g.* Elias (13th Kîhak), Ezekiel (14th do.), another Elias (17th do.), Samuel (21st do.), Jonah and Victor (2nd Tûbah), Badâsius (23rd do.; *cf.* 13th Hatûr). The *Synaxar*. perhaps idealizes the achievements of an earlier age.

10 Διαφόρους ἔχοντες πολιτείας ἕκαστος ὡς δύναται καὶ ὡς βούλεται, *Hist. Laus*. Butler ii 25, i 233.

11 162.

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as did those of Nitria and other similar societies. The *Synaxarium* alludes occasionally to such instructions: Ezekiel, for example, receives them from the solitaries to whom he repairs¹; Paul, dying, enjoins upon the brethren “the canons and laws of monkhood”²; so does Samuel, “head” of the hermit colony at Penhôtep³; and the anchorite Pselusius at Philae is given ἐντολαί by another and shown how, when alone in the desert, to withstand devilish thoughts and support “the bitter struggle.”⁴

Solitaries
and couples

The Rule of Pachomius—in one form at least—disapproved complete solitude for the brethren of his monasteries and directed that three should occupy each cell.⁵ Some such companionship seems to have been common among our hermits also (as it was among those of Nitria) if we may take as evidence the number of letters addressed to couples jointly: to Isaac and Elias there are eleven,⁶ to Isaac and Ananias two,⁷ to John and Enoch eight,⁸ to Epiphanius himself with Psan five.⁹ In some cases, such as the last of these pairs, the relation was that of teacher and disciple—so too perhaps Jacob, Elias and subsequently Stephen in the will, Appendix III—in others merely that of two anchorites of like standing, who share a cave or hut. Whether such companionship would extend to actual community in living and sleeping rooms we know not.

Disciples

The word μαθητής is but rarely met with in such texts as these.¹⁰ From the illustrations given elsewhere of its use¹¹ we may appropriately recall the cases of Epiphanius and his disciple Psan just mentioned and that of Pesenthius of Keft and his disciple John¹² and may add thereto those of an anchorite of Aswân with two disciples and that of the bishop of Philae, whose “disciples” were present at his death.¹³ Again it may be conjectured that Kamoul and Pjôl, who had applied to an elder to be received “for God’s sake,” in return for services, were desirous of becoming his disciples.¹⁴ A disciple, we see, might begin as a layman and attain to the σχῆμα later on.¹⁵ The term had presumably a precise and restricted meaning,¹⁶ though in Scete, if not in the South, the number of an elder’s disciples might reach a dozen.¹⁷

Teacher and
disciples

A form of greeting constantly recurring in the letters might be thought to have some bearing here. Salutations to “those with thee,” to “all the brethren that are with thee,” to “all the brethren by name,” are often added to those addressed to the recipient himself,¹⁸

1 *PO.* iii 461, 14th Kihak.

2 *Ib.* 302, 17th Hatûr. 3 *Ib.* 498, 21st Kihak.

4 Budge *Misc.* 436; cf. 441.

5 On this *v.* Ladeuze *Étude* 263. John Climacus, about the period of our texts, speaks of leading the quiet life μετὰ ἐνὸς ἢ πολλῶν δύο (*PG.* 88, 641).

6 *V.* 110. 7 *V.* 118. 8 *V.* 116.

9 *V.* 417. Certain letters from Site XX (*MMA.* 23.3.701 ff.) seem to show that these two did not always dwell together.

10 The only occurrence in this book is in 245.

11 *CO.* 195 n.

12 Budge *Apoc.* 106, *MIE.* ii 333.

13 Budge *Misc.* 456.

14 *CO.* 393. Possibly instead of “elder,” a man named Phello.

15 *Jême* no. 65, 40, 48. A lay disciple similarly in the *Apophthegmata*, *PG.* 65, 185 b.

16 Pesenthius’s disciple John once styles himself the bishop’s ὑπηρέτης (Budge *Apoc.* 97). If this has any definite signification—among clerics it is equivalent to the lowest stages in orders—it may indicate a stage previous to discipleship. Shenoute’s ὑπηρέτης leads his ass and seems to be a simple servant (*CSCO.* 41, 41).

17 *PG.* 65, 293 d. A hermit at Antinoe has ten (*PG.* 87, 2897 d).

18 240, 244, 304, 307, 350, 355, 382, 445, *CO.* 49, 216, 243, 335, 348, Hall p. 92, *AZ.* 1878, 12 (2).

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here and there the names being actually given at length.¹ Sometimes it is the recipient's "children," "pious children," that are greeted.² If phrases such as these are more than mere general forms of politeness, directed to the community at large, we may suppose them to imply groups of disciples gathered about the elder anchorites.

As to preliminary training for the anachoretic life we learn but little. The *Synaxarium* tells of eight years of rigorous self-discipline before the aspirant deemed himself adequately prepared³; and, in the case of coenobites, of what appears to have been an informal novitiate preparatory to the $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$.⁴

Preliminary
training

Neither of course are our texts concerned with the oblates, whose dedication to the neighboring monastery of Saint Phoebammon figures so largely in the Jême documents.⁵ One instance indeed can be cited of such an oblation—a child aged three—made, not to a monastic institution, but to the cell of a single hermit.⁶ The presence of children⁷ among the hermits might indeed be argued from their occasional inclusion in greetings, where the words employed seem inapplicable to grown disciples.⁸ In such cases one might take them to be childish neophytes, such as we hear of in the instance just cited from the *Synaxarium*.

Oblates and
neophytes

Since the days of Antony, who had endued Macarius with the ascetic habit,⁹ and of John Colobus, who had received it at the hands of Amoi,¹⁰ it had been customary for those aspiring to the hermit's life to apply to other ascetes for consecration,¹¹ though it would seem that clerical orders were obligatory on the part of the consecrator.¹² This is illustrated by a letter translated further on.¹³ A prayer from the consecration service of a monk, closely related to that printed by Tuki,¹⁴ is partially preserved on an ostrakon.¹⁵ Its legible phrases are: "Lord God Almighty, in heaven, who dost enter in to from generation to] generation ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$); thy servant NN., [? grant unto him] the holy $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ of monkhood with him toward good¹⁶; number him among Thee; preserve his life ($\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$) without his vow and grant ($\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) unto [him which Thou didst promise unto such as love [Thee henceforth, that he be not put to shame (?). . . . for good which he shall . . . he may tread] upon serpents and scorpions¹⁷. . . . his soul in Thy

The habit

A consecration
prayer

1 *ST.* 295, *CO.* 396 *vo.* 2 318, 337, 448, 477.
3 Hatre of Aswân, *PO.* iii 431.
4 Joseph, *ib.* 284, Misael, *ib.* 443, Abraham, xi 684.
5 *V.* Steinwenter in *Zeitsch. d. Savignyst.* xlii, Kanon. Abt. 175, *ib.* xliii 385.
6 *V.* *PO.* xi 517.
7 $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \psi\eta\mu\alpha$. *V.* 359 n. and *cf.*? "the little brethren" in 297. "The children's cell" with its "father," often mentioned at the large *coenobia*, may point to these (*Saggara* no. 48 and Thompson's note).
8 Hall p. 27 *inf.* Elsewhere references to children connect them with the writers, not with the recipients of letters, which very likely came to the hermits from without.
9 *Mus. Guim.* xxv 84. *Cf.* Butler's notes, *Hist. Laus.* ii 193, i 225.

10 $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, *ib.* 330.
11 Budge *Misc.* 439, also 434, 435, *Synax.*, *PO.* iii 284, 372; but in the latter instances the habit is given usually in a monastery, as in *Jême* no. 65, 40.
12 Budge *loc. cit.* 473, a hermit leads a postulant to a priest for consecration.
13 *ST.* 310.
14 *Euchologion* i 191 *inf.*
15 Hall p. 23 *sup.*
16 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\theta\omicron\omicron\iota$ presumably renders $\epsilon\pi'\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}$, the concluding formula of certain magical prescriptions (Preisendanz in *Wiener Stud.* xlii 28). *V.* also *CO.* 394 *ult.*, Budge *Apoc.* 175 and above, p. 19 n.
17 *Lu.* x 19.

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words (*or* promises, λόγος) through Thee . . . through] Christ Jesus our Lord, who reigneth with the [Holy] Ghost, [for] ever (? αἰώνιον). Amen."

It will be observed that in the *Euchologion* the corresponding prayer occurs in the rite of habiting with "the great σχῆμα." This should imply therefore at Thebes likewise two stages in the monk's progress, although the references to the *Synaxarium* cited above regarding the reception of postulants leave the impression of no formal initiation at the preliminary stage. Perhaps the case of the renowned hermit who persistently declined to receive the habit is to be referred to these two stages.¹ The ever-recurring epithet τέλειος cannot be shown to connote, in Coptic literature, any particular degree of ascetic accomplishment.²

Neither tonsure
nor change of
name men-
tioned

Of preliminary tonsure there is no evidence here: the texts do not allude to anything of the sort, nor can any conclusions be drawn from the condition of the hair of the corpses found in the cemetery.³ Neither do we hear anything of change of name upon entering religion—at any rate at Thebes—though among Monophysites elsewhere the practice was perhaps not unknown.⁴

Foreigners
among the
hermits and
monks: Syrians

There can be no question that, among the anchorites around the tomb of Daga, some were not Egyptians⁵: the presence there of graffiti in Syriac⁶ and of an ostrakon inscribed with the Syriac alphabet⁷ are enough to prove an admixture of foreigners. The presumable use of an alphabet, thus roughly copied upon a sherd, would be for the teaching of Syriac; the teacher would be some Syrian monk resident at Jême, the pupil some one among his Coptic neighbors. Further testimony to the presence of Syrians in this district and at this period is given by the scrap bearing Syriac numerals which was found attached to a leaf of the Cheltenham papyrus volume.⁸ Syriac documents have come to light in other parts of Egypt: in the Fayyûm,⁹ at Oxyrhynchus¹⁰ and farther south,¹¹ while some are of

¹ *PO.* xi 674.

² A few instances: Zoega 550, Budge *Misc.* 1214, *MIE.* ii 338, 350, *CSCO.* 41, 12, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 2 (= Greek *Bios* § 1), 126, 253, De Vis *Homélies* 90, 96, Hall p. 134, *Jême* no. 106, 172, *Miss.* iv 571.

³ On the tonsure of the early coenobites v. Ladeuze *Étude* 277. Mentions of it in Egyptian literature: Zoega 550, *ROC.* 1902, 139, *Mus. Guim.* xxv 330. Whether Budge *Misc.* 450 refers to monastic tonsure or to hair-cutting at conversion is doubtful: probably to the latter. One message indeed says: "I sent . . . unto thee twice, (saying) that Moses would shave thy head, and he found thee not," but nothing indicates that the correspondents here are religious (*ST.* 279).

⁴ Raabe *Petrus der Iberer* 36. But this case may, like that of the heathen youths at Philae (Budge *loc. cit.*), refer to first conversion to Christianity.

⁵ *V. CO.* p. xviii.

⁶ *V.* Appendix II.

⁷ *Tur. Mater.* no. 33, bought at Luxor, now in the Hermitage Museum. A photograph was kindly procured by Prof. V. Struve. The alphabet is written twice, the first

time incompletely. Prof. A. A. Aljawdin describes the script as of W. Syrian Jacobite type, of the 6th or 7th century. Prof. Burkitt, who saw the photograph, suggested a much later date. But since there is no evidence at all as to the further existence of Theban monks or hermits after the 8th century and since the only other Syriac material from Thebes can be dated with certainty at *ca.* 600, it seems more likely that this ostrakon should belong to the same period. Attention may here be called to our 577 (Part II Plate XIV), whose mysterious, perhaps cryptographic, script shows among its characters some which bear a certain resemblance to Syriac letters. How and why this should be we will not attempt to suggest.

⁸ *Papyruscodex* p. 3 n. A. J. Butler (*Coptic Churches* i 361) suspects Syrian influence in the architecture of one of the Naḳādah monasteries.

⁹ Stern in *ÄZ.* 1885, 24.

¹⁰ *JEA.* ii 214. These and the fragments next mentioned belong, properly speaking, to Manichaean literature.

¹¹ *JRAS.* 1919, 207. On these (Manichaean) frags. v. Burkitt *Religion of the Manichees*, 1925, 111.

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uncertain *provenance*.¹ A graffito at Bawît of the 7th or 8th century solicits the prayers of passers-by.² The dates of these may be presumed to be, in all cases, not far distant from those of our Theban fragments—the 6th or 7th century, when the relations of the Egyptian and Syrian churches were unusually close and when there doubtless was (as indeed there had throughout the ages been) constant intercourse between Alexandria and Palestine.

A few traces of the Syrian monks who, ever since Chalcedon, had occasionally reached Upper Egypt, can be discovered. Even earlier (*ca.* 400) we read of them penetrating as far as the Cataracts³ and in certain Christian cemeteries in Nubia Syrians have, it is alleged, been identified,⁴ who may have been driven south before the invading Persians, at the period with which we are concerned.⁵ That the same Persian advance into Palestine had impelled many of the inhabitants to seek a refuge in Egypt is notorious.⁶ Moreover we know that at this period it had become habitual for Palestinian monks to come down to Egypt at harvest time and work as reapers there,⁷ but these would scarcely need to travel with that object as far as the Upper Thebaid. The most probable ground for the presence of Syrian monks at Thebes in the 6th and 7th centuries would, then, be the close relations—not indeed always harmonious—between the two branches of the Monophysite church, which culminated in a formal reconciliation and fraternization under the patriarch Anastasius.⁸ His predecessor Damianus, who figures so conspicuously in our documents, being himself a Syrian, may have favored the migration southward of monks and clerics of his own race.⁹

An attempt to recognize the Syrian element among the dwellers at Jême and in the surrounding deserts by a review of proper names does not prove fruitful. There is but one among them which might be cited as positive evidence here: the name Psyrus, which occurs many times,¹⁰ with its feminine Tsyrus.¹¹ The name however had been common in Egypt, both in this and other forms (Σύρος, Σύρα), in far earlier times and should hardly be appealed to at this date as more than evidence of descent—a consideration applicable likewise no doubt to Pegôsh (Πεκῶσις, Πεκύσιος), Tegôshe (Τεκῶσις). The Syrians, who certainly were present among our hermits, are probably to be sought among those with names biblical or Byzantine—Athanasius, Cyriac, Elias, Sergius, Theodore and the like—which were at least as common in Palestine as in Egypt. One remarkable word indeed occurs, which seems to indicate the presence of Syrians in the district, if not actually among the monks. This word, ⲁⲧϥⲟⲟⲩ, with plural article, transcribed by Revillout as “Assyrians,” but interpreted as Persians, is to be read in a report sent to bishop Pesenthius by the

¹ C. H. Becker *Pap. Schott-Reinhardt*, 1906, p. 8.

² *BIF.* v 3. Kindly read for us by Prof. Burkitt. No names are visible.

³ Life of Hatre of Aswân, *PO.* iii 433.

⁴ Elliot Smith in *Archaeol. Surv. Nubia*, Bulletin ii 31.

⁵ The *Fibrist* indeed declares that the Christians of Nubia wrote Syriac (*ed.* Flügel, 19. Cf. Quatremère *Méms.* ii 37).

⁶ Cf. *Leont. Neap.*, Gelzer, 13.

⁷ Pargoire *Église Byz.* 211.

⁸ *V.* Jean Maspero *Histoire* 318 ff.

⁹ *V. op. cit.* 323.

¹⁰ 559, *Jême passim*, Hall p. 18, *ST.* 47, *BP.* 6139, *Cairo* 8655 (cf. 8579).

¹¹ *CO.* 447, *Jême* no. 54, 7, *Tor.* 5.

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lashanes of Ballâs,¹ who had arrested and scourged them² for their ill-treatment of certain women. "Assyrian" and "Persian" are names, it is true, which, in Egypt at least, may be confused³; but one can scarcely assume, with Revillout, that these wandering marauders, seized and summarily chastized by Coptic village officials, were members of the dreaded Persian army⁴; at most they might be Syrians brought south in the army's wake, or driven down to Egypt by the Persian advance. The name whereby they are described in the letter in question is certainly reminiscent of *Athôr*, that by which a district (diocese) on the Upper Tigris was known⁵ and whence the word *Athôrâye*, "Assyrians," was subsequently derived.⁶ Between this ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲣ and ⲁⲧⲟⲁⲣ, the name of an ἐποίκιον, presumably in Middle Egypt,⁷ one cannot but suspect a connection; as also with the name (possibly a patronymic) ⲁⲧζόρ, found in a document from farther north (Memphis).⁸

We have conjectured the purpose for which the Syriac alphabet had been written upon a Theban ostrakon; what was that of the Coptic alphabets found similarly copied out?⁹ They may, it is true, be mere writing exercises, used by a teacher, or written out by a native pupil, or for the benefit of a foreign monk aspiring to learn Coptic.

Persian settlers in Egypt, independent of those who may have arrived with the conquerors, have left a trace perhaps in the names Hormizd and Dost. . . , which we find in a fragmentary Syriac letter, probably from the Fayyûm.¹⁰ The names are clearly borne here by Christians and a Christian too is the Ormisda(s) in a letter printed among the Pesenthius correspondence, though perhaps unrelated thereto.¹¹

Nubians may well have been among the anchorites and monks of Jême,¹² but the only piece of written testimony to their presence in the neighborhood—an ostrakon with a few Nubian words and their Coptic equivalents¹³—has no more claim to be the work of monk than of "worldling." As Nubian the name Hetôse might perhaps be claimed,¹⁴ while from Ermont comes the stele of "Sophia the Ethiopian nun."¹⁵

1 *RE*. I. ⲙⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ is to be read in *vo*. I. 2.

2 *Leg*. ⲁⲩⲏⲁⲕⲗⲓⲛⲉ in I. 1.

3 In the so-called *Kambyseroman*, a political composition of the 8th (?) century (*BKU*. I 31), the Persians are called "Assyrians."

4 There is no mention of a Persian general. *V*. 151 n. 3.

5 *Book of Governors*, Budge, II 40, 131 &c.

6 On these forms and the ⲁⲧⲟⲟⲣ of the LXX cf. L. W. King in *Encycl. Bibl.* I 347; also Spiegelberg *Aeg. u. Griech. Eigennamen* 68*. Prof. E. G. Browne informs us that in Pahlawi, the form of their language current with these Persian invaders of Egypt—a text in it was written upon the same papyrus as a 7th century Coptic document (Krall cliv)—the related adjective was *Asurig*, *Asurik*, whilst in modern Persian the same root has produced the noun *Athâr*. In medieval Greek "Syrian" and "Assyrian" are found as equivalents: e.g. Aufhauser *Mirac. S. Georgii* 93.

7 *BM*. Gk. IV p. 413.

8 Wessely x no. 297. It is tempting even to recall the name ⲉⲁⲥⲟⲣ, ⲁⲥⲟⲣ (*Ryl*. 224, 293, cf. Sethe in *Götting.*

Nachr. 1916, 122), seeing how ⲧⲉ, ⲧⲟ and sometimes ⲉ (ē) interchange (*BM*. Gk. IV p. xlvii n.).

9 E.g. Hall Pl. 28, *CO*. p. 84 (*E*. 133). The alphabet 620, though in a Greek hand, may be included here.

10 *Ed*. Lidzbarski in Erman-Krebs *Aus den Papyrus*, 1899, 291.

11 *RE*. 9. Doubtless Theban: cf. dat. ⲡⲁ-, relat. ⲧⲁⲉ-.

12 "The Garden of Delight," or "The Forty Tales" of monks, contains a series (e.g. *Paris arabe* 278 nos. 32, 33, 34), by Anastasius of Pachôm's monastery, relating to a Nubian prince, ẖafri (or ẖafra), who, after a Nubian occupation of the districts of Aswân, Esne, Ermont and Abnûd, became a monk there, employing an interpreter in his converse with the abbot. One of these stories is adopted verbally by the Theban *Synaxar*. (*PO*. III 514). The name ẖafri, which reappears, *ib.* 362, may be perhaps compared with Kabri-Kabra, another Nubian royal name (Mas'ûdî, cited by Roeder in *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* xxxiii 369).

13 *Ed*. Erman in *ÄZ*. 1897, 108.

14 *V*. 137 n. Cf. ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲏⲁ Hall p. 22. 15 Cairo 8504.

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The considerable number of Greek texts that have come to light, in this and in similar collections of Christian papyri and ostraca, cannot be treated as evidence of nationality in the same way as Syriac pieces. The long history of the Greeks and of their language in Egypt is unlike that of other foreign immigrants and from the survival in the distant South of fragments of Greek literature, whether ecclesiastical or secular, conclusions of a different nature suggest themselves. It is, in the first place, remarkable that only some half-dozen private letters in Greek are included in the present collection,¹ that of these several are of a more or less official character and that not one of them is upon an ostrakon, the most usual and obvious writing material for such a purpose. Hence it seems evident that the occupants of these cells and caves did not use Greek for ordinary, colloquial purposes, nor is there any reason to suppose that such people had ever done so. Since the days when Pachomius had first gathered his communities in these parts and found himself obliged to make special provision for those disciples who came to him from the Greek-speaking North, Greek had remained nothing but a foreign tongue, obligatory still in the conduct of the church services and no doubt unavoidable in dealings with the government's representatives,² but needing to be learnt by such clerics as found some acquaintance with it indispensable. Reminiscences of their schooling are to be seen in tables of conjugated Greek verbs with their Coptic equivalents³ and in syllabaries.⁴ Although several of these have of late been reproduced or cited in works dealing with Greek school teaching, yet there is no ground for assuming them to have been written for the edification of Greek-speaking pupils: they are just as probably intended for the use of Copts learning Greek.⁵

Greeks

Names, whether Greek or Latin, are not of much assistance at this late period. Almost all of those which occur in Christian texts from Thebes admit of being traced, either to the bible, the Calendar or to such patristic and historical works as were familiar to the Copts. Few are to be met with for which some less obvious origin has to be sought: among them Aristophanes, Heliodorus, Joannacius, Porieuthes, Rhodacius, Stephanacius (Stephanougius⁶) and feminines such as: Antheria,⁷ Archontia, Charisia, Chrysanthia,⁸ Martyria, Thesauria, Theocharis.⁹ But these names are not necessarily found in the texts emanating from the religious communities; they do no more than show that a few such were at this epoch still in occasional use in Theban society. The word 'Ρωμαῖος, which twice occurs in our material, may be noticed here. In one case it might indicate a Byzantine official,¹⁰ but in the other, a late 8th century deed,¹¹ it would be more likely the name of a man of Greek

Classical names

¹ 624-629.

² A notable illustration of this is afforded by the official letter (MMA. 24. 2. 4), addressed to one of these monasteries—that of Paul at the Kolôl (above, p. 112)—by the Muslim local governor, yet in Greek, although dated in A.D. 698.

³ Hall Pl. 31.

⁴ E.g. CO. 432, 433, Tur. 21, ST. 168.

⁵ Cf. E. Ziebarth *Aus d. Antiken Schule*², 1913, and the bibliography there. It may here be noted that the list

of names and words from Denderah, CO. 525, is identical with part of Ziebarth's no. 46 (Jouguet & Perdrizet).

⁶ Cairo 8290.

⁷ Hall p. 68.

⁸ RE. 10 *vo.* (unpublished).

⁹ Hall pp. 20, 134, but sometimes masc. (presumably Theocharès, as in Acts of Coluthus, Paris 129¹⁶, 76).

¹⁰ 182.

¹¹ *Jême* no. 82, 52.

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descent. The question as to which, among the total of these non-Egyptian names collected from Christian Theban texts, might point to the presence of yet other races, could be determined only by special investigations for which we are not prepared.

Germanic

The Germanic names found in two of our texts¹ would not come into consideration here: their bearers are evidently not Theban residents, but merely Byzantine legionaries. And of this class there are other names, similarly accidental in such company: Belisara² and Jordanes.³ A third, not uncommon here and in other parts of Egypt, may be taken to point certainly to Germanic origin: Gunthus,⁴ found also as Guthus,⁵ though Littmann indeed suggests an Arabic etymology.⁶ Its true nationality seems to be revealed by its occurrence with preceding Coptic article: **πεκοτηθος**.⁷ "Goth" is in fact found in Coptic as **κοτθος**⁸ and a form with intercalated *n* (*m*) would merely be an instance of a well-known phenomenon.⁹

Other foreigners

Among other names of patently foreign origin is Nabernoukios, borne by a priest at Pisinai (Peshenai).¹⁰ It may be doubted whether this has any ethnic significance here; it need not be more than a mere reminiscence of Peter the Iberian's long sojourn in Egypt, though that supposition implies that the saint's native name had remained familiar during his later life. Another name of foreign aspect is Hjil (or rather Ahjil, Ehjil), occurring in the Pesenthan letters.¹¹ Its termination recalls certain Arabian names: Haiwîl, Sharahîl &c.¹²

To names difficult to place we may add finally Frangas—Frange—Frange¹³ and Karakinna,¹⁴ both foreign in appearance. The last of them brings to mind the Blemmyd name Charachên¹⁵; the first may be taken to have no connection with **Φράγγος**, **Φράγκος**.

No Jews discernible

In such surroundings Jews are not to be expected. Old Testament names are long since widely popular among all classes of Christians and are of course far from signifying Hebrew origin.

The hermits' food

Of many of the letters exchanged between the members of a poor community of hermits the inevitable subject must be food; how could it be otherwise where the correspondents are dwellers among fruitless desert rocks and are dependent for the necessities of life upon the small profits of individual labor, supplemented by the charitable offerings of relatives

¹ 517, 630.

² CO. Ad. 29.

³ *Ib.* 165 n., and as that of an 8th cent. pagarch of Hermonthis in a group of papyri at Michigan, 1924.

⁴ Γούνθος. V. Preisigke.

⁵ Γούθος, Cairo 8496.

⁶ In Preisigke *Namenb.* 508.

⁷ In an unpublished tax-receipt, now Prof. Wessely's. Possibly **πεκοτητες**, in an unpublished list of Theban names, is an attempt at this form. Analogous are **ψυρος**, **πεσωψ**, cited above.

⁸ Budge *Hom.* 141 = PG. 52, 460. Mercati shows that this piece is attributed to Chrysostom (*JTS.* viii 114). For the forms of "Goth" in Greek authors v. M. Schönfeld *Wörterb. d. Altgerm. Personennamen* and Hoops *Reallexikon* ii 306.

⁹ To Stern's examples (*Gram.* p. 419) add: **αποθασιος**

(*Jême* &c.), **αληποιος** (Vat. 65, 12 b), **αμπαρνα** (*ἀπαρ-νάν*, Paris 129¹⁶, 10), **μπεροποταμια** (MS. Morgan xxxi 40), **μετρον** (*μέτρον*, *ib.* 101), **κορινφεος** (*κορυφαίος*, Vat. 67, 83 b), **πημφηπ** (*νήφειν*, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 63 *et sæp.*), **σπαναλαπ** (*σπαταλάν*, Vat. 63, 89 b), **τεπέωρα** (*Δεβ-βώρα*, *Sphinx* x 3).

¹⁰ *Jême* no. 67, 132; cf. CO. 459 n. (p. 42). Probably Revilleout's reading, Nabornoukios, is preferable.

¹¹ RE. 15 and 16, l. 4, where read **αρχιλ τατο[η]παχε**.

¹² Cf. Ibn 'Abd al Hakam, *ed.* Torrey, 37* n.

¹³ Cf. CO. 394 n.

¹⁴ Hall p. 119. Comparable perhaps: **καρκασιος**, on a Theban ostrakon, C. Simonides *Facsimiles of certain portions* &c., Pl. XI.

¹⁵ Krall in Vienna *Denkschr.* 46 (iv), 4 = Wilcken *Chrest.* p. 14.

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or admirers? And the names of a certain number of food-stuffs do in fact occur, some of them repeatedly; so that some evidence is to be gathered as to the victuals at the disposal of such societies. What the fare in these communities is likely to have been we may infer from literary sources, though analogies from the doubtless much better provided coenobitic monasticism there in view are but partially applicable here. "How," writes the poet of the *Triadon*,¹ "have I forsaken the path of the monks of the South (μαρης), they that eat salt and vinegar and dry bread and endive (σέρις), and have followed after my evil thoughts and filled my belly with new wine and am burdened with gluttony and drunkenness and the cares of life."

Bread was of course the common fare of the Pachomian monks,² often bread and salt,³ with the addition of oil for invalids.⁴ This is sometimes referred to as the usual ascetic diet, sometimes as that of penance.⁵ In the *Synaxarium* bread and salt are the chosen food of anchorites.⁶ An advance in abstinence is represented by the mere bread and water to which an ascetic will sometimes restrict himself.⁷ To the bread some added vinegar,⁸ while others especially renounced all condiments.⁹ Another variety of monkish fare consisted of bread and green herbs,¹⁰ or of herbs alone.¹¹ Herbs or other victuals cooked were esteemed an indulgence,¹² conceded in illness.¹³ Yet here and there cooked food is mentioned as if regularly eaten.¹⁴ Fruit (dates, figs) was permitted to heavy workers,¹⁵ or to the sick,¹⁶ or after Lent.¹⁷

While monasteries of the formal type and lying near the plain owned fruit and vegetable gardens,¹⁸ the dwellers in these desert caves must have depended for green food upon gifts or purchase.¹⁹ Of the former they appear to have received a certain quantity: several of the letters to them were accompanied by presents of vegetables,²⁰ called in some cases simply "greens," in others by a name more specific, although less intelligible.²¹ A gift of mixed vegetables is sent on one occasion to bishop Pesentius,²² whom we suppose to have been at the time residing with the hermits of Jême and so deprived of the supplies which, at his bishopric of Keft, would have been at his disposal.²³ A similar offering, to a bishop

The ascetic diet

Green vegetables

1 *Ed. Lemm* § 496 = Zoega 651.
 2 *V. the Arabic version passim of the Life of Pachomius, Mus. Guim. xvii.*
 3 *Loc. cit.* 547, 603, *Miss.* iv 542.
 4 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 603, *cf.* 351.
 5 *Loc. cit.* 478, 636, Amélineau *Oeuv. de Schenoudi* i 34. Bread and salt is a common fasting diet: BM. 1001, *Can. Athanas.* p. 97, Munier *Catal.* 41, *ROC.* 1902, 141, *Mus. Guim.* xxv 208.
 6 *PO.* xi 518, xvii 678.
 7 *MIE.* ii 405, 406, *Miss.* iv 709.
 8 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 630. *Cf. Paralip. S. Pachom.* § 29 (vinegar with raw herbs). Vinegar is distributed to Shenoute's monks: *CSCO.* 73, 88.
 9 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 516. In *PO.* xvii 678 bread, salt and cummin. *Cf. the Triadon* as above. Comparable is the *dukkab* with which the modern Egyptian seasons his bread: Lane (*ed.* 1837) i 183, 267.
 10 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 377; *cf.* 554, *PO.* iii 478; *cf.* 481.

11 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 351, 420, *PO.* iii 440; *cf.* 477.
 12 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 347 (an anchorite), 440, 453, 472, 516, 564, 630.
 13 *Loc. cit.* 82 (where καρελλα = γαρέλαιον, *ib.* 453).
 14 *Loc. cit.* 420 (= *Bíos* § 43; *cf.* § 34 *sub fin.*), 609 (refused by the more strict).
 15 *Mus. Guim. xvii* 536.
 16 *Loc. cit.* 17, 552 (where *Theol. Texts* 157 shows that ثمر = dates, the fruit *par excellence*). *Cf. ib.* 453, 536.
 17 *Loc. cit.* 103; *cf.* 536.
 18 *Loc. cit.* 630, *Miss.* iv 75, 673, 730.
 19 Hermits in "the desert" (πρωτοῦ) benefited largely by the vegetable garden of the White Monastery (*CSCO.* 41, 63).
 20 249, *ST.* 255, 299, *BKU.* 136, Hall Pl. 81 (27425 *obv.*).
 21 On λαψάνη v. 328 n. 22 *RE.* 21.
 23 Keft was, at any rate in later times, famed for its vegetable gardens: Edrisi, *ed.* Dozy and De Goeje, 56.

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apparently, is projected by another writer, so soon as he shall learn of the prelate's arrival.¹ The only evidence in these texts as to the purchase of vegetables is given by one of our accounts, where payments made include one to a "leek seller" and one for a cabbage (κράμβη).² When, in three letters addressed to revered members of our community, we read urgent requests for herbs (λαψάνη),³ we may conjecture either that some quantity lay deposited with the persons addressed, or that such herbs, not fresh, but preserved, were in common use among the anchorites.⁴

Bread and corn

The bread, whereof so many of our letters speak,⁵ sometimes bears the generic name *οεικ*, sometimes that of *κακε*, "cake" or "loaf,"⁶ for which specially prepared corn seems to have been used.⁷ Both sorts were made in larger and smaller loaves.⁸ Some writers appear to be sending bread to their correspondents,⁹ more often it is they who themselves ask for it,¹⁰ sometimes urgently.¹¹ More often than bread we find corn itself the subject of correspondence.¹² Proof that the hermits of our community stored it is given by the survival of many of their earthenware granaries.¹³ It is needed and asked for; is sent, sometimes in sealed sacks¹⁴; it is stored in jars¹⁵; is used in payment as wages,¹⁶ or in barter.¹⁷ A particular variety seems to be intended by the attribute *μνωρ*.¹⁸ The price of corn is to be gathered from certain texts: in one the *trimision* (about 8 carats) buys $3\frac{1}{2}$ *artobs*, in another 4 *artobs*¹⁹; in a third the writer undertakes to deliver 4 *artobs*, or else to pay 10 bronze carats, less (*παρά*) 400 *kôr*.²⁰ Or again, a writer who had been offered 15 *artobs* for a *solidus*, has found a friend who will sell him 18 at that price.²¹ The price therefore of an *artob* was about two carats.²²

Other cereals
and plants

Barley is relatively rare among the foods mentioned²³; it is used for fodder.²⁴ Its price is 4 carats for 6 *artobs*, or $\frac{2}{3}$ carat for an *artob*.²⁵ Among other cereals or pulses we find lentils, sent with other provisions as a "humblest remembrance"²⁶—the literal meaning, "reminder," no doubt shows the object of such offerings—to bishop Pesenthus and evidently, as the varying epithets show, of several qualities: "closed,"²⁷ "pressed (?),"²⁸ "pounded."²⁹

1 *CO.* 371, but we cannot here be sure that the correspondence is between hermits.

2 566.

3 328, 330, 331.

4 That *λαψάναι* could be pickled is evident from *Epist. Ammon.* § 16 and from the *πρωλαψ*, measured in a *πνταρε*, in a list of edibles, *BP.* 402. Cf. further *BP.* 9448, "I have plucked (*αιρωλε*) a little λ., (but) lo, it waiteth (*οτηε ερωαι*), (for) I cannot find salt for it." *V.* below, p. 148.

5 On its baking *v.* p. 162.

6 *V.* 177 n. In *Ryl.* 159 the word corresponds to *ψάμουν* in *Wessely* xx no. 218, 32.

7 540, 541. *كعك* is described by *Maqrîzî* (*ed.* Wiet, *MIF.* xxx 192) as eaten by the *fellâhîn*, made of coarse meal *جريش*, dried.

8 540, *ST.* 189.

9 253, *BKU.* 123, *ST.* 320.

10 325, 377, *CO.* 195, 196, 199.

11 *CO.* 197, 254, 361, 385. Want of bread, 173.

12 *V.* Part II Index iv, *κοτο*, Index vii, corn.

13 *V.* above, p. 42.

14 304. Cf. 345.

15 532.

16 84 A, Hall p. 106 (21293).

17 322, 361, *ST.* 323, 388, an ostr. *penes* A. H. Gardiner.

18 *ST.* 189. There and in *Krall* ccxlvii this word applies also to lentils and beans (*φάσηλος*) and is contrasted with *τημ*: so "open" and "closed." But what is the meaning of such words here?

19 *CO.* 257 and *ST.* 388 respectively.

20 *ST.* 40. On *kôr* *v.* 535 n.

21 *CO.* 198.

22 On corn prices *v.* Bell in *BM.* Gk. v p. 47 n. and *Addenda*.

23 176, *BKU.* 45, Hall *loc. cit.*

24 *CO.* 222.

25 *Tor.* 2.

26 *ST.* 189.

27 *τημ*. *V.* above.

28 *ερερω*, *ST.* 189.

29 *κοκε*, *RE.* 46. In a non-Theban text (from Balaizah) lentils are called *εγγορυ* (so too are beans), whereof the meaning is yet to seek.

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The price here seems to be one *oipe* ($\frac{1}{8}$ artob) for 8 bronze *she*.¹ *Orax*, another plant known to the monks, is probably a species of clover.² Lupins as food are met with once,³ cummin likewise.⁴ Beans are twice asked for by monkish writers.⁵ With the exception of dates, which were plentifully eaten by the early coenobites⁶ and which here we find used in barter,⁷ sent as presents between monks⁸ and otherwise dealt in,⁹ fruit is rarely mentioned. Figs appear once in a list¹⁰; grapes, fresh or dried, are sent by one monk to another¹¹; but, as already observed, an earlier generation regarded fruit in general as a rarely permissible luxury.¹² Olives are seldom named: a present ("remembrance") of them is sent to the brethren by one writer.¹³ They were eaten in Shenoute's monastery,¹⁴ as in those of the Pachomians.¹⁵ Fruit

Of oil several sorts were in use, though as a food it had been primitively counted a luxury.¹⁶ One variety appears to have been called "garden oil," another "gourd oil."¹⁷ Olive oil is used for the church lamps.¹⁸ Castor oil probably occurs in an account,¹⁹ rose oil in an order for its delivery.²⁰ Perhaps it is for its oil that rape (*shelgom*, now *salgam*) is used. One writer asks his "holy father" for a certain quantity, another speaks of some that he had bartered for corn.²¹ Oil forms part of a workman's wage²² and is perhaps an article of barter.²³ Gifts to a holy man include it.²⁴ Oil

"Butter" is the more usual meaning of *cup*, for which several writers apply²⁵; but where baking is in question, its meaning must be, as occasionally elsewhere, "leaven."²⁶ Milk is named once only in our texts and that in conjunction with [*ca*]npe, butter.²⁷ Cheese is among the presents sent to bishop Pesenthius by one of his correspondents²⁸ and this recalls the incident related by his panegyrist of the ill-doing shepherd who had trusted to placate the saint by an offering of "little cheeses."²⁹ Cheese was eaten by the Pachomian monks,³⁰ especially during Pentecost,³¹ as also by the Sinuthians.³² Eggs appear here as a Butter,
milk &c.

Eggs

1 ST. 219. This throws further, though hardly illuminating, light upon the coin *she*. V. Part II Addenda to 168.

2 V. 323 n. The *Scala* Paris 43 f. 59b translates by *طرب* (on which v. Fagnan *Additions* 140) and *τριφύλλιον* by *طرب حب*. The note therefore to 574 needs correction.

3 V. 543 n.

4 RE. 46 and v. above.

5 CO. 233 ([*ov*]pw), BKU. 140 (*ov*[p]w).

6 V. p. 145 n. 16.

7 531, 533. Cf. also 174, 520.

8 CO. 213, Hall p. 115.

9 309, 548, CO. Ad. 67, ST. 438.

10 BP. 954.

11 ST. 320, BKU. 259 vo. 11.

12 Legendary anchorites, such as Onnophrius, subsist mainly upon dates: Budge *Mart.* 129, 208.

13 CO. 216.

14 CSCO. 73, 88.

15 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 79, 377.

16 *Loc. cit.* 15, 347, 603, PO. xi 518.

17 CO. 347 for both.

18 Hall p. 67, but the text is doubtful. *Leg.* *ζηλας*.

19 534.

20 Hall p. 96, *περ ηερο[α]νον*.

21 CO. 348 and RE. 22, 13 ll. from end (*sic leg.*); *πυλσom* in both, *σελσom* in Paris 44. Cf. Sethe *Burgschaftsurb.* p. 187.

22 84 A, ST. 43.

23 484. Translate: "and I will repay it thee in oil."

24 CO. 213, BM. ostr. 82. 12-12. 7, perhaps ST. 315.

25 V. 296 n.

26 Cf. *רשע*.

27 Cairo 46304, 79 (discarded), a letter in which the writer seems to complain of misfortune or ill-treatment in regard to his sheep and goats.

28 ST. 189, "these humblest (*ἐλάχιστος*) cheeses." Another sort of cheese (? *τυρίον*) in 246.

29 Budge *Apor.* 106, *MIE.* ii 382.

30 *Hist. Laus.* Butler ii 95 = *Mus. Guim.* xvii 377, *ib.* 79.

31 *Loc. cit.* 396.

32 CSCO. 73, 119, an instructive list of things forbidden to be eaten "on the sly."

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supplementary luxury, allowed on high days,¹ although they figured in the ordinary diet of the first Pachomians.² Shenoute permitted them only to the sick.³

Honey

Honey is in use by the Theban hermits: Epiphanius, or some other reverend person, is sent a present of it⁴ and so is another ascete "and the brethren that are nigh unto thee in heart,"⁵ together with dried grapes, dates and other gifts. The writer of another letter asks that "a little honey" may be sent him.⁶

Salt

One of the more frequently named necessities is salt, though in the texts of the present collection it chanches not to occur. As a seasoning to bread it is often mentioned in the monastic histories, whether in reference to the fare of a solitary hermit,⁷ or to some special asceticism or penance within a monastery.⁸ In less formal texts such as these we see salt sent, together with other things, to a holy man,⁹ or we find it as one among various victuals deposited with (or made over to) one monk by another,¹⁰ or offered in payment of a debt.¹¹ Salt is required by one writer for pickling or seasoning herbs: "I spake to thee," he says, "as to a little salt and thou saidest unto me, When the camel shall come out,¹² I will send it thee. Be so good, then, as to send it me betimes to-morrow; for I have plucked a little herbs¹³ and lo, it lieth waiting."¹⁴ Salt was not always plentiful: another letter says,¹⁵ "When I had come forth from thy fathership, I said unto our brother Apa Dius that he should send Zacharias respecting the little salt. When I came north, I found in truth that the brethren had sold it and scarcely did I find four *maajes* in the place." Salt was of course needed not only as a food, but also in the preparation of the dead for burial: the bodies found in the cemetery of our site testify to this¹⁶ and a Coptic homily found at Thebes alludes to it.¹⁷

Fish

Fish, we gather from the Life of Pesenthius, was unusual in the diet of hermits, but was allowed to those in ill-health.¹⁸ It was eaten by Shenoute's monks, though perhaps here too in illness only.¹⁹ In our texts it is but seldom named.²⁰

Pickles

Pickled or conserved food is common. Two words represent it: *ταριχείον* (*ταριχε*) and *σιρ*. That they are not synonyms is evident from their occurrence side by side.²¹ *Ταριχείον* is taken to mean pickled fish,²² but among Theban monks it applies to other foods besides,

1 333.

2 Butler *loc. cit.*

3 CSCO. 73, 173.

4 187.

5 BKU. 259.

6 Hall p. 146.

7 Mus. Guim. xvii 15, 547.

8 V. above, p. 145, bread and salt. Some instances of *ζμοσ* among those victuals upon which oil may be poured (e.g. CSCO. 73, 55) suggest that not simply salt, but salted food of a particular sort, is there meant.

9 CO. 212, Hall p. 117.

10 CO. 217.

11 RE. 22.

12 Does the recipient, "my dear lord father, Apa Ezekiel the priest," whose words these were, live in the plain? *ει εβολ* is usually to "come out" from the desert into the river valley. V. below, p. 183.

13 *ηλιψε ηλαψανε*. On the first word v. 345 n.

14 V. above, p. 146 n. 4.

15 ST. 255.

16 V. above, p. 48. Edible salt is distinguished as *ζμοσ ποτωμ*: Pap. Médic., ed. Chassinat, 204, 205.

17 "The salt wherewith my corpse is prepared," *Papyrus-cod.* pp. 49, 107.

18 Budge *Apoc.* 86.

19 CSCO. 73, 119, 172.

20 533, BKU. 132.

21 RE. 46, WS. 92. Yet in the former of these texts the heading (omitted by Revillout) is] *ηησιρ* "List of the 'conserves,'" as if *σιρ* embraced the items following it, which include *ταριχείον*.

22 Reil *Beiträge* 162.

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such as vegetables.¹ We find hermits asking in their letters for some² and we find it in lists of victuals.³ The texts from the Daga site however do not name it; indeed the differences in its incidence in distinct groups of texts indicate perhaps that it was better known in the North than in the Thebaid. $\alpha\iota\tau$ is occasionally asked for in a letter⁴ and in one case should mean pickled herbs.⁵ This again is distinguished from fish and corresponds to $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$.⁶

Finally meat must be referred to, if only to record its absence from all these monastic documents—an absence so complete that its occurrence in a steward's letter from Wâdi Sarga⁷ prompts one to take for a layman the person there who is to receive it. Similarly, where the wages of two craftsmen comprise 40 *litrae* of mutton,⁸ or where "wine, loaves, meat" are entered among the expenses of a journey from Jême to Babylon,⁹ we have no ground for supposing either monks or clerics to be concerned. The *Synaxarium* speaks of meat as not eaten by ascetes¹⁰ and when we find a deed of gift presenting the monastery of Saint Phoebammon with a $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ of 31 sheep and 14 goats,¹¹ or letters in the Pesenthan dossier relating to cattle belonging to a monastery,¹² we may conclude either that in those days the fare of coenobites differed from that of the hermits, or else that the monasteries owned flocks without using them for food.

Meat not
mentioned

Water and how to obtain it must have been among the constant problems for dwellers among these arid rocks and when a saint's prayer calls forth a spring in the desert, his encomiast fails not to record so beneficent a miracle.¹³ When Pesenthus, retreating before the Persian barbarians, betakes himself to a cave deep "in the hill of Jême," his disciple takes with them a supply of water-pots ($\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$), to replenish which a miracle is needed.¹⁴ To carry water to the desert solitaries was a pious labor, undertaken now and then by anchorites.¹⁵ In a letter from two of these to two others mention is made of a prevalent drought and "a little water" is begged¹⁶; while in another letter—a complete text—we read "Be so kind, brother Pher, and do thou tell Ananias of thine (? *i.e.* of thy community or cell) to bring me a jar of water."¹⁷ It is from the well or tank of the monastery¹⁸ that drinking-water is usually drawn; sometimes from the river or canal bank,¹⁹ which might often be far distant.²⁰

Water

1 *Epist. Ammon.* § 16. In Budge *St. Michael* 41 $\tau\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\iota$ is translated on p. 148 by سمن , "melted butter." The Sa'idic version (Budge *Misc.* 387) omits the words.

2 *CO.* 197, *BKU.* 113, *RE.* 33. 3 *ST.* 117.

4 Hall p. 117. 5 $\alpha\iota\tau\lambda\alpha\psi$, *BP.* 402. 6 Rossi i v 14.

7 *WS.* 181. Yet if a noun were lacking after $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$, $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$ would be merely "to him," while in *CO.* 97 *ult.* likewise $\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$ is much more probably the dative, "for him."

8 *ST.* 46.

9 "What I paid for some victuals," *Jême* no. 5, vo. 19.

10 *PO.* iii 444, xi 671.

11 *Jême* no. 112.

12 *RE.* 2, 3, 32 ($\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\theta$, ll. 2, 4). Cattle at the White Monastery: *Miss.* iv 415.

13 *MIE.* ii 414, *PO.* iii 462; cf. xi 677, though the last instance seems not to refer to the desert.

14 Budge *Apoc.* 99.

15 *PO.* xi 519. Here منقطعين seems to mean *isolated* hermits; elsewhere in the *Synaxar.* (*loc. cit.* iii 437, 480, also *BIF.* iv 140) the word can scarcely have that meaning.

16 *Aegyptus* iii 283.

17 *Sphinx* x 142, with help of a photograph from Prof. G. Farina.

18 $\psi\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$ (Budge *loc. cit.* 88) translated by بئر in the Arabic (*Paris arabe* 4785, 116a, 201b). Cf. also Zoega 343, *Miss.* iv 231. But at the White Monastery the $\psi\omega\tau\epsilon$ was also used for clothes-washing (*Paris* 130¹, 37).

19 Budge *loc. cit.* 87.

20 Zoega *loc. cit.* Cf. Winlock p. 6 n. above. In the *Synaxarium* (*PO.* iii 427) we read of Papnoute, the hermit of Denderah, coming forth from the mount to fetch his water.

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Wine

On the use of wine something will be said hereafter.¹

The hermits' clothing

How far the dress of anchorites such as these would conform to that of monks inhabiting a *coenobium* and wearing a prescribed habit, it is not possible to ascertain. The "monk's garment," included in a list,² is vague—the word is that generally used for ἱμάτιον—but points presumably to something of a formal nature. "A monkish garment" is explained, in an unpublished passage from one of the Pachomian biographies,³ as a σασίτωπ, *i.e.* a robe of coarse linen or tow. Special grave-clothes enshrouded the corpses found in the cemetery at our site,⁴ though elsewhere we read of these consisting simply of the tunic (λεβίτων) and hood that had been worn in life,⁵ or of some garment of palm-fiber which had similarly been the habitual dress of the deceased.⁶

Rags

No doubt anchorites in Egypt, as in Syria, were often clothed in a mere patchwork of rags (κεντωνάριον)⁷; the "patched θωράκιον" given to the novice Hilaria⁸ points to this, as does the ψτηπ ππλσε worn by Aphou.⁹ Of garments such as these no trace was found in our cemetery. The only features which the dress of the dead there had in common with that of the living were the leather apron and girdle, found bound around several of the bodies.¹⁰ Skin or hide is the material of a garment often named in literary texts. It would seem to be the μηλωτή, translated ψτηп пшсар in the *Vita Antonii*;¹¹ but whether that could also be the skin, which served as a bag¹² and had in it a pocket,¹³ may be questioned. A list of clothes from Deir Balaizah includes οψσαρ περσατης, "a workman's skin," presumably a leather apron, perhaps similar to those found in our cemetery and worn when the hermits worked at their handicraft.

Skins

Technical terms: σχῆμα, λεβίτων

It is remarkable that the distinctive words usually characteristic of the monkish garb are practically unknown to such texts as ours: σχῆμα, λεβίτων,¹⁴ κλαγτ (= κουκούλλιον), μσσε (= ζώνη) are not met with. They are indeed no better known to those texts which relate to coenobites, such as the Jême documents¹⁵; and yet it may be surmised that their absence here is in part due to their being more especially applicable to monks dwelling in a monastery

1 *V.* p. 161.

2 *CO.* 459.

3 At Michigan University.

4 *V.* above, p. 48.

5 *PG.* 65, 432 c. The dying Hilaria asks to be buried in her λεβίτων (*MS.* Morgan xli 333. In *PO.* xi 637 the corresponding word is *مرقعة*; so too *Paris* 44, 121).

6 The ascete Andrew, of Deir eṣ Ṣalīb, declines to be buried in aught save the raiment ليف in which he had lived (*Paris arabe* 4882, 10 b). Cf. *PG.* 87, 2985 A, κολόβιον ἀπὸ σιβίνου; but *ib.* c, κ. ἐκ δερμάτων. John Colobus's shroud is wrapped about the palm-cloth garment in which he had died (*PO.* xvii 768 = ix 421). The body of the hermit Anastasia was buried in her cloak (κεντόνιον) and palm-wrappings (φασκίδιον ἀπὸ σιβίνου, Clugnet *Daniel* 3; cf. 6).

7 *Anal. Boll.* vii 108, *PO.* xvii 102, 214, *Sabae Vita* 298 *inf.*, *PG.* 65, 296 B (*Nitria*).

8 *PO.* xi 630. This word *تراج* (*sic leg.*) recurs *ib.* iii 477 *inf.*, 498 (Forget has read these correctly). Its apparent plur. *تراج* in *Paris arabe* 4785, 210 b, is but a miswriting

(cf. *عليه* following); the Coptic original has λεβίτων (as above). *تراج* is familiar in the liturgical books, *e.g.* Tuki's *Euchol.* i 175, and in the *Scalae*, Kircher 120.

9 Rossi i iii 8.

10 *V.* above, p. 49.

11 *MS.* Morgan xxxvii 110, "the dead skin (ψσαρ) which is the μηλωτή."

12 Zoega 352, *Mus. Guim.* xxv 166, 251, *Sabae Vita* 235, 251. Cf. *Reg. Pachom.* (Hieron.) § xxxviii, *ea quæ dantur . . . in pelle accipiat*. The skin as praying-mat: Amélineau *De Hist. Laus.* 119.

13 *CSCO.* 41, 16, *Paris* 129¹⁴, 124 (the same story).

14 Except in the graffito described above. *V.* Winlock p. 9. It recurs in other monkish texts: *WS.* 161 &c., *Bell Jews and Christians* p. 93.

15 One would hesitate to ascribe this to Syrian influence. Cf. *Mus. Guim.* xxv 268, 298, whence we learn that neither σχῆμα, in the strict sense, nor girdle was worn by Syrian monks.

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than to the more or less independent occupants of hermits' cells. Σχῆμα seems, among the Greeks and in northern Egypt,¹ to have come to denote the totality of a monk's dress.² At the same time it is used still, though rarely, in its more limited meaning: in Nitria the novice is given hair-coat, hood and σχῆμα³; Pachomius burns a monk's "raiment" and his σχῆμα.⁴ In one case *iskîm* is the Arabic rendering of "skin" in the Coptic.⁵ In later, Bohairic times the σχῆμα is an arrangement of leathern straps or braces, the laying on whereof was the culminating act in the monk's consecration and the wearing of which caused scoffers to deride Shenoute's monks as "harnessed like asses."⁶ Here its native name is μαρσιναρ (equivalent to *scapular*), which is again understood in Arabic as *iskîm*—σχῆμα.⁷ Something of the sort was evidently laid upon the shoulders of Theban monks, for Pesenthus directs that he shall be interred in "the λεβίτων whereon he had received (as a novice) the σχῆμα,"⁸ and Apollo, at his consecration in Pachomius's monastery, is arrayed in the εἶσω (doubtless = λεβίτων), over which is laid the skin, fashioned according to the angelic διαταγή⁹; so that here again "skin" stands for σχῆμα. And though of all this the ostraca, as has been said, tell us nothing, there can be small doubt that the thing itself has survived in the leather aprons above referred to.¹⁰ A single instance of σχῆμα, in its specific sense, has been preserved. A letter,¹¹ addressed respectfully to a priest, requests him to "lay the holy σχῆμα upon brother Apa Dios" and proceeds: "If thy fatherhood will do (thus) on my behalf, I will have no more affair with thee (*i.e.* claim upon thee) at all respecting the *solidus*, neither will I ever accost thy fatherhood regarding the matter of the debt. I beg that thou wouldest gird him.¹² Hinder not his zeal¹³ for his soul('s welfare) on my account (*i.e.* as I request thee). I shall have no excuse regarding the matter of the debt."¹⁴ That, with the exception of the mention already alluded to¹⁵ of "a monk's garment," is all that these Theban texts offer us as information about the hermit's garb. References there are to tailors and their work, but they hardly relate to monastic clothing.¹⁶ As to sandals *v.* p. 158.

To enquire as to the dogmatical tenets approved among the monks and hermits of the Thebaid, at the beginning of the 7th century, is scarcely needful. Even were no indications to be gathered from the fragments of literature and from the documents that have survived, we might confidently assume such communities to have been exclusively Monophysite; the presence at all, in these parts and at this period, of adherents of the state creed would demand proof and no proof is forthcoming. The *Synaxarium* boasts indeed that, towards

Doctrinal
position of
the hermits

1 *Mus. Guim. loc. cit.*
2 Pargoire *Église Byz.* 68, W. Nissen *Regelung* 28 n.
3 MS. Morgan xxxi 15, Samuel of Kalamôn. Lataşôn (*v.* p. 114 n.) is endowed with اسكيم and قلسوة, BM. Or. 5650, 70.
4 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 151 = Bíos § 65, merely ἐνδυμα.
5 *Miss.* iv 324 = CSCO. 41, 16.
6 Mingarelli *Aeg. Codd. Reliq.* 322. Monks are spoken of as "bound with the σχῆμα," ارتبطوا باسكيم الرهينة (*PO.* xi 668).
7 Bodleian MS. Marshall 32, ٩٤.

8 *MIE.* ii 418, Paris *arabe* 4785, 210 b, Budge *loc. cit.* 125 (slightly different). Cf. *PG.* 65, 432 c.
9 MS. Morgan xxxvii 132 b.
10 *V.* p. 76 above. 11 *ST.* 310.
12 Cf. MS. Morgan xli 322, the novice Hilaria "girt" by the abbot with λεβίτων and hair-tunic.
13 The word usually = προαίρεσις.
14 A similar formula in *CO.* 168. *Lit.* "I have no road for coming forth (suing, ἐνάγειν) about it."
15 *V.* above, p. 150. 16 *V.* below, p. 158.

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the close of the 6th century, all the monks of the Şa'îd and Nubia were "orthodox"¹ and Maḥrîzî believed that, under the patriarch Anastasius (*ob.* 616), the whole of Egypt had been Jacobite.² A prayer at this period for preservation from "schism and heresy" alludes no doubt to lapses from the national creed.³ One might perhaps ask how monasteries in the Theban district should come by the designation Deir er Rûmî, "the Greek (*or* Byzantine) Monastery."⁴ Of what state of things may that be a reminiscence? Of the former presence, one would suppose, of some dissident community.

Evidences of
monophysitism

The very walls of the caves and cells around the tomb of Daga, the remnants of theological books found lying there, besides the other evidence of what the hermits read, testify quite unmistakably to the doctrinal views they favored. Long extracts from Severus of Antioch (as well as from Cyril) and complete treatises by Damianus cover the walls of the tomb itself⁵; vestiges of others besides are on record, in which the name of Chalcedon can be discerned.⁶ Other works of Severus and Damianus, besides some connected with the venerated names of Dioscorus, Timothy Aelurus and Peter the Iberian, likewise figure in our catalogue of literature.⁷ The patriarch Damianus—a *terminus post quem* in our chronology—is evidently the teacher whose doctrine was dominant in the days of Epiphanius and of the "orthodox" bishop Abraham,⁸ his contemporary. A letter from the latter relates to the archbishop's Festal Epistle (κήρυγμα) which had reached him and which "confirmeth us in the faith of God."⁹ Doubtless it was by means of this annual epistle that the distant provinces were kept informed as to the doctrinal position which the patriarch defined as binding upon the orthodox.¹⁰ That the monastic communities at Thebes should attempt to maintain contact with the theological divagations of Alexandria and to appreciate the subtleties which separated the Damianites from rival subdivisions of the Monophysite church, is unlikely: the peasant class, whence monasticism doubtless then as later drew its recruits, was ill fitted to take an intelligent part in such disputes. Of our letters only one mentions debates (συνζητεῖν) regarding the faith and discord (στάσεις) between the orthodox and heretics.¹¹

Damianus

A doctrinal
epistle

But there belongs to our material a specimen of what may be a bishop's doctrinal epistle—its concluding words are hardly those of a Festal Letter.¹² The text is but the lower fragment of a leaf, written, like the Festal Letters, upon one side only. It contains allusions to previous admonitions, to "the devilish errors that ye follow" and warnings of the fate

¹ *PO.* xvii 597.

² *Ed.* Tawfik Press, 1898, 40. The uncompromising "orthodoxy" of the clergy from the south is illustrated in the Patriarchal Chronicle (*PO.* v 129, *cf.* 108).

³ *Tur. Mater.* no. 11.

⁴ *V.* above, p. 7.

⁵ *V.* Part II Appendix I.

⁶ 587, 635, 658.

⁷ *V.* below, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ So styled in *BKU.* 258.

⁹ *CO.* Ad. 59. The translation there given (p. 18) should end as follows: "through the solicitude and the diligence (*or* pains, σκυλμός) that have been taken in order to reach us."

¹⁰ We see the hermit Aphou careful to visit the town of Oxyrhynchus, where the patriarchal Letter was to be publicly read: Rossi i 111 7. *Cf.* Drioton in *ROC.* xx 92 ff.

¹¹ *ST.* 250, an interesting text, obscure because fragmentary.

¹² *BM.* 280, published by Revillout, *Acad. des Inscr. Mémoires présentés &c.* viii (1874) 402. The script is similar to that of several of our texts, but the Stobart papyri, of which this was one, are mostly of the 8th century (*Jême* no. 65 is an earlier exception).

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threatening the unrepentant—attacks from the Saracens and Blemmyes. Those addressed are “such as have not had faith (πιστεύειν) to partake of His body and blood,” “that reject (ἀθετεῖν) His holy body and revered blood.” Clearly some form of heresy is the occasion of these admonitions; possibly relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, since John iii 36 is quoted (also before it, Isaiah lxvi 24).¹ Christological disputes had scarcely touched the southern Thebaid, even in the days of Athanasius and Cyril, if we may estimate their effects by the extent to which the controversial literature seems to have penetrated: it would be difficult to adduce an instance, from the Coptic literature of Upper Egypt at any rate, in which the translation of any Christological treatise has been attempted. Among the few works of Athanasius translated, those of this class have always been avoided and Coptic renderings of even his more simple writings show but inadequate comprehension of the originals.² Of Cyril’s long duel with Nestorius nothing appears to have reached his Coptic-speaking partizans save the merest echoes and allusions: no known Coptic ms. contains a doctrinal work attributed to him.³ Ascetic or hortatory, rarely exegetical discourses—such are the works to which the native writers confined themselves and which they chose for translation. Indeed, but for the translations preserved upon the walls of Daga’s tomb, one might believe the very name of Cyril to have been forgotten, outside the limits of the Greek colony in the North. Our frescoed texts may in fact be claimed as almost the sole extant instances of Coptic versions from the doctrinal writings of those teachers whom the Monophysite church most venerated.⁴

Christological
problems
ignored

Religion, in “orthodox” circles in the Thebaid, would probably manifest itself in observance of pious practices and in admiration of ascetic virtues. The attendance of the hermits at divine service we must suppose, as already said,⁵ to have been in the churches either of the *coenobia* or of the towns. In our texts allusion to such functions is only to be found in the stray occurrences of the words συνάγειν, σύναξις, or their Coptic equivalents ⲙⲁ, ⲡ ⲙⲁ. These expressions are generally coupled with either the name of a church or of a τόπος and can scarcely ever be understood as implying any liturgical office performed in a hermitage.⁶ The bishop at Deir el Baḥri bids celebrate “the feast”; he excludes from and readmits to it.⁷ Never can we infer that he has in view any but celebrations in his own monastery or in churches of his diocese. It would be mainly in view of participating in the services that solitaries repaired to a *coenobium* at the week-end.

Religious
practices,
ascetic ideals

Certain of the homiletic fragments that have survived show concern with monastic

¹ Cf. perhaps the subject of 132.

² For example, those in Budge’s *Homilies*, where—not in the case of Athanasius alone—the Coptic is often unintelligible without reference to the original.

³ Even the writings of Shenoute testify only to a very elementary acquaintance with the doctrinal disputes which agitated his age and wherein he had taken an active part.

⁴ Severus indeed was in this respect more fortunate—

or unfortunate—for a number both of his Homilies and his Epistles have suffered translation of a sort.

⁵ V. above, p. 128.

⁶ 231 might seem to point to this, PO. iii 480 probably only so in appearance.

⁷ E.g. CO. 53, 61, 81, 97, Ad. 41; 71, 72, 73, B KU. 314; also RE. 26.

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piety and ideals¹; here and there the preamble of a legal deed makes reference to monkish aspirations, as in the first lines of our Appendix III (Part II), or in the will of Jacob, abbot of the monastery of Saint Phoebammon,² where we read that "Such as exercise themselves (ἀσκεῖν) in the life (βίος) of monkhood think to find mercy with God after their end and they strive to profit (σπουδάζειν, ὠφελείσθαι) to the full by His benevolence. For (ἐπειδή) they cease not (?) from doing good and practising (πράττεσθαι) righteousness, all the days of their life; desirous to redeem their souls (ψυχή) from the fire unquenchable and the eternal punishments (κόλασις), putting forth all zeal (σπουδή) in order to find a handful³ of mercy and a dew-drop of water, (wherewith) to slake their thirst, and to enjoy (ἀπολαύεσθαι) the good things (ἀγαθός) unspeakable. Whereas such as live heedlessly (ἀσκόπως) and in folly, their thoughts are thereby (*lit.* thereafter) darkened, neither have they at all set the leaving of this life unto themselves as a thought for their minds (νοῦς)." Elsewhere an anchorite, begging charity for another, thus defends the monastic life: "Our life (βίος) harmeth none, rather them that condemn us we bless."⁴

Spiritual pre-
occupations

An anchorite's foremost concern is everywhere assumed to be the observance of those rules, the following of those examples, which shall further him upon the road toward spiritual perfection.⁵ But of this aspect of their lives the Theban hermits tell little in all the mass of letters they have left us. Their correspondence is in fact concerned almost wholly with the practical affairs of material existence; spiritual matters find no place there. The bishop in the Deir el Bahri documents,⁶ who was abbot as well, is frequently found admonishing his clergy or his flock, or imposing punishment for their shortcomings in the form of interdict or excommunication⁷; but of the spiritual life led by those among whom he dwelt his letters tell us nothing. Nor from the correspondence of Epiphanius or that of bishop Pesenthius is much more to be learnt. Spiritual topics are indeed not those likely to have much part in the short and practical letters which the needs of daily life call forth. Very rarely a letter is concerned with these higher things: one from (bishop?) Pesenthius to Epiphanius⁸ reads like an extract from a sermon and one from Epiphanius himself⁹ is conceived in a similar tone. More light might be shed on these things by the literature to which we find the ascetes addicted and which is described in Chapter VIII.

Work, medita-
tion, prayer

The ascete is enjoined to spend his day in work, meditation (μελέτη) and prayer.¹⁰ The fulfilment of these three obligations was, we must suppose, the preoccupation of the hermits of Jême and for each of them a few illustrations may be gathered from our texts.

¹ Cf. 62, 72, 75, CO. 11, 12, 15.

² *Jême* no. 65, 20 ff.

³ Supposing ΣΑΞΜΕC = ΣΑΞΜΗ δράξ. ⁴ CO. 268.

⁵ Τὰ ἔργα τῆς ψυχῆς ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐργόχειρον ὡς πᾶρεργον εἶχομεν; such was the rule in Scete (PG. 65, 189 B).

⁶ CO. *passim*.

⁷ Specimens of bishop Abraham's eloquence may be read in CO. 71, 282, Tur. 11. For the last *v.* below, p. 172.

⁸ III.

⁹ 108. Perhaps to [Pesenthius] and John. Cf. 133.

¹⁰ Esaias Scet. p. 1, μὴ καταφρονήσῃτε τοῦ ἐργοχείρου ὑμῶν... μὴ ἀμελήσῃτε τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς εὐχῆς. *Ib.* p. 65, καθήμενος ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ σου τούτων τῶν τριῶν φρόντισον συνεχῶς, τοῦ ἐργοχείρου, τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς (this last in Coptic in Wessely no. 276 a, b); Sophronius, PG. 87, 3701, ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον ἀεὶ τὸ ἐργόχειρον καὶ οἱ ψαλμοὶ ἐπὶ στόματος. The ascetic ideal is set forth occasionally in the *Synaxar.*, e.g. PO. iii 444.

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Much material evidence as to everyday occupations has been collected by Winlock in Chapter III; what the texts tell us may be summarized here. The ἐργόχειρον regarded as most characteristic of Egyptian asceticism is rope-making; the Life of Pachomius and his Rule often allude to it and imply it of course where mat and basket making are in question. Baskets are constantly mentioned. The commonest sort (ἄιρ, ἄιρε) is used specially for bread.¹ Once palm-leaves for making them occur in an account² and a letter writer has need of "10 good palm-leaves," doubtless for this purpose.³ Fifteen of these baskets (ἄιρε) are included in a list.⁴ Other sorts are presumably indicated by the names καλω, κπορ⁵ and παναριον, in which papyri are carried. The anchorite seated in his cell and twisting ropes is a favorite picture.⁶ Rope is the subject of correspondence in several letters⁷. A rope-maker—a monk or hermit, to judge by the opening words of blessing he employs—writes of "the little handiwork, the ropes," which he trusts his correspondent will buy of him.⁸ Two "humblest" writers send "what they can find" of mats and ropes that had been ordered of them.⁹ An 8th century papyrus¹⁰ shows us a Jême monastery making application to the Arab authorities for a three-months permit (σιγίλλιον) for certain of its monks to travel to the Fayyûm and sell the ropes they make, just as we see the Pachomians of a former age going down to Alexandria to dispose of their mats.¹¹ "The brethren," in another letter,¹² explain how "our father's" sickness had hindered their sending the camel-load of rope which their correspondent had expected. Other letters show that ropes were sometimes bartered for corn,¹³ others are addressed to makers or sellers of rope, in some cases clearly monks or clerics.¹⁴ Once it is not rope, but string or thread that is asked for.¹⁵ It is certainly remarkable that, although specimens of grass-woven matting were plentifully found at our site,¹⁶ neither these texts, nor the texts from other Theban sites, make mention of this industry—that of which, in the histories of the Pachomian communities, we hear most¹⁷—nor but twice of the grass used in it.¹⁸

I. Work

Rope and
basket making

The eight looms found on our site are sufficient evidence that much weaving was carried on there¹⁹ and several of our writers are engaged in it. One of them—Frangé, the author of so many letters—who appears elsewhere as himself the superior of a community, is evidently a weaver.²⁰ Now and then a writer begs for the loan (?) of a loom, or of some

Weaving and
tailoring of
linen

1 Indeed in *WS.* 197, 275 "a basket" seems to imply a basket of bread.

2 **ἄιρ** **ε** **α** **ι** **ρ**, *BP.* 954. **ἄιρ** usually = θαλλός, θαλλίον, زعف.

3 **ἄ** **α** **π** **ε** **τ**, *BKU.* 151.

4 *Ib.* 908.

5 The latter often for wine (*i.e.* for packing wine jars), occasionally for other things: *v.* *CO.* 160 n., *WS.* 146.

6 Rossi *Nuo. Cod.* 90, Budge *Misc.* 486, *MS. Morgan* li 35 ("twisting ropes, whilst meditation floweth on as running water"), *Mus. Guim.* xvii 50 similarly.

7 **113**, **398**, **438**, *ST.* 232, *CO.* 364.

8 *ST.* 283.

9 *ST.* 235.

10 *MMA.* 24.2.6.

11 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 194.

12 *CO.* 324.

13 *ST.* 323, 388.

14 *CO.* 365, *Ad.* 54.

15 Hall p. 117, "needle-thread for palm fiber." The literary word for thread, **ε** **ω** **ε**, does not occur in these texts. Spiegelberg in *OLZ.*, 1924, 569, shows that a word used here for "thread" is probably **π** **α** **α** **τ** (not to be confused with **ε** **τ** **α** **α** **τ**).

16 *V.* Pls. XIX, XXIV, XXV.

17 Especially instructive: *Mus. Guim.* xvii 102 = 327 = 441, where مزديّة, on which Amélineau expends a note, is correctly written مسديّة by him elsewhere, *ib.* 528, 529, 542 &c.

18 **334** (?), **532**. The grass is **κ** **α** **μ** = حلفا.

19 *V.* pp. 68 ff. above.

20 **351**. *Cf. AZ.* 1878, 12 (2).

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transportable piece of it.¹ The beam (*lit.* wood) is the part asked for²; the writer wishes to fix his loom in position.³ This depends, we learn elsewhere,⁴ upon the drying of its clay bed. One Jême deed concerns the sale of a loom, which stands in the courtyard of a house and is sold for one gold *solidus*.⁵ The linen woven on these looms is spoken of repeatedly; in the present collection alone almost a score of letters are concerned with it. Weaving clearly occupied much of the hermits' time. Sometimes the writers are asking for a supply of linen to complete work already on the loom.⁶ Mere requests for more linen are frequent⁷ and enough of these are addressed to our site to show that the community there was a recognized factory which supplied its neighbors.⁸ In one instance the request for linen comes from "the brethren,"⁹ showing that work was done in common.¹⁰ In other letters we see workmen employed by others in tailoring the linen sent.¹¹ A fragmentary contract is preserved¹² whereby a craftsman undertakes to finish twenty-four linen garments within a certain time. Twelve "pair" of these cost one *trimision*.¹³ Linen might be used in payment for other things,¹⁴ or bartered for corn,¹⁵ while fodder we find sent in payment for grave-clothes.¹⁶ We hear of the washing¹⁷ and bleaching¹⁸ of linen. The garments made of it are rarely named: shirts sometimes,¹⁹ or napkins,²⁰ or sheets,²¹ or vaguely garments²²; in one case curtains, *vela*.²³ Where tow or linen waste (*στύππιον*) is said to be used for the clothing of Pachomian monks, we may suppose a textile, woven from it, to be meant.²⁴ The use of linen most often mentioned is however for grave-clothes; the frequent conjunction of linen with bandages and tapes, supports the conjecture that "linen" and "grave-clothes" are in practice almost convertible terms²⁵ and the series of linen shrouds found upon each corpse in our cemetery further testifies to this.

Flax cultiva-
tion

The flax whence linen was woven grew, we must suppose, at some distance from these desert cells.²⁶ One of our hermits seems to have advanced money for the cultivation of a flax field, the crop of which is in return to be his.²⁷ Another contract is apparently for the making of linen from flax supplied.²⁸ Another for a provision of shirts (*καμίσιον*) in return for the lease of a flax field.²⁹ One letter is concerned with the proper preparation (soaking)

1 CO. 379, Ad. 46. Cf. *Sphinx* x 149.

2 CO. 355, Hall p. 98 (5875). The *πρε πκατ πορεχ τμη* occurs in a Sinuthian text: Paris 130⁴, 157.

3 Hall *loc. cit.*

4 Miss. iv 232.

5 Jême no. 27.

6 351.

7 279, 350, 359, 363, 369, 372, Hall p. 118 *inf.*, BKU. 161.

8 Linen of the Thebaid was evidently esteemed, for Alexandrine monks came thither to fetch it: PG. 65, 96 B.

9 289. This is almost certain. Cf. 367.

10 In Jerome's Preface to the Pachomian Rule (PL. 23, 67) the linen-weaving monks dwell all together, an arrangement hardly imaginable among anchorites.

11 329, Hall p. 67.

12 CO. Ad. 44.

13 Ib. Ad. 30.

14 Ib. Ad. 62.

15 361, ST. 292.

16 CO. 241.

17 Ib. 368.

18 353.

19 Καμίσιον, Jême no. 16, 23 (in pairs, ζυγή), ST. 116, 422.

20 μαπηλε, μαντήλιον, BP. 4977.

21 Σινδόνιον, ST. 119 and in a Jême contract (*penes* Crum), where a loan is to be repaid in *επιτομε*.

22 AZ. 1878, 15 (4).

23 ST. 200.

24 Mus. Guim. xvii 218. The garment so made is clearly the *σαστῖων* (Miss. iv 232, cf. Eccli. xl 4 (5)), a word noticed on p. 150 above and meaning "the refuse (τοξ) that cometh from flax" (Vat. 69, 111, De Vis's copy).

25 V. 348 n. and here, pp. 70, 184 above; also the references at CO. 68.

26 What control the recipient of 360 has over growing flax is not clear. Is he a hermit and resident in this community?

27 85.

28 Hall p. 120 *infra*.

29 ST. 422.

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of flax,¹ while others ask that flax may be sent.² Flax, like linen, might be bartered for corn.³

It may be questioned whether so much weaving was not, in part at least, necessitated by the weaving taxes, which both Byzantines and Arabs imposed upon monks as well as laymen. No explicit reference to these impositions is to be met with in Theban texts of our period,⁴ although weaving tax-receipts—probably post-Muslim—have been found farther north.⁵ Perhaps the records of amounts of linen woven, or of the number of articles made therefrom and priced have some relation to such a tax.⁶ In Nitria, if not in the South, considerable sums might be earned by hermits who wove.⁷

Weaving tax

Wool appears to have been comparatively little used for clothing, if one may judge by the rare occurrences of the word. The joint letter of two women tailors to bishop Pesenthus, accompanying various garments made for him,⁸ shows that some of these were woollen; for one of the writers—they divide their letter between them—complains of her difficulties in paying for the wool she had used. Once we see a shepherd supplying wool⁹ and a contract with a woman shows that woollen [garments?] could serve as rent.¹⁰ A list of clothing includes a *καμίσιον* of wool.¹¹ Although woollen garments were not unknown among Pachomius's monks, of the two mentions of them, one corresponds, in the parallel texts, to "hair" blankets,¹² the other to *λεβίτων*.¹³ Perhaps there was some looseness in the use of the terms designating properly "hair" (goat's, camel's) and "wool" (sheep's).¹⁴ In the cemetery of our community the sole trace found of woollen grave-clothes was in the binding tapes (*κειρίαι*),¹⁵ nor are any such mentioned in the documents of the age,¹⁶ while woollen tunics as grave-clothes are relatively rare in the collections of "Coptic" tapestries ascribed to the 7th and 8th centuries.¹⁷

Wool

Whether any fabric of goat's or camel's hair was woven here we do not learn. Goat's hair is in use, presumably for weaving¹⁸; once in fact "a large woven *στρώμα* of hair-cloth" is named.¹⁹ Sacks of this material were of course common everywhere.

Goat's and camel's hair

1 *BKU*. 268. *Leg.* *ϣι πρ[ο]στυ πτεπσομ(μ)ϣ ρα[λ]ωσ.*

2 337, *CO*. 341.

3 277.

4 Unless it be in *ST*. 389, the writer whereof had been imprisoned for failure to supply certain *ζυγή* (presumably linen or garments).

5 *V. Petrie Gizeh and Rifeh* 42 and references there.

6 *CO*. Ad. 36.

7 *Centum solidos quos lino texendo acquisiverat* (Jerome *Ep.* 22 § 33, cited by *Dill Roman Society*, 1898, 112).

8 *RE*. 28. The *Βίος Παχουμ.* § 86, tells of woollen clothing, *ἱμάτια ἔρεα*, made in the nunneries. At Kalamôn a garment of woollen rags is the ideal: *PO*. iii 445. At the White Monastery wool does not seem to have been in use: *Leipoldt Schenute* 125 n.

9 *CO*. 320, perhaps also *ST*. 246.

10 Hall p. 43 *infra*, *πάκτον*. *Leg.* l. 3 *πσορτ* (v. Pl. 100). Wool as part rent, *BM*. Gk. v 1695, 17.

11 *ST*. 116. *Cf.* *BM*. 585, 16.

12 *Theolog. Texts* 158, parallels: *Βίος* § 33, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 68.

13 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 631, parallel: *Paralipomena* § 29 or *PO*. iv 474.

14 The use of *σορτ* for the hair of a calf (*Budge Apoc.* 112, a Theban text) may point to this.

15 *V.* above, p. 71.

16 Maspero indeed describes the shrouds from the cemetery at Taud as of dyed wool (*Miss.* i 185). At a much later period (14th century) and in the North woollen shrouds were used: *PSBA*. xxix 193. Possibly the fashion was more general in northern Egypt; *cf.* the ascete's woollen rags in the Fayyûm, referred to in note 8.

17 For example, in A. F. Kendrick's *Catal. of Textiles*, Victoria & Albert Mus., vol. iii. Winlock points out, however, that the embroidery upon these garments is always of wool.

18 364. The identity of *σακ* with *σοκ* (*Zoega* 478, *CSCO*. 73, 113, 171) was there overlooked.

19 *ST*. 189. Again in *ib.* 126 *σοορνε* might be a garment; that the word = "hair-cloth" is clear from *e.g.* *Zech.* xiii 4, where it translates *δέρριν τριχίνην*, or *Apoc.* vi 12.

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Tailoring

Tailoring, clothes-making of some sort, was carried on among the hermits themselves, or at any rate on their behalf.¹ One letter, written by an Epiphanius (who may or may not be the venerated anchorite himself)² and addressed to his mother and brethren, says: "Be so kind as to cut me the garment, for I am naked. If ye will not cut me the garment, send the linen (?) in to Ape, unto my father Antonius; he will cut it. Suffer me not to go naked in the midst of men."³ Perhaps it is this same Antonius who is addressed in another letter,⁴ which appears to transmit an order from a "brother" as to the making (*lit.* cutting) of a garment, whereof the price is to be one *solidus*. A third writer asks the recipient, should his health permit, to cut him a certain garment and if he cannot, to request "the great man" residing there to do so. Whichever does the work shall receive his wage.⁵ This should indicate that monastic dignitaries—for *πρωτοε* can here hardly have its secular meaning—were not averse to earning something by their handicraft. Even bishops are found plying a trade, presumably that which they had practised in earlier life. Here is a letter in illustration of this⁶: it is very reverently addressed by "the humblest" Athanasius to the priest Mark, who he had hoped would have come north at Easter; "but I was not found worthy of you. I met," he proceeds, "a man of Jême at the Isle⁷ and I sent him unto you. . . . Lo, I went in so as to meet with the bishop and found him there within, at work. Be so good, if it be possible, be at the pains to make the journey unto us,⁸ that I may speak with you respecting this matter. Perchance God will dispose⁹; for never have I gone alone (? to the bishop) on a matter of this sort. Therefore for the monastery's (*τόπος*) sake, do thou meet me, whether today or to-morrow, ere he (the bishop) depart." Bishop Pesenthius had, we know, earned money by his labor, for all that he left at death was a single *solidus*, acquired by the work of his hands¹⁰; while a bishop of Ermont of an earlier period had declared himself a carpenter and ready still to perform carpenter's work.¹¹ The nuns' letter to Pesenthius above referred to speaks of various garments made for him: two sleeved tunics, four others and a "worldly" one,¹² besides two wraps and two hoods. We are thus reminded of the nuns who seem to have provided Shenoute with his clothing—if one may so interpret one of the obscurest of his Epistles.¹³

Leather

The remnants of leather work found on this site¹⁴ suggest shoemaking and one of the letters seems to refer to a cobbler.¹⁵ Sandals were indeed not constantly worn by hermits: Esaias approves them only when the cell is quitted¹⁶; the Gnomes of Nicaea counsel

¹ Cf. the interesting graffito explained by Winlock, p. 9.

² Cf. Winlock, p. xxv above.

³ *BP.* 4935, but half legible.

⁴ *CO.* 403.

⁵ Ostrakon kindly copied by Prof. Drioton: v. 564 n.

⁶ Leyden p. 486, collated.

⁷ Or a place named Tmoue? *V.* above, p. 122.

⁸ *Leg.* *πτετηνωκ ηκηλμος ψαρον.* Cf. 152 n., 301 n.

⁹ *Lit.* "make a διοίκησις."

¹⁰ Budge *Apoc.* 125.

¹¹ John of Ermont, *PO.* iii 395. His date is indicated by the occurrence of his conversion and that of the neighboring pagans to Christianity.

¹² These four have the descriptive word *εαχο*, still of doubtful meaning. Its contrast here with *κοσμικός* suggests "clerical," or something of the sort; though elsewhere the word appears in a quite other sense. *V.* Ryl. 129 n.

¹³ Amélineau *Oeuv. de Shen.* i 155 ff. = Zoega clxxxvii.

¹⁴ *V.* above, p. 75.

¹⁵ 371.

¹⁶ Esaias Scet. p. 13.

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their disuse¹; the Pachomian Rule permits them,² except at meals or at divine service.³ But leather was needed also for bookbinding, an occupation which we know to have been carried on by monks.⁴

One of the trades which might be expected to be most in evidence here, that of the potter, is scarcely named.⁵ Presumably the countless earthen vessels, as indispensable to the hermits of "the holy hill" as to the villagers below, were not easily made among these rocks, shingle and sand, but were brought up from potteries in the river plain.⁶ One ostrakon gives a list of "cups" in considerable numbers, perhaps the stock of a dealer.⁷ That in this neighborhood a deacon should be a potter is intelligible enough, for he may be a secular cleric in a town and not a monk.⁸ Esaias of Scete alludes once to the making of mats and of pots as the usual occupations of anchorites dwelling together,⁹ but he can scarcely be said to have Theban ascetes in view. Indeed it is noticeable that no native names for "potter, pottery" had attained to (or remained in) currency; the only Coptic word is conspicuous by its rarity¹⁰; *κεραμεύς* appears as the accepted expression, throughout biblical and literary Coptic.¹¹ Pottery

As with the potter, so with the carpenter. There is evidence in plenty, among the fragments of woodwork found here, to show that skilled work was obtainable,¹² but nothing in the texts supports the assumption that such work was done by the hermits themselves.¹³ On the other hand we read of wages due or paid to carpenters for repairing a cart,¹⁴ of an order given to one, named Apa David, to make a door-post (?),¹⁵ of contracts made with them for work at a *τόπος* in Ermont,¹⁶ or of disputes between them settled by the bishop.¹⁷ In one case the carpenter is a man of Ermont¹⁸ and we may take it that, when required, they would be fetched from the town. A request in a letter for a piece of tamarisk wood may point to carpenter's work.¹⁹ Carpentry

Smiths²⁰ are rarely met with in our texts. For them likewise the hermits would probably Metal work

1 Rossi i v 13. 2 *Regula* (Hieron.) § lxxxi.

3 *Ib.* § ci. Cf. *Can. Athanas.* p. 144 (= MS. Morgan liv 93), Vansleben *Hist.* 47.

4 Cf. 380 and the Arabic extract printed on p. 136. *σωμα* in CO. 193 is perhaps "parchments." Leather-worker's tools are named in *RE.* 76 bis: knives and what literally is a "shaving needle" (*σοῦρε πῦωλ*), used, it seems, for cutting thongs.

5 That pottery was occasionally made in the early monasteries is to be presumed from the Pachomian Rule (Hieron.) § cxxxiv, where read *lutum*. Cf. Dillmann *Cbrest. Aethiop.* 62 n. and Lefort in *Muséon* xxxvii 21. Yet the trades in *Hist. Laus.* § xxxii do not include potters.

6 Winlock names two sorts of clay found in the desert: *ἱαβ*, a soft shale, lying between the layers of limestone; *ἡιβ*, decayed limestone mixed with shale.

7 Hall p. 69 (24937). The text is obscure in many points. Clay was available for other purposes: v. 358, 392; also for wall plaster and the like.

8 Cairo 8458 and CO. 306, where a deacon is partner

in a potter's kiln.

9 P. 11, Τὸ ἐργόχειρόν σου . . . εἶτε ψίαθον, εἶτε ἀγγεῖον.

10 V. Dévaud *Études d'Étymologie Copte*, 1922, 7.

11 In a single instance this is translated as *κοτ πκατ κοετс*: Krall ccxxiii. *Κεραμεύς* has even produced an Arabic form, *قروسي*, PO. iii 401. Cf. also Torrey's Ibn 'Abd al Hakam p. 53*.

12 V. p. 54 above.

13 One carpenter is a priest: Cairo 8473 (*leg.* *φам*).

14 437 and Hall p. 108.

15 BP. 9446, *рамотне*, elsewhere *рамоне*.

16 ST. 46. *Ib.* 177 relates to an agreement with a carpenter.

17 CO. 313. This is doubtful and depends upon reading *ϣḥnr ɣame[ʔ]* in l. 8. Wages are mentioned in l. 11.

18 Hall p. 106 (21293).

19 *Ib.* p. 80 *supra*, *ϣап пше пкам*.

20 The two designations, *ἄεσπнт* and *ɣамнлде*, are synonymous, e.g. in Job xxxii 19, 2 Tim. iv 14, or in the *Scalae*, Kircher 110, Paris 44, 67, where both = *حداد*.

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depend upon external help. A smith's wage seems to be mentioned in one letter¹ and in another a smith is paid (in corn) for helping to mend a cart.² Nails for water-wheels are asked for in some letters³ and as these were presumably of iron,⁴ the demand must have been addressed either to makers of or dealers in metal work. In one of these instances it is Apa Psan who is applied to and it seems quite permissible to identify him with the well-known disciple of Epiphanius. In another case⁵ the recipient is to ask "master Epiphanius" to make the nails; but here identity with our holy man seems dubious; nothing else at any rate suggests that he exercised the smith's craft. The locksmith's is perhaps a distinct trade; we meet with one who is a cleric.⁶

Building,
brickmaking

Of masons there is nothing to be learned; the kind of building which satisfied these anchorites rarely needed skilled labor.⁷ They were their own builders, no doubt, for the most part: the tower here was the work of Epiphanius himself and his companions.⁸ Here and there the word *ερωτ*, "builder," appears in a list of names and we may assume him to be a workman called in for a special purpose. A *λατόμος* is commemorated by an epitaph from Ermont, but nothing connects him with religious life.⁹ Nor has the "builder," who appears as a sort of expert referee in several Jême deeds relating to house property,¹⁰ any connection with monastic affairs. One of our letters seems to imply either that bricks were made or stored and sold by some of these hermits.¹¹ Another text notes the number of bricks "brought" by a laborer,¹² but this need have no reference to the affairs of monks and the same must be said as to the debt due in bricks recorded elsewhere.¹³

Agriculture

Monks as hired reapers at harvest time are familiar in northern Egypt, but in the south reaping is scarcely referred to: one only of our letters alludes to it.¹⁴ Nor should we expect to find hermits concerned with agricultural work. Among the members of our community one only appears in such a connection¹⁵ and even he is but the lender of money needed by two husbandmen, who propose to repay him in kind from their crop. In one other instance a monk, owning part of a field, engages a husbandman to till it; but this may be a coenobite, not a hermit.¹⁶ Once a letter to "thy fathership" treats of the demands of husbandmen, seemingly in the employ of the recipient or of the community.¹⁷ The monasteries, on the other hand, and conspicuously that of Saint Phoebammon, owned land in plenty, largely thanks to pious gifts and bequests.¹⁸ The extensive property of that monastery is set out

1 349. Shenoute enjoins payment for any work done for the community by carpenters, smiths, masons and other craftsmen: *CSCO*. 73, 72.

2 Hall p. 108, l. 15, *leg.* *пѣснѣт*, as the plate shows it.

3 320, 321, *ST*. 226.

4 *V.* Reil *Beiträge* 83.

5 *ST*. 302. 6 397. 7 *V.* Winlock p. 51, above.

8 *V.* Part II p. 346 *supra*. We see St. Sabas similarly engaged with his disciples (*Sabae Vita* 277). *V.* also Zoega 551, 7.

9 Cairo 8457. In another stele, Cairo 8521, naming Abraham "the builder, the good headman," we take the

title *παππ* to indicate the head of a guild, not of a monastery.

10 *V.* Steinwenter in Wessely xix 21 n.

11 400. On this question *v.* Winlock p. 32 n.

12 *Aegyptus* iii 281.

13 Hall p. 123 *infra*.

14 Likewise a *WS.* letter, no. 108. The only reaping we hear of among Sa'idic monks is that of reeds: *ag. Mus. Guim.* xvii 318, 322, *Miss.* iv 530.

15 85. 16 *BKU.* 48. He is called *μοναχός*.

17 227.

18 *Jême* nos. 107, 108, 109, *CO.* Ad. 3, *ST.* 60.

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in the will of its abbot, Jacob, as including, besides the caves, pits (or cellars) and towers, whatever is situated in Ermont, or in the *castrum*, "be it κώμη, be it χωρίον, or date-palms, or tanks, whether in tillage, or pasture, or crop-lands."¹ The various arrangements regarding land in which the priest Victor is involved may probably be taken as relating to the property of this monastery.² That of Pesenthius likewise receives endowments in land.³ Cattle grazing upon the monastic land were tended by contract.⁴ But, as has been said, with such affairs the anchorites around the tomb of Daga show no concern.

Vine-growing, though of course no more possible, upon these stony hills, than the cultivation of other fruit or crops, may have been carried on at no great distance and often enough we read of dealings in wine. It was required for the church's festivals.⁵ One writer says: "I sent my father unto thee, saying, 'Send us some wine, that I may drink it at the Feast.' Thou didst send unto me saying, 'Write out (*i.e.* from the desert to the river valley) and I will send it.' So now send me four διπλῇ of [wine] and I on my part will send thee [their] price in (the month of) Paône, so God will."⁶ It was drunk again at martyrs' commemorations.⁷ Provision of wine for the communion or for commemorative προσφοραί on behalf of the dead⁸ would hardly concern these anchorites, but albeit the traditional hermit of course abstains from wine,⁹ for other purposes they appear to have made considerable use of it and many of the vessels found at our site seem to have been wine jars.¹⁰ They paid workmen's wages in wine,¹¹ they received it in discharge of debt,¹² or as a gift.¹³ To Epiphanius himself his mother sends wine,¹⁴ elsewhere he bids her sell some.¹⁵ Wine is bought,¹⁶ deposited in pledge (?),¹⁷ and otherwise dealt with.¹⁸ One ostrakon gives the account (λόγος) of the daily allowances (διάριον) of the τόπος in what should be wine, reckoned in various measures: ὄργον, κολοβόν, ἀγγεῖον, διπλῇ.¹⁹ Wine is the subject of many another text, but generally where no connection could be claimed with hermits, or even with monks.

Vines and wine

Vine-growing at Keft we read of,²⁰ and one of the letters despatched presumably from that town to its bishop, Pesenthius, during his absence at Jême, asks instructions as to a stock of wine which is in danger of being spoilt.²¹ An ostrakon brought from Karnak refers to a vineyard and its harvest,²² while another of uncertain *provenance*, but doubtless

1 *Jême* no. 65, 58. "Be it in κώμη, or in χωρίον" seems more likely, but the text has it not so. But it might be doubted whether such enumerations (*cf.* the similar series in the will of another of the abbots, BM. Gk. i no. lxxvii 20) had not become merely a formula, no longer indicative of actual property.

2 *CO.* 138, 139, 140, 158, 206, 308, *WZKM.* 1902, 258.

3 Hall p. 94.

4 *CO.* 222. That this contract concerns the monastery of Phoebammon is not certain, but very probable. Monastic cattle elsewhere: *Jême* no. 65, 57, *RE.* 2 and 3.

5 *ST.* 382, "the Feast," *i.e.* ? Easter.

6 *Ib.* 351.

7 *ÄZ.* 1892, 41, the feast of Shenetôm, the Luxor martyr. *V. Synaxar.*, 20th Hatûr.

8 *Jême* no. 70, 44. Such offerings would presumably form a contribution towards the sacramental wine.

9 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 12 = 347. 10 *V.* above, p. 78.

11 84 A. In *ST.* 46 the wages are paid by clergy in Ermont.

12 90. *Cf. Rec.* vi 67.

13 301.

14 336.

15 259.

16 101 (?), 309, 532.

17 531.

18 338, 339.

19 Hall p. 129. Διάριον recurs BM. 582, 7 and ? *ib.* 1100. In Wessely iii no. 87 it relates to oil. For ὄργον = ὄργανον *v. WS.* 196; for κολοβόν *ib.* p. 22 (Bell), also *Rec. ut supra*, Leyden *Catal.*, 1900, p. 24.

20 *PO.* iii. 499.

21 *RE.* 21. Something similar appears to be the subject of *CO.* Ad. 22.

22 Hall p. 41 (21169).

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Theban,¹ contains a complaint and appeal relating to an inheritance of fields and a vineyard. But as a rule wine must have been brought from farther off. The series of ostraca said to have come from Thebes, but written—nine of them by a single scribe—in Fayyûmic,² comprise orders to give wine, or in some cases grapes, to the bearers,³ who may then have been charged with their conveyance to Thebes. Dialect and incidental names here are fully characteristic of the Fayyûm, and other such texts from Thebes, written in Fayyûmic and relating to wine, are extant.⁴ One undoubtedly Theban wine account includes ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲩⲧⲉⲗⲁⲭ,⁵ which recalls ⲡⲉⲱⲱⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲏⲣⲡⲓ ⲡⲧⲓⲗⲟⲭ, “the pots of wine of Tiloj,”⁶ evidently a known wine from the confines of the Fayyûm. South of Thebes too wine was at this period being still grown; there is evidence of this in a document from Edfû.⁷

Baking

Certain other essential occupations seem, like some treated of above, to have been carried on vicariously: among them, that of the baker, who doubtless paid periodical visits and used the clay ovens which were found in this settlement. Baking at the White Monastery was done at Ascension and Pentecost⁸ and at Thebes apparently at the same season, to judge from a letter wherein there is talk of baking to be done at the Little Fast,⁹ which we have seen to fall at that period.¹⁰ An unpublished fragment in the Pesenthus dossier (but lacking internal evidence of connection with him) seems to be from some kind of canon or anathema, dealing with those who bake at unlawful seasons.¹¹ Several letters¹² are concerned with the procuring or sending of skilled¹³ bakers, without our being able to claim that it is by anchorites that their services are required. One¹⁴ is indeed from a monk, or cleric, urging a baker to come south after the feast of Apa Patermoute—“for it is time”¹⁵—and put in (ⲁⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲏ) an oven, presumably with a view to the baking season later on. In another letter it is a venerated anchorite who is asked to bake for the writer—or for his τόπος, since he is in charge of it¹⁶: to him alone is the writer willing to entrust the baking of the bread used for the “blessings” (εὐλογίαι).¹⁷ The postscript to one of Epiphanius’s own letters shows perhaps an exception here,¹⁸ for it speaks of the bread that “we (intend) to bake,” presumably at the present site. The hermit Elias and his disciple baked their own bread and that once a year only.¹⁹ Detailed, but only partially intelligible instructions as to the preliminary leavening, kneading &c. are given in a letter to “holy brethren.”²⁰ Here we read of complaints that the expected baker has not arrived²¹; there we

1 *ST.* 396.

2 *CO.* 498–510.

3 Perhaps camel-herds. *Cf.* the wine receipts, *WS.* 213 ff.

4 *ST.* 440, perhaps *ib.* 135.

5 Cairo ostr. 47405, “2 jars (ἀγγεῖον) for the cooks (μακερὸς μάγειρος), 2 and a pot of Telaj (wine) for the *amīr* (παλάμης).” ⲱⲱⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ corresponds to κεράμιον, *lagena*. The script of this closely resembles that of Psate son of Pisrael, so should be of *ca.* 700. Dalās, *E. of the Fayyûm*, is elsewhere spelt almost as here (*Budge Apoc.* 120, 17).

6 *WS.* 135.

7 *BM. Gk.* ii p. 329.

8 Leyden 205–6, Wessely no. 266*d.* *Cf.* *Miss.* iv 413.

9 *ST.* 285.

10 226 n.

11 Louvre R. 72.

12 *V.* 296 n.

13 Such should be the meaning, here as often, of ⲉⲁⲉ, Hall p. 64 *supra*. Theodore of Tabennêse was an accomplished baker and quitted his monastery on the plea of exercising his skill elsewhere: *Miss.* iv 583. Indeed the monastery at Tabennêse supplied the others at first, before bakeries had been instituted there: *Mus. Guim.* xvii 114.

14 The ostrakon referred to on p. 111 n. 12, from a photograph kindly sent by the Society.

15 As in Hall p. 107.

16 *CO.* 361.

17 Interpreting thus ll. 13, 14.

18 Hall p. 107.

19 *PO.* iii 478.

20 *ST.* 282.

21 *CO.* 327.

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find one explaining or excusing his absence.¹ Another baker writes that he has milled the corn and asks if he shall bake it; if not, let it be fetched next day—but perhaps his correspondent intends to bake it himself.² Bakers in need of charity are sometimes met with. One, named Elias, had already been recommended to “thy saintly fathership”; he has reappeared, this time with his wife, and the appeal is repeated.³ Another needy baker is the subject of a letter to bishop Pesenthius.⁴

Physicians who were at the same time monks are on record.⁵ Whether such an one was he who attended Epiphanius for some form of ophthalmia we are not told.⁶ No doubt sickness was oftener treated without professional aid and it would be in such circumstances that recipes, copied upon ostraca, whereof our collection has two,⁷ would be employed. In a letter to Pesenthius⁸ its writer, Gennadius—probably the priest mentioned elsewhere—remembering that the bishop had complained of a urinary trouble, sends him a herb (*βοτάνη*), whereof the juice,⁹ when boiled with honey, had been especially recommended him by an *ἀρχίατρος*. Here and there other maladies are named. Cave-dwelling hermits were prone, it seems, to maladies of the spleen and liver, owing to the constant proximity of decaying corpses,¹⁰ and the ascetic rigors practised by Pesenthius were probably the cause of his suffering from an affection of this sort.¹¹ One writer is suffering from dropsy,¹² another complains perhaps of fever, since he alludes to hoped-for recovery as a “cooling”¹³; a third of his son’s painful ear,¹⁴ while another writes: “God knoweth, there is a great sickness in my inward parts and it hath been grief and misery to me unceasingly.”¹⁵ A nun (*μοναχή*) writes of an orphan in her charge who is possessed¹⁶; another woman, in a moving letter, speaks vaguely of her disease as “this scourge” (*μάστιξ*).¹⁷ One of the maladies most often to be met with in Egypt is ophthalmia; Epiphanius, as we have seen, suffered from it and in two other letters it is referred to.¹⁸

Physicians
and sickness

Sometimes we read of a prevalent epidemic, as where a bishop sends a letter commending one woman to the benevolence of another, “that God may preserve thee and thy house from these wide-spread plagues and sicknesses”¹⁹; or where a document is drawn up by a monk who had forsaken the world (*κοσμικὸς βίος*) and fled to a monastery at the approach of “a great sickness unto death” (*θανατικόν*).²⁰

1 *Ib.* 195, *ST.* 363. In the second of these the excuse given is illness (*πείρασμός*); in the first the baker asks that “the little bread” may be sent him by the letter-bearer, perhaps in order to submit it to some further process.

2 *ST.* 285.

3 *Ib.* 269. One might conjecture this to be that Elias who in Hall p. 64, *rev.* l. 2, appears as a baker; while Theodoracius, *ib.* l. 3, recalls the baker so named in *CO.* 328.

4 *RE.* 25. 5 *V.* 223 n. 6 *CO.* 379.

7 574, 575. Cf. also below, p. 206. Similar recipes have been found inscribed upon the wall of a monastic chapel: *Sagqara* no. 103.

8 *RE.* 24.

9 So Revillout, reading *εωμα* as *ξωμός*. The *ω* is altered and doubtful; *εεμα* is probably to be read and in fact

recurs *CSCO.* 43, 175. *Ζώμι(ο)ν* is used by Shenoute, *CSCO.* 42, 177. The Arabic derivate (*زوم*) occurs in *Mus. Guim.* xvii 609 (juice of garlic).

10 *PO.* iii 482.

11 In the Life of Pesenthius (*Budge Apoc.* 79 = *MIE.* ii 352) *σπλήν* is translated by *فواد* (*Paris ar.* 4785, 110). In the same work (*MIE.* ii 376) *κυροῦτον* likewise = *فواد*; while *Paris* 44, 70 b has *κεροῦτον* = *ἡπαρ* = *كبد*. This latter word (*σικώτιον, συκωτόν*, Du Cange) recurs in *De Vis Homélie*s 123, *κοτροῦτον*.

12 *ST.* 332.

13 *CO.* 94.

14 *BKU.* 287.

15 *ST.* 196.

16 Hall p. 147. *Leg.* *εγ[ο η] δαιμόνιον*.

17 199.

18 466, Hall p. 78 (33247).

19 *Tur. Mater.* no. 12. Cf. our 131 and *CO.* 374.

20 *MMA.* 24. 2. 3 (*Jême*).

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Healing
through prayer

But for all their ills the sick seem more prone to put trust in the prayers of holy men than in the physician's skill. Note the language of Pesenthius's panegyrist: "The sick didst thou raise up through thy holy prayers and for such as were possessed of demons thou didst entreat God."¹ Many are the letters which appeal for help of this kind.² A discarded fragment in the present collection³ says: "... that ye would write a word unto me, that I may . . . it, for I am fallen upon a great sickness. For I wait upon God and I wait upon thy kindness, that ye would pray for me, that the Lord would have compassion upon me and make me worthy to do obeisance unto you once again."

Appeals to fore-
knowledge

Occasionally the sick person is seen applying to the holy man as to an oracle. Thus a woman begs Apa Pesenthius (very possibly the bishop) to enquire of God "whether He will suffer (?) me to raise my eye, for it is diseased. Be so good, if so be God permit (?) me, do thou send out unto me; and if not, do thou send out unto me; for I am a wretched poor woman."⁴ Others again beg for a "blessing"—bread often, or some other small gift or "eulogy"—which shall convey the coveted healing to the sick person. In one of our letters a father asks it of a hermit for his daughter, whom a demon plagues.⁵ Or we read of a buried vessel of oil, divinely revealed to certain holy men and by them deposited in the monastery for the healing of the sick.⁶

"Eulogies"

Care of the sick

The monasteries appear to have made some provision for their sick and two Theban stelae refer to this: one speaking of "the house of the men that are sick in the monastery,"⁷ the other, an epitaph, commemorating "Apa Dios, of them that are sick at Ermont,"⁸ who was perhaps a member of the staff of some conventual infirmary. The site of Epiphanius's abode would almost seem, in a later age, to have been especially attractive to medical pilgrims: physicians have thrice inscribed their names upon its walls.⁹

Transport and
sale of work

References to transport and sale of the products of the hermits' labor hardly ever occur. A good part of what was made would no doubt be used in the community itself, or by like neighbors. Some of the basket, rope and linen work might reach more distant markets, as we see to have been the case at Saint Phoebammon's monastery, whence three of the brethren were sent with rope for sale as far as the Fayyûm.¹⁰ Ascetic ideals indeed had condemned all such trading with the outside world: Christ, in a vision to the wandering

¹ Budge *Apoc.* 102.

² 144, 199, 201, 359, *CO.* 196, 271, 383, *ST.* 196, Hall pp. 25 *inf.*, 147, *BKU.* 157.

³ *MMA.* 14.1.132.

⁴ *ST.* 360. The verb *οτα* as here? in *ib.* 93. The precise meaning here of *ωλ εγρα* is uncertain. In this connection *ST.* 448 (= *MMA.* 24.6.2) may be noticed. In l. 6, in place of the conjectured *μοτη*, *leg.* *κολη*, "if the matter hath been revealed unto thy fatherhood" (original subsequently seen). But this word may have its peculiar use here as in 299 n. 5. John, a contemporary "prophet" in Palestine, is similarly consulted (*Échos d'Orient* viii 157).

⁵ 250. In Greek hagiology there are countless illustrations, *e.g.* in the Lives of the stylites Daniel (*An. Boll.* 32)

and Luke (*PO.* xi). Or again, a cure is expected by means of something that a saint has touched: the sand, for instance, from beneath Pesenthius's feet (*MIE.* ii 348), or the dust on which Theodore had trodden (*Miss.* iv 603. Cf. also Thomas of Marga ii 600, *PO.* iii 276, xvii 70).

⁶ *PO.* iii 285.

⁷ Turaieff in Imper. Russ. Arch. Soc. *Zapiski* xviii 032. 8 Cairo 8499.

⁹ 676, 679, 681. Cf. the ostr. from Med. Habu with similar invocation, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* no. 11 345, by *ὁ ταλαί-πυρος καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς Λω[.] ἀρχίατρος*. Deir el Bahri had been thus reputed in a former age: v. Milne in *JEA.* i 96.

¹⁰ *MMA.* 24.2.6. The Pachomians occasionally sent their handiwork to Alexandria: *Mus. Guim.* xvii 194, 642.

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anchorite Harmîna, foretells how later monks shall backslide, following after eating and drinking, seeking the great of the earth and buying and selling with worldlings. "But such have no inheritance with the saints in the kingdom."¹ Yet the stories of Theban hermits in the *Synaxarium* now and then mention the sale of their work, as where we are told that "Badâsiûs" gave most of what he earned in alms,² or how Timothy used to sell his work to a nun,³ or of how the hermit Aaron sold the ropes which he had made.⁴ Sometimes buyers were hard to find. In one of the Pesenthius letters a nun (?) begs him to take the clothes she has made, "for thou knowest how that we are in sore straits as to our handiwork."⁵ "See here is the sack," says another letter; "I have sent it thee. Whether it be sesame or corn, be so good and give it me; for no man hath taken my handiwork of me this year."⁶ Among the many accounts and lists a few may record the sale or barter of local products.⁷ But it is rarely possible to tell whether sale or purchase is in question; in most cases such lists merely enumerate either possessions or things inherited or pawned. Local payments were, we know, often made in kind.

Camel-herds and their camels figure largely in these texts. An unpublished Theban ostrakon⁸ relates to "the camel-herds of the τόπος," while another⁹ shows us the inmates of a τόπος concerned as to the condition and value of one of its beasts: "I inform thy piety that here have we sent unto thee this camel, that thou shouldest be so kind and take John and Cyrus and other camel-herds skilled (νοεῖν) in the matter and that they should examine it in respect of blemish and thou adjure them that they fix its value, according to God's justice (δίκαιον), and do not overburden (βαρεῖν) the τόπος (?), nor the poor. Write the conclusion (of the matter) unto us, that we may give thee thanks; for we know thy love toward the holy (?) τόπος at all times." They are naturally met with transporting many different objects, among which some of course may be destined for sale¹⁰: (a) corn, (b) vegetables, (c) dates, (d) wine, (e) salt, (f) wood, (g) iron (?), (h) rope, (i) mats, (j) goats' hair. Asses too are to be found carrying firewood, fodder and jars (ἀγγεῖα) of wine (?).¹¹ Evidence has been found that the hermits in this settlement owned at least one.¹² Indeed horses appear not to have been unknown among them.¹³

Transport by
camel and ass

The teaching of youth as an occupation is not one in which we should expect to find non-coenobitic monks concerned. What little can be gathered on the subject will be found below.¹⁴

Teaching

One avocation, to which we may in conclusion refer, is that of money-lending and usury. To clerics at any rate, this was explicitly forbidden¹⁵ and among monks and anchorites it

Money-lending

1 Paris *arabe* 148, f. 320 b.
2 *PO.* xi 671. On him *cf.* below, p. 215.
3 *Ib.* iii 510. But this story is a mere extract from the Life of Onnophrius: *v.* Budge *Mart.* 207.
4 Budge *Misc.* 486. 5 *RE.* 28.
6 *BKU.* 306. In *CO.* 267 a widow seems to attempt to sell something. *Cf.* also *ST.* 283.
7 Perhaps 532, 534. 8 Bodleian, *Copt. inscr.* 432.
9 *BP.* 4906. Recipient is the deacon Papnoute (or

Shenoute), writer is Ant[ony], perhaps he of *BKU.* 282.
10 The objects here enumerated occur respectively in (a) 298, *ST.* 128, *CO.* 230; (b) *ST.* 347; (c) *ST.* 319; (d) 402, *CO.* Ad. 49, *BP.* 4949; (e) *ib.* 9448; (f) 341, *Tur.* 7, *CO.* 227; (g) *ST.* 239; (h) *CO.* 324; (i) *ST.* 235; (j) Hall p. 60 (ΞΑΚ).
11 Respectively in 542, 373, *CO.* Ad. 34.
12 *V.* Winlock above, p. 41 *infra.*
13 271. 14 *V.* p. 192. 15 *CO.* 29.

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can hardly have been countenanced. And we do not in fact find any clear evidence of its practice. The cases in which writers acknowledge a money obligation towards monks¹ or a monastery² mostly relate to debts for advances made in view of agricultural work and repayable in crop. Rarely money seems to have been lent by one community to another.³ Contracts and undertakings in which usury is especially mentioned⁴ in no instance involve monks—if this may be inferred from the absence of monastic titles or epithets.⁵ Pawning transactions are probably recorded in a few texts⁶ and are referred to in many more.⁷ But here again it is never demonstrable that a cleric or monk is acting as pawnbroker.⁸

II. Meditation

The words *μελετᾶν*, *μελέτη* suffice in Coptic to express this.⁹ As in Greek patristic texts, so here, the verb has two meanings: “meditate, reflect upon” and “recite, declaim.” In the former case Coptic uses the direct accusative, in the latter more often the preposition *ἐν*- (= *ἐν* *ἐν*-). It is unnecessary to illustrate this; examples are plentiful throughout Coptic literature.¹⁰ But in non-literary material such as the most of ours, the term is hardly to be expected and is in fact not found. In the majority of literary instances its meaning is the second of those given above: the meaning no doubt in general intended when ascetic writers use the word. Reflection upon what has been read or preached is indeed enjoined, but less frequently than repetition of what has been learnt by heart. There are moreover cases in which *μελετᾶν* seems rather to mean “read aloud” the scripture lesson in church.¹¹ Meditation is repeatedly prescribed in the Pachomian¹² and the Sinuthian Rules¹³ and is to be practised on many occasions and during a variety of other occupations. The Life of Pachomius often exemplifies this: we read of “meditation” whilst (a) eating, (b) rope-making, (c) baking, (d) walking in procession, (e) returning after the *synaxis*, (f) watching by a corpse.¹⁴ That “meditation” in these circumstances means audible, not merely silent recitation, is evident from the admonitions of Shenoute: during the process of baking, “(let us see to it) that we do all meditate, not shouting aloud, but in quietness”¹⁵; and again, if more water be needed, “let them that have charge thereof bring it quietly, albeit let them not be silent from meditating.”¹⁶ From which coenobitic practice we may probably argue that in the hermitages a like observance would be habitual. But documents are lacking whereby these assumptions might be directly substantiated. The stories of the

¹ 85, 93 (probably hermits, since found on our site), Hall p. 105, probably CO. 165.

² CO. 158, but possibly a private debt to the steward.

³ BKU. 78.

⁴ V. the Indexes to the various publications s.v. *μνσε*.

⁵ Perhaps a too large assumption, seeing how considerable a proportion of the members of our community are named without any such distinguishing appellations.

⁶ 531, ST. 439.

⁷ V. the Indexes s.v. *ἐνέχυρον*, *εἶπω*, *οἶω*.

⁸ In 95 it appears to be with a monk that the pledges have been deposited.

⁹ Sometimes *ταῦτο* is nearly an equivalent, e.g. 72, CO. 30, 39, Zoega 317, 350, CSCO. 41, 54, *ib.* 73, 210 l. 16.

¹⁰ On recitation generally v. Zöckler *Askese*² 210, 245.

¹¹ CSCO. 41, 45, *ib.* 73, 155, Zoega 105, Balestri *Sacr. Bibl. Fragm.* lx, Leyden 151, 165. It is strangely used in Munier *Catal.* 162, of vain or scandalous talk.

¹² (Hieron.) §§ xxxvi, xxxvii, lix, lx &c.

¹³ CSCO. 73, 70, 146, 147 (supposing these last to be accepted as Sinuthian).

¹⁴ Respectively in (a) *Mus. Guim.* xvii 167, omitted in transl.; (b) *ib.* 50; (c) *ib.* 114 (cf. CSCO. 74, 147); (d) *ib.* 269; (e) CSCO. 73, 133; (f) *Mus. Guim.* xvii 280, 285.

¹⁵ CSCO. 73, 146 *infra*.

¹⁶ *ib.* 147. Cf. also the Pachomian Rule, Greek § xxiii, Μηδεὶς . . . λαλήσῃ, ἀλλὰ μελετήσωσιν ἢ ἡσυχάσωσιν.

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Synaxarium tell often enough of the ascetic practices of Theban ascetes, but to “meditation” there is in such narratives no clear allusion.¹ At the same time the quantity of scripture learned by heart is now and then recorded, as in the Life of Pesenthius, who, early in his career, learned the Psalter, the Minor Prophets and the Gospel of John,² no doubt with the object of “meditating” them, after the fashion of the holy men whose virtues he aspired to imitate. The Arabic version of the Encomium says in fact that he knew thirty “church books” by heart and constantly repeated them.³ A similar achievement is ascribed to Elias, who would often stand and repeat the entire Psalter without interruption.⁴ Nothing, declared a Scetiotte hermit, dispels the demons like the ceaseless repetition of Psalms.⁵

Scripture
learned by
heart

The admonition to constant prayer is likewise a precept the observance of which would find no mention in the every-day correspondence whereof our texts consist.⁶ It is again to the *Synaxarium* and the Lives that we must turn for evidence. There prayers long and arduous are frequently recorded: for example, 400 in the day and as many at night⁷; prayers and prostrations all the night long⁸; the *Pater* 1800 times and at every repetition a μετάνοια.⁹ Where such “virtues” are enumerated, those specified are: ἄσκησις,¹⁰ devotions,¹¹ labor, prayers; or devotions, fasts, prayers, vigils; or the list shows other, similar variations. It may be conjectured that, in respect of prayers, anchorites occupying scattered cells would not follow the practice of the coenobite communities, for whom fixed numbers of prayers at prescribed intervals were obligatory.¹² Yet even such assumptions are hazardous, seeing how slight is the knowledge we have as yet reached respecting the spiritual life of these ascetes. In one instance indeed—that of the unhappy archdeacon Joseph—Epiphanius is begged to prescribe a course of prayers,¹³ so that he may be imagined doing the like for others who sought his help. Bishop Pesenthius again enjoins hourly prayer upon his disciple.¹⁴

III. Prayer

Few words in short recur in our texts more constantly than “prayer” and “pray”; but their employment is, for the most part, restricted to two or three formulas, often

Uses of words
“pray” and
“prayer”

1 Cf. for example *PO.* iii 462, 481, xi 675, 677, 727, 784. Yet in a similar enumeration of such “virtues” Shenoute includes μελέτη (*CSCO.* 42, 199).

2 *MIE.* ii 335, 343. On this form of discipline v. Zöckler *loc. cit.* 246 n.

3 Paris *arabe* 4785, f. 201. Cf. the “books of holy church,” *PO.* iii 445. The Acts of Manasse, a monastic hero of the preceding generation, tell how he learned by heart Psalter, the Apostle, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Gospels, Wisdom of Sirach’s Son, Genesis, Paralipomena of Jeremiah, Esdra, 4 Kingdoms (foll. now at Michigan of same MS. as *Miss.* iv 666 ff.).

4 *PO.* iii 476. The 30 books thus appear to be a recognized number. If these are biblical and if it is assumed that certain of the canonical books are, as often, grouped together and the total thus reduced, this number might be intended to represent the Old and New Testaments. Shenoute speaks

of more than 40 μέρη of Scripture learned by heart and doubtless repeated (*BM.* 200 *sub fin.*).

5 *PG.* 87, 3017 c. Esaias of Scete (p. 64) gives like advice to anchorites.

6 For the prayers which chance has preserved in our material v. below, p. 198.

7 *PO.* iii 284.

8 *Ib.* 481.

9 Life of Harmīna, Paris *arabe* 148, 315 b. A Syrian author describes the “Egyptian” style of μετάνοια as striking the ground with hands, knees and head successively (John of Ephesus, *PO.* xvii 204).

10 نَسْك.

11 عِبَادَة.

12 Ladeuze *Étude* 288, Leipoldt *Schenute* 130. The writer who undertakes 100 “turns” of prayer a day (*CO.* 33, cf. 34) is a candidate for holy orders and, though the text is from the monastery at Deir el Baḥrī, no monk is mentioned therein.

13 162.

14 *MIE.* ii 404.

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equivalent to little more than a conventional compliment. Of the commonest and shortest of these: "Pray for me," wherewith so many letters close, we have already said something.¹ "Pray for me, that the Lord protect me from evil," "in temptation," or the like, seems to be but an expansion of this. Sometimes the request is more precise: "Pray for me, for a great sickness is upon me"²; "Pray for me, for I am sick in body"³; "Pray in charity for my house, for my children are sick"⁴; "May thy holiness entreat the Lord for me, that He save me from these barbarians that be spread abroad"⁵; "Pray for me, that God preserve me in this time of youth"⁶; "I adjure thee," writes Psan to Epiphanius, "by thy prayers, that thou have mind of me in thy holy prayers."⁷ The customary posture of prayer, with uplifted hands (*orans*) is implied in the ever-recurring phrase "Have mind of me at the raising of thy holy hands."⁸ Elsewhere the help of holy men's prayers is acknowledged: "By God's will and your holy prayers we found the deacon"⁹; "By God's will and your holy prayers, lo, God hath sent healing to my eye"¹⁰; "Lo, God and your prayers gave me means and I am escaped (from gaol) and am gone my way."¹¹ Other writers speak of their prayers on behalf of those whom they address: "We pray that the Lord may keep both thee and them (of thy house)"¹²; "I cease not to pray that God would put His fear enduringly in thy heart"¹³; "I pray for your common welfare"¹⁴; "I pray that the Lord would keep you and your cattle."¹⁵ Perhaps the following invitation from "the humblest brethren" relates to some one whose gift of prayer was especially admired. The letter accompanies a present of herbs (*λαψάνη* &c.) in the writers' names: "and greet him [name not visible] in the abbot's name and say unto him that he should come in upon a day and pray in the τόπος."¹⁶

Informal
prayer

But the injunction to pray without ceasing can scarcely be supposed to find its fulfilment in the objective prayers to which the above illustrations allude. It might indeed appear not improbable that no strict distinction would be made between the prayers to be recited during other occupations and the "meditation" or repetition of scripture which was equally incumbent and which, in so far as it would largely consist in recital of the Psalter, might itself be reckoned as prayer.¹⁷ And this consideration might explain the large number of ostraca inscribed—often by quite unskilled hands—with Psalm verses and used, we may conjecture, as helps to memory. Did the curious, so-called Psalm Concordances¹⁸ serve a similar purpose? These hitherto but fragmentary texts have now become more intelligible by the help of "the Book of the holy Ἑρμηνεῖαι,"¹⁹ a collection of extracts and short hymns

1 *V.* above, p. 129 n.

2 *CO.* 196, *cf.* 335.

3 *BKU.* 157.

4 *I44.*

5 *ST.* 328.

6 *210.*

7 *MMA.* 23.3.706, an ostr. from Site XX. *Cf.* the expression *πρὸς πενήτην*, used to Pesentius (*Budge Apoc.* 113), also *Miss.* iv 316 *وحي صلوات القديسين*, ditto 409, 419, and *Synax.*, *PO.* iii 284, *بصلواتكم*.

8 *V.* Part II Index p. 362, *εἰ ἐξπαί*. Theodore uses the phrase to Pachomius (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 168).

9 *299.*

10 *CO.* 379.

11 *ST.* 389. *τακε* (possibly an incomplete word) remains

to be explained.

12 *CO.* 340.

13 *Ib.* Ad. 32.

14 *BKU.* 318.

15 Hall p. 111 (5854).

16 Hall p. 118 *supra* and Pl. 81. To invite a visiting stranger to officiate at prayers (*τὰς εὐχὰς ποιεῖν*) is a courtesy enjoined upon hermits (*Esaias Scet.* p. 13).

17 Pachomius had however held prayer and psalm distinct: *v. Hist. Laus.* Butler ii 92.

18 *ST.* 7, 10, 28, Hall pp. 21, 24, 26 &c. *Cf.* *BM.* 977, *Ryl.* 61.

19 *MS.* Morgan xiii.

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whereof the arrangement possibly indicates a liturgical purpose such as that of these concordances. Further, one may perhaps suggest a like purpose in the ostraca bearing the *Trisagion* or *The Song of the Three Children*; such pieces—if not mere idle pastimes—may have served to prompt memory when subjects were sought for meditation. Moreover among such of the prayers, properly so-called, as have been preserved¹ a certain number are extra-liturgical. These consist without exception of petitions for help and preservation, conceived in the most general terms and dissociated from any particular occasion or need—prayers, in short, suited to informal, unceremonious repetition at all times.² Such, it seems not unlikely, would be the type of prayer which an anchorite, whilst plying his “little handicraft,” might well use.³

The intercession of saints is a tenet implicit in the literature associated with the Theban neighborhood and conspicuous in several of our letters. Pachomius and Horsiese, as intercessors after their decease, are several times alluded to.⁴ Pesenthius’s encomiast recommends his hearers to invoke that saint’s intercession,⁵ as the pagan corpse had done whom he brought again to life⁶; while Pesenthius himself, in his Encomium on Onnophrius, exhorts to a like appeal to that famous hermit.⁷ From Deir el Bahri comes an ostrakon with the prayer: “Apa Abraham, orthodox bishop, pray thou for us,” showing the position to which that bishop had attained, not long after his decease.⁸ In the series of deeds dedicating oblates to the monastery of Saint Phoebammon many recall the martyr’s prayers, that had brought about the sick child’s recovery.⁹ On the other hand a document addressed to the priors of a Jême monastery says that the *castrum* continuously benefits by the aid (σύναρσις) of their holy prayers and those of their holy fathers that are nigh unto God,¹⁰ whereby the intercession of holy men, living as well as departed, is implied.¹¹ Sometimes a writer finds occasion to remind his correspondent of the efficacy of saintly prayers—not necessarily those of departed saints—as for instance, where a writer, after asking that certain things may be sent him, adds “for our fathers are very able to pray on your behalf.”¹²

Intercession of saints

The appeal which now and then terminates an epitaph: “Pray for me,”¹³ “. . . for us,”¹⁴ “. . . for him,”¹⁵ or more often a graffito,¹⁶ appears sometimes to be an invocation of

Requests for prayers in epitaphs

1 *V.* below, p. 199.
 2 Prayers of this optional or discretionary kind are those described by Abû 'l Barakât, *transl.* Villecourt, in *Muséon* xxxvii 217. Cf. *Felba Nagast*, Guidi, trad. 156.
 3 Palamon says that, besides the appointed prayers, he made others *κατά κοινῶν* (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 13). Can this refer to the informal prayers here in question? *κατά κοινῶν* appears to mean “occasionally” in *Mus. Guim.* xxv 281, 315.
 4 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 228, 242, 467.
 5 Budge *Apoc.* 113 *supra*.
 6 *MIE.* ii 410. 7 *ROC.* xx 63 (p. 19).
 8 *BP.* 868, ἀπα ἀβραάμ ἐπισκόπου οἱ [θεο]δοζοῦ ἐτ]ῆς (и)пар емас, with the same in Coptic on the other side.
 9 *E.g.* *Jême* no. 81, 19, no. 84, 21, no. 86, 30, no. 89, 15,

no. 96, 38. 10 *BM. Or.* 9525 (1) 53.
 11 Cf. also a letter (not Theban) which concludes: “Farewell in the Lord, our revered father. Do thou pray for all the town” (*Sphinx* x p. 4 no. xiii), and another (a Balaizah fragment), where a monk says: “Pray for me, all ye my brethren, in the τόποι of our village, that God suffer me to come safe to Babylon.”
 12 *Tur.* 15. The preceding words, giving the ground for this observation, are but partly intelligible: perhaps *μητνεοῦσθητι*, “ye have never neglected the τόπος.” *μητνα-*, as “ye will not,” would be unprecedented.
 13 *Vict. and Alb. Mus.*, stele 9.
 14 *Cairo* 8497, 8509, Alexandria 281.
 15 *Mallon Gram.*² (*Chrestom.*) 133, but not Theban.
 16 637, 639, 646 &c.

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saints,¹ but is generally an evident request for the prayers of passers-by.² In these cases the phrase is outwardly identical with the simple farewell formula which has been referred to already.³

Fasts

Something may appropriately be said here of other features of religious discipline to which there is occasional allusion in our material, more particularly of fasts and vigils. Rigorous fasting is a practice which the biographers of Theban hermits rarely omit to record: how one saint ate but once in the week,⁴ how another would maintain his fast unbroken for a fortnight,⁵ or how a third would fast till evening every day in summer and every other day in winter.⁶ A meal of wild herbs once in the week sufficed for one,⁷ of bread and salt—the proverbial diet of Theban ascetes⁸—for another.⁹ Pesenthius was accustomed to fast for three days at a time and, when in good health, would do so throughout the week¹⁰; while Coluthus, his contemporary, broke his fast only every third day.¹¹ In narratives such as these particular occasions or periods of fasting are seldom named. In the private letters &c., however, two or three fasts are more particularly mentioned. “The Great Fast,” *τηνςτια ω*,¹² one would naturally take to be the forty days of Lent. Yet in one instance¹³ “the evening of the Great Fast” is spoken of as if a single day’s fast were thereby intended; and in another the writer says: “I shall set sail¹⁴ on the Great Fast,” which seems likewise to refer to a single day. It might be supposed that the Great Fast would precede the Great Feast, which is occasionally mentioned and which is presumably Easter.¹⁵ Do these expressions refer, then, to the same events in the calendar as the “Great” and the “Little Binding” (constraint, restriction), *μορ ερση*, which are familiar in literary texts and sometimes found in our ostraca?¹⁶ This “Binding,” with its “Solution,” *κατάλυσις, εωλ εβολ*,¹⁷ clearly indicate beginning and end of the Lenten fast.¹⁸ In

1 649 probably, and an ostr. copied by Dr. Colin Campbell at the National Museum, Madrid: *πενετοταδε ψληλ ερω*.

2 655, 663, 667, 672 and several of the graffiti from Deir el Medîneh (above, p. 9).

3 *V.* above, p. 129 n. 4 *PO.* iii 284. To retire to the desert and to fast through the week (*σεκ κοσ*) was held to be the climax of penance; even this shall not obtain forgiveness for the murderer (MS. Morgan xxv 200, Athanasius; similarly Zoega 310).

5 *Ib.* 298.

6 *PO.* xi 518. Palamon followed this practice: *Bíos Παχουμ.* § 4. These feats were surpassed at the White Monastery, if we may credit the words of Besa, who upbraids his monks that in Lent many break their fast daily at even, whereas many “brethren” as well as *κοσμικοί* fast up to 6 days consecutively, some, mindful of Christ, Moses and Elias, even tasting neither food nor drink through all the 40 days (BM. Or. 8810 p. *την*).

7 *PO.* iii 440.

8 *Reg. Pachom.* (Hieron.) § 80, *Bíos loc. cit.* Cf. the *Triadon* § 496: monks of the south, that eat salt, vinegar, dry bread and endive. Among coenobites this appears as a penitential diet (Amélineau *Oeuv. de Schen.* i 34, *Paralipom. S. Pachom.* § 11). *V.* above, p. 145.

9 *PO.* iii 498.

10 Budge *Apoc.* 98, *MIE.* ii 399. Such was often Shenoute’s habit (*CSCO.* 41, 13).

11 *MIE.* ii 338.

12 *BP.* 9446 *τη. ω*, *ST.* 231 *τη. ατ*, *ib.* 261 *τη. οτ*, *RE.* 20 ditto. *τηος τηνςτια*, BM. 1204 (where correct of course “Easter” to “Lent”) should be the equivalent of this. Only in the south does *ο, ω* “great” appear to have survived.

13 *ST.* 261.

14 *RE.* 20, *οτασηκερ ζητηνης(τ)εια οτ* (*sic*).

15 *V. CO.* 60.

16 382, *ST.* 314.

17 *V. CO.* 99 n., also *ib.* 455 and Ad. 10.

18 Beyond references already given (*v.* 230 n.), cf. Budge *Apoc.* 79, “the 3rd day of the Feast of the Solution,” which in the Boh. (*MIE.* ii 352) is “the Solution of the Pascha” and in the Arabic (Paris 4785, 110) “the Feast of the Pascha.” Elsewhere “the Solution of the Pascha” corresponds in Arabic to “the Great Sabbath” (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 279, 700). Further, the Sermon of Cyril upon the Feast of the Solution (*Rec.* xi 135), the Sabbath of the Solution (Leyden 141) and the Sunday of the same (Budge *Hom.* 90, in the Greek here *τὸ ἄγιον πάσχα*). Between the Sunday of Binding and the Sabbath of Solution Samuel of Kalamôn ate no bread (MS. Morgan xxxi 17).

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our texts as elsewhere Lent is also termed "the Forty Days."¹ The word Πάσχα is found in our texts in both its acceptations: (1) sometimes clearly Easter,² since it is celebrated with festivities; probably so where called "the Great Pascha"³; (2) elsewhere Lent,⁴ where the first and second weeks and the first Sunday of the Pascha are named. Several times we meet with "the Little Fast," ΤΗΡΕΣΙΑ ΨΗΜ; once with "the Little Feast,"⁵ which perhaps succeeded it.⁶ What has been already said of the former⁷ needs modification; for a letter wherein it is named speaks of it as being the season of baking: "Send unto me to-morrow, (which is) the Little Fast, saying if thou wouldest I should take it (the corn I have milled), or not."⁸ Now it is known that, at any rate at the White Monastery, one of the periodical bakings took place about Pentecost and Ascension,⁹ a season coinciding with the date for the Little Fast given us by a Theban letter.¹⁰ Among those observed by the Egyptian church, the Fast of the Apostles, which extended from Ascension to the 4th of Epêp,¹¹ might perhaps represent what our texts here call the Little Fast. Again "the Forty Days of summer," in the month of Paône, mentioned as a fast in the Life of Pesenthius and elsewhere,¹² may well be yet another designation for it, since the duration of the Fast of the Apostles might vary from 15 to 49 days.¹³ The two nuns (?) who write to Pesenthius¹⁴ speak of "binding," *i.e.* causing to fast, the maidens (? novices, or simply their apprentices) until the Fast of the Cross (17th Tût). This, then, relates also to a summer fast. Of the two weekly fasts, on Wednesdays and on Fridays, these texts say nothing, but Pesenthius in a sermon enjoins them, together with the Forty Days' Fast, upon all the faithful.¹⁵ The Life of Pachomius mentions them,¹⁶ as do his Rule¹⁷ and the Athanasian¹⁸ and Basilian¹⁹ Canons.

Frequent vigils are in the biographies often included among ascetic exercises.²⁰ Our material alludes here and there to the vigils preceding festivals,²¹ the reference to that of Saint Phoebammon indicating perhaps a special celebration of this martyr, so conspicuous at Jême; while bishop Abraham, writing to his archpriest,²² intimates that clerics who, whilst neglecting to keep vigil and (following) feast, yet claim their *canon* (of bread), shall be suspended (ἀπόκληρος). A vigil unconnected with any festival is rarely referred

Vigils

¹ 136, CO. 31 &c., ST. 217.

² CO. 100, 104.

³ 136, Hall p. 26; likewise Wessely no. 51, BM. 1001.

⁴ MMA. 23.3.702, ST. 351, BP. 9445. In many cases it = Holy Week only, *e.g.* Mus. Guim. xvii 52, 273, Ryl. 424, BM. 1247. In Rossi i iii 44 it means merely "a fast."

⁵ CO. 60.

⁶ "Little Sabbath," on the other hand, appears in the Sa'idic directories (Leyden 150, Paris 129²⁰ f. 160) to be the Saturday last but one before Easter.

⁷ V. 226 n.

⁸ ST. 285, 4.

⁹ V. above, p. 162.

¹⁰ V. 226 n.

¹¹ *Fetha Nagast*, Guidi, trad. 159 = p. 172 of the Arabic text, *ed.* Cairo. Cf. also Nilles *Kalendarium*² ii 453 ff.

¹² MIE. ii 339, De Vis *Homélie*s i p. 96.

¹³ Cf. note 3 to p. 172 of Arabic print just cited and Nilles *loc. cit.* 455.

¹⁴ RE. 28. Cf. above, pp. 157, 158.

¹⁵ ROC. xx 47, 60.

¹⁶ Bíos § 19 *fin.*

¹⁷ (Hieron.) § 115.

¹⁸ Pp. 31, 122.

¹⁹ Riedel *Kirchenrechtsquellen* 246.

²⁰ CSCO. 42, 199, Mus. Guim. xvii 48, 151, 195 &c., PO. iii 462, xi 675, 677, 727.

²¹ 375, 389.

²² CO. 485. Cf. *ib.* 54.

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to: in one letter the writer bids his correspondent send something (wine perhaps) for "the vigil"¹; in another he asks for a volume of Shenoute, to read during a vigil.²

Discipline,
punishment

Disciplinary measures are less heard of in a society of hermits than in an organized community such as that at Deir el Bahri, where a bishop's correspondence figures so largely.³ The sole punishment of which mention is made—but that frequently—is that of inhibition, or ejection, and of course even this occurs not in relation to monks as such, but to clerics. Bishop Abraham, whom we meet with but rarely in the present collection, is in one case⁴ threatening a priest with inhibition, the term used being ἀπόκληρος.⁵ The remaining texts concerned with such matters are characterized by the verb κω ῥιῥοῶ, "eject," "exclude," which in the *Apostolic Canons*⁶ translates ἀφορίζεσθαι and which is applied both to clerical and to lay delinquents.⁷ In two of them probably both the persons punished are clerics⁸; a third concerns a layman⁹; in another the penalty had been pronounced by a priest and the person punished is evidently a cleric likewise.¹⁰ In yet another text which, although not published here, is immediately connected with our circle, those penalized are civil officials.¹¹ It may be tentatively translated: "Seeing ye did give unto the man (the promise) 'Lo, here is God's word,'¹² in the name of the τόπος and have broken it, lo, now ye are excluded from God's mystery¹³ until ye shall forgive him.¹⁴ For ye settled his affair, albeit¹⁵ he did not agree to pay this heavy¹⁶ that ye have laid upon him. Great indeed is the sin that ye have done, for every Christian hath need of the, most of all his (?my ?your) poor, weak father. Give it unto Patese and Hēmai, the administrators (προνοη-τής),¹⁷ from John, the priest." In an unusually rhetorical letter—the work perhaps of bishop Abraham,¹⁸ and evidently an admired composition, since it is here copied from papyrus onto ostrakon—disobedience and evildoing are declared to have of themselves brought about expulsion from among "the brethren." The letter merits translation. Its recipient should be a layman. "First I greet [thee]; may the Lord bless thee. Were it possible to write down tears and groans upon papyrus (χάρτης), I had filled this letter (therewith) and sent it thee. Yet weep I not because that ye have been concerned as to things (πράγμα) of this life, but rather because that ye have of yourselves blotted out your name from the [midst of] the brethren. Lo, once did I write unto you, entreating [you]; lo, (now) a second time, (saying,) Whoso shall hinder (κωλύειν) the poor and any of [. . . .] of the people from

Inhibition and
exclusion

A letter of
reproach and
admonition

1 *Tor.* 29, supposing ἑπιῳν το = κῑῳν; *v.* 543 n.

2 *ST.* 317.

3 On the latter *v.* notes to *CO.* 41, 78, 300.

4 154.

5 *V.* *CO.* 300 n. The penalty is, in most of the bishop's letters, a threat, not yet an accomplished fact. Shenoute, a monk, is threatened by his bishop with "ejection" (ῥη ῑῑῑῑῑ, خارجاً منوعاً *Miss.* iv 39, 374).

6 xxxvii (xxxv) = Lagarde *Aegyptiaca* 220, κῑ.

7 A disciplinary text (Louvre R. 72, perhaps Pesentian) applies to a cleric the phrase "he shall be without (*extra*) the λειτουργία of the clergy."

8 135, 158.

9 256.

10 141.

11 *ST.* 394. Its writer, John, is he of our 133 &c. The *lashane* threatened with excommunication: *CO.* 61.

12 *V.* 96 n.

13 Apparently in singular here.

14 Alludes ? to some undue exaction.

15 *Lit.* "verily." Reading uncertain.

16 *V.* 351 n. and assuming the word to be λαῑῑ, "burden, responsibility," as there conjectured.

17 A προνοητής issues a "promise" of this nature in Hall p. 99 *infra*.

18 *Tur.* 11.

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catching fish, or from getting aught of this [sort], (for) they it is whose petitions (?) and [whose] prayers God hath heard, and their groans and their tears and their nakedness, and hath had compassion upon [them and hath] them. Surely (*ἄρα*) a heart of stone is that within you (?) and a shameless one is yours. Have ye not heard and do ye not know how that these afflictions are upon [us because of] disobedience unto God and how that the voice of their weeping hath gone up to God [. . . .] (Ps. lxxx 13, 14 quoted)? God cast Pharaoh into the sea because of disobedience, the leprosy of Naaman clave unto Gehazi because of disobedience, God took the kingdom from Saul because of disobedience. For every sin that is in the Scriptures is (the fruit of) disobedience. Were it a magistrate (*ἄρχων*)¹ had written unto you, ye had fulfilled his bidding forthwith. And again (Luke x 16 quoted). Whoso shall hinder the poor from getting [. . . .], he is excluded from the] feast; likewise every one that consenteth with [him]. I take thought for your souls [. . . .²], even as (?) he that taketh thought for [. . . .], as it is written. Wherefore I testify unto you this day, from the blood (?) . . .”

The readmission of excluded persons to communion is the theme of several letters: in three of ours,³ besides others,⁴ in one of which⁵ we read: “Be so kind, my father, and receive (*lit.* bring) me in unto the feast.⁶ For I have learned that he came in⁷ and told thee lying words, (so that) thou didst send and expel me. Be so good and admit me,⁸ for my end draweth nigh.” Here the person addressed is clearly a cleric; as to the suppliant, the remainder of the letter, which is obscure, perhaps points to a layman.

Readmission to communion

That charity was largely practised in some monasteries we know from the literature. Extensive almsgiving characterized the White Monastery⁹ and that of Kalamôn.¹⁰ Farther south indeed, among the Pachomian communities, less is to be heard of it.¹¹ But at Jême the monastery of Saint Phoebammon had a fund (*τράπεζα*) for charitable purposes¹² and made regular distributions to the poor. For this the abbots are responsible and their wills provide¹³ and towards it the pious donate property.¹⁴ The dole is in charge of an oblate.¹⁵ Of charity on the part of the hermits however not much is heard.¹⁶ We read indeed often

Charity

1 Exactly similar phrases in CO. 282, doubtless from the bishop.

2 Cf. CO. 76, 9 ff.

3 141, 238, 256.

4 CO. 40, 94, ST. 195.

5 MMA. 24.6.4, an interesting text, repeated on *verso* by a different hand and with dialectal variations.

6 As in CO. 81, 94.

7 I.e. presumably to the desert settlements from the town or valley.

8 *πρωταρχ(ε)τ εχουπ.*

9 V. *ÄZ.* xl 126 ff., Leipoldt *Schenute* 167, Amélineau *Oeuv. de Schen.* ii 348, CSCO. 73, 91.

10 MS. Morgan xxxi 110 ff.

11 Horsiese commends it in the dialogue in *Papyruscod.* 72, 74.

12 Jême no. 13, 36. For the benefit of this “*τράπεζα* of the poor” a mill-stone (*πύλη* throughout the document for *μύλη*) is sold to the monastery of Paul at the Kolôl (MMA. 24.2.7).

13 *Ib.* no. 105, 8, 9, BM. Gk. i no. lxxvii 38, Jême no. 65, 65, “the blessing (*εὐχὴ* = *προσφορά*, *Mus. Guim.* xvii 151) at the gate for the poor that pass by.” Cf. no. 106, 73.

14 Jême no. 93, 33, no. 106, 150, no. 108, 3. Similar doles in Palestine: *An. Boll.* vii 122.

15 Jême no. 93, 33, no. 105, 8.

16 The interesting document from Thebes (*ed.* Struve in *Christian. Vostok*, 1912, 207) which acknowledges a debt of 12 *solidi*, with 12 *trimisia* of usury, borrowed in order to be given to the poor of the writer’s village, has no visible connection with monasticism.

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"Poor men"

enough of appeals made to them. One or other of them is styled *μαλιστα* (*φιλόπτωχος*), "charitable,"¹ and a letter, addressed very likely to Epiphanius himself, implies that the recipient is reputed for his benevolence.² Letters from or on behalf of "this poor man" are among the most numerous; yet even these are commoner among the letters from Deir el Baḥri, *i.e.* from the monastery of Saint Phoebammon,³ than from our hermitage. But whereas a number of the former show a constant formula—indeed are perhaps no genuine letters, but either writing exercises, or the product of over-much leisure—the latter are more varied both in matter and in form. In most cases the writers appeal for benevolence on behalf of someone else,⁴ rarely for themselves⁵; and it is noticeable that their appeals are almost always vaguely worded: seldom is anything specially asked for,⁶ usually kindness or charity in general terms. Now and then the applicant says that he addresses the recipient at his poor client's express request: "These poor people have begged me to write unto thy fathership. Be so good and let thy compassion attain unto them."⁷ Or again: "The Lord bless thee and grant thee a long while (to live). Seeing how that this poor man is come unto me, entreating and requesting me that I would write unto thee respecting him, (I beg,) then, that thou wouldest do a charity with him, that the Lord may bless all thy hope."⁸ Or again: "Forgive me, for I am not worthy to write unto a holy man"—recipient is Paul, an anchorite, inhabiting the tomb of Puyemrê—"being myself a man contemptible. Yet because of the love of God that is in thee toward the poor I have done so. This poor man, Pjoui, hath visited me, entreating me much and begging me (saying,) Do the kindness and send (?) unto my father Paul, [that I may] get a promise⁹ [of him] and may speak [with him] once more. . . ."¹⁰ Such letters were presumably brought to the person addressed by the suppliant himself: the allusion to him as "this poor man" would seem to imply as much. This is indeed explicit in one case: "I make bold and do write unto my fathers in God as to this also, for the love of God and (because) I know that ye are poor-loving as God (would have it) and charitable. Seeing how Victor, that goeth unto you with this sherd, hath entreated me, saying, Write unto your fatherships. . . ."¹¹ The benevolence consists in some instances of an appeal or recommendation by the hermit to a layman—a magistrate, perhaps, or other official.¹² Charity in gratitude for recovered health had in one case¹³ been promised and the writers, Ananias and Pisrael, a couple whom we meet with several times,¹⁴ are careful to remind their correspondent of this. "We rejoiced

¹ *Tor.* 28, *CO.* 366 (?). Cf. *Budge Misc.* 434, 5.

² 300.

³ *CO.* 75, 261–264 &c.

⁴ *V.* 165, 166, 168, 169, 173, 185, 187, 191, 196.

⁵ 178, 195; in 165 for both.

⁶ 168.

⁷ *ST.* 197.

⁸ *MMA.* 24.6.11. Perhaps from a religious or cleric to a layman, since the address is "to my dear son. . . ." For *ἐλπίς* thus cf. *ST.* 283.

⁹ *Lit.* "the promise," *λόγος*. Perhaps what is desired is a guarantee of immunity or testimonial, comparable to

those in 96 &c., which occasionally, though rarely, are issued by ecclesiastics. *V.* below.

¹⁰ *ST.* 361. The text is imperfect towards the end.

¹¹ *Tur.* 17. L. 11 seems to refer to a gift or sale of corn (*κοῖτο*), which indicates perhaps Victor's needs.

¹² *CO.* Ad. 28, Hall p. 93. In *CO.* Ad. 60 it is Victor, the well-known prior of St. Phoebammon's, who remonstrates with the local magistrates.

¹³ Hall p. 86.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.* pp. 27, 70 *inf.*, *ST.* 321.

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greatly," they write, "that the Lord hath given thee healing. Of a truth God hath given great grace unto thee: healing and the alms that thou hast vowed unto the poor thereafter," and they proceed to beg his compassion for "a man most poor and very greatly in need." It may be remarked that several appeals of this sort are made on behalf of widows: one to bishop Pesenthius,¹ another by bishop Abraham to a priest,² a third perhaps to a hermit.³ Other widows write in their own names.⁴

Charitable donations or bequests for the good of the donor's soul which, in a variety of forms, figure in so many of the monastic deeds from Saint Phoebammon's monastery, are naturally less conspicuous in texts concerned with hermits. The term *προσφορά* occurs seldom here, *ἀγάπη* scarcely ever.⁵ A *προσφορά* in the form of money is twice mentioned in the present collection,⁶ once as embracing a variety of articles bequeathed in a will.⁷ In the familiar phrase "*προσφορά* and burial" (*viz.* shroud, or coffin, or both) it is found in another will,⁸ whereby all the testator's belongings, "those without and those within," are left to his brother⁹ Paham, to be given either as *προσφορά* or in alms.¹⁰ "(And I ordain)," the testator adds, "that no child of mine shall be able to question thee regarding them, for thee it was I found (to help me) in my trouble¹¹ and thou it is shalt prepare me for burial and offer my *προσφορά*."

Charitable
donations

Benevolence of another kind was often sought and is the subject of certain letters. Both by imperial law and by ecclesiastical canons the church was obliged to strive for the redemption of captives.¹² Such legislation had in view primarily prisoners of war, but with these our texts are not concerned.¹³ Those who appeal for such help as venerated ascetes might render do not often tell us the grounds of their imprisonment, but we may suppose that debt, fiscal or private, would be the most frequent cause, together with neglect of other obligations. One letter, of a somewhat later period than ours,¹⁴ relates to a married woman, released, as it seems, after imprisonment for debt: "Respecting Matthias, lo, his wife have I released and have given over unto him and what had been demanded of her (?unpaid taxes) I have set down to thee." But this letter is between civil officials—it is addressed to an *illustrius ἄρχων*¹⁵—and has no direct bearing upon religious life. Sometimes the prisoners

Intervention
for prisoners

¹ ST. 175.

² CO. 67 (v. Addenda).

³ Tor. 28. This widow and her orphan children appear to have land, but none to till it (μποτοεῖν μμοστ εἰων εκδε, sic leg. perhaps).

⁴ CO. 267, Louvre 9286 from "this poor widow, Thamar," who seems to be appealing to her "lord father's" prophetic powers (μπ]ρωε εηп ерок κσο[отп...) as to her children's health (εис παщире [...]) ετпамоτ [...р] ппаεи[]. Cf. our 194.

⁵ CO. 61, 476, the former being a letter from bishop Abraham. Rarely too in *Jême*: no. 67, 51.

⁶ 313, 379.

⁷ 545.

⁸ ST. 56.

⁹ Or perhaps merely the monkish appellation "brother."

¹⁰ μπтпа = ἀγάπη.

¹¹ Cf. BM. 445 and *Jême* no. 69.

¹² Cf. A. Knecht *System d. Justin. Kirchenvermögens-*

rechtes, 1905, 105, *Fetha Nagast*, Guidi, trad. 181, O. Braun *De Sancta Nic. Synodo*, 1898, 91. The Pachomian community maintained prisoners by the proceeds of their work (*Hist. Laus.* ii 94). Petitions for the relief or release of prisoners figure in the Sa'idic as in the Bohairic liturgy. Cf. Paris 129²⁰, 125 vo.: "Have mind of those in confinement in all places and of such as have wood or iron upon their hands and feet. Do Thou loose them and free them to their houses in peace and justice." Cf. also Leyden p. 134.

¹³ Jean Maspero refers the ἀνάρρυσιν αἰχμαλώτων in a 6th century will to redemption of captives from the barbarians (P. Cairo iii p. 91 n.).

¹⁴ ST. 170.

¹⁵ His name is Chaël and one might, to judge by the highly ligatured script, suppose him to be the oft-recurring διοικητής of the *Jême* cartulary, who lived in the 2nd half of the 8th century.

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protest themselves ignorant of the grounds of their arrest: "I entreat thy fathership that thou wouldest have pity and send out , for I am dying in prison, I know not for what cause."¹ Others, calling themselves "the poor that are in prison,"² write that the *vicarius* had been sent and had seized them "for naught" and that they are perishing of hunger.³ To obtain the intercession of holy men is the purpose of several letters in the present collection.⁴ Among these a formal application by the local magistrates to Epiphanius himself is conspicuous,⁵ while in another it is his disciple, Psan, whose aid is asked.⁶ The writers of other such letters appeal apparently to a group of brethren dwelling together.⁷ Some suppliants strive to reach their ends by a recital of their miseries⁸ and occasionally add threats to their entreaties.⁹ One writer applies to Apa Pesenthus (perhaps the bishop) to obtain some sort of safe-conduct for the father of a prisoner, so that the latter may come and consult (συμβουλεύειν) as to his son's fate.¹⁰ Two letters in which prisoners are referred to give the impression that arrest did not necessarily preclude a certain freedom, for in both instances the letter-carriers appear to be none other than the prisoners themselves.¹¹ In one letter the writer announces his escape from prison.¹² Whether the makers of these appeals were confined in the state prisons or in the notorious private gaols, so often to be found in Egypt at this period,¹³ we cannot tell.

Relations
with civil
authorities

If the monks of desert monasteries such as that of Saint Phoebammon were unlikely to have much experience of the civil and military authorities resident in the neighboring town of Jême or at the nome-capital of Ermont, far less would the hermits scattered in the rock-tombs of the vicinity be brought into contact with them. The paucity of legal texts among those found at our site is of itself testimony to the aloofness from secular affairs which would be but natural in a community of anchorites. The official most often met with in our material—and indeed among all Coptic texts from Thebes—is the *lashane*, or village headman, whose title is sometimes equivalent to that of πρωτοκωμήτης, sometimes to that of μειζότερος¹⁴ and whose office appears to be an annual one.¹⁵ Confining ourselves to occurrences in the present collection: we see contracts drawn up in his presence,¹⁶ applica-

The *lashane*

¹ *BKU*. 144.

² *ST*. 374 is likewise from "all the poor [? in prison]" and begs for a prisoner's release.

³ *CO*. 209.

⁴ The Apophthegmata tell of hermits interceding for the release of prisoners: *PG*. 65, 320 A, 324 B, 344 B; and we find Shenoute doing so: *Miss*. iv 49, 383, 389; also Horsiese: *ib.* 591. Antony is represented as disapproving and avoiding intervention of this sort: *ib.* 570.

⁵ 163.

⁶ 190.

⁷ 178, 181.

⁸ 176, 181.

⁹ 177.

¹⁰ *ST*. 254.

¹¹ *RE*. 5 *sub fin.*, *CO*. Ad. 27. The former should read: "Be so good and do ye comfort this poor man that is in confinement and let your pity reach unto him, for he is poor and dying of hunger, together with his wife." The writer of the other needs the services of "this prisoner"

and asks his correspondent to send news by him. Cf. *Leont. Neap.* Gelzer 17, where an αἰχμάλωτος is evidently at liberty to beg in the streets.

¹² *ST*. 389.

¹³ V. M. Gelzer *Studien z. Byz. Verwalt. Aeg.*, 1909, 81. The monasteries had their own lock-ups: an arrested monk is handed over to the οἰκονόμος (Clugnet *Daniel* 65, 23). Or a monk might be confined in his own cell (*ROC*. 1908, 272 (186)).

¹⁴ V. Bell in *BM*. Gk. iv 78; cf. Wiet in *MIF*. xxx 323 n.

¹⁵ This detail, to be expected, but not hitherto demonstrable (v. Steinwenter in Wessely xix 54), is found in an 8th century Jême deed, *BM*. Or. 9525 (1): Zacharias, Abraham and Severus πλὰς/πρὸ πτετρομπε ετμμδδτ. Three *lashanes* as here in *ST*. 352.

¹⁶ 84. Cf. likewise *CO*. Ad. 42, *ST*. 52, 94, Hall p. 111 *sup.*, *Tor*. 12, *BKU*. 70, *PSBA*. xxxiii Pl. 49.

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tions made to him to obtain the release of prisoners,¹ or to procure a certain will for examination.² We find him receiving complaints,³ threatening fines,⁴ while at times the anchorites have occasion to write letters of acquiescence, or of obedience to *lashane* and headmen.⁵ On the other hand, the village notables, with their *lashane* as spokesman, appeal to the holy men—to Epiphanius himself—on behalf of prisoners,⁶ or to engage their help as peace-makers⁷; or they humbly lay before them complaints of their own ill-usage.⁸ Other Theban texts give further illustrations of the functions and activities of the *lashane*. It is often he who issues those remarkable documents—permits, releases, *σιγίλλια*—characterized by the opening formula, “Lo, here is God’s word (λόγος) unto thee . . .,”⁹ and intended, for the most part, either as receipts for taxes paid, or as safe-conducts to returning fugitives. No such document however is concerned either with monks or hermits, with the exception of one issued by “the ἡγούμενος of the hill of Jême” to a fugitive monk (μοναχός) who had feared further taxation.¹⁰ With this a letter from the *lashanes* of Trakata(n) may be compared, for therein Apa Jacob—clearly either monk or hermit—is asked to grant a pass (a promise, λόγος) to someone with whom they (the *lashanes*) and the *actuary* desire to speak.¹¹ The *lashane* sometimes issues tax-receipts,¹² but again no monks are named; indeed the question whether hermits in Egypt, like coenobites, were held liable for taxation is one which has yet to be answered. Of evidence there is scarcely any. In our present collection the writer of one letter,¹³ who may be either monk or hermit, refers to the δημόσιον, for which he seems to be responsible. Another ostrakon shows a formal receipt for the year’s δημόσιον, paid by a monk (μοναχός) and here termed a “fine.”¹⁴ But this monk again may be an inmate of a coenobium; and so too may the monk (μοναχός) Mena, whose payment is receipted by “the κοινότης of the mount,”¹⁵ and Victor, whom a fiscal official (?) begs to send his μέρος of the δημόσιον.¹⁶ The only fact which might suggest that such tax-payers are single hermits is that of their being addressed individually, whereas when the taxation of a monastery is in question, the phraseology used generally makes this clear: in one case from our material the receipt is addressed to the prior¹⁷ and we find in the following century allusions to the δημόσιον due from Saint Phoebammon’s monastery in certain of its deeds.¹⁸ The monasteries at Aphrodito were taxed,¹⁹ as were those at Ashmunain,²⁰ at Wâdi Sarga²¹ and at Balaizah near by.²² If our information as to

Taxation

1 181.

2 257.

3 278.

4 404, probable, not certain.

5 160.

6 163. *V.* above.

7 216. In *BKU*. 318 we find bishop Abraham endeavouring to bring about peace between the *lashane* and his friends and another group of “magnates.”

8 183.

9 *V.* 96 n. The instances of issue by a *lashane* are: *CO*. 107, 108, 111, 112, *ST*. 98, 104, *WZKM*. 1902, 265.

10 *BKU*. 37.

11 *ST*. 352. The remainder of this is scarcely intelligible.

12 *ST*. 68. The number of these is greatly increased if

ΔΠΕ is to be considered identical with ΛΑΠΠΑΠΕ.

13 165.

14 *Tor*. 12. οσε = ζημία, presumably a sum in excess of the tax proper.

15 *CO*. 408. The same formula, Hall p. 125.

16 *Tur*. 18.

17 *ST*. 76.

18 *V.* Steinwenter in *Zeit. d. Savignystiftg.* xlii Kanon. Abt. 186.

19 Bell in *BM*. Gk. iv p. xvi.

20 Krall ciii, *BM*. 1049, payments by monastic tenants.

21 *WS*. 344, *Ryl*. 124.

22 Petrie *Gizeh and Rifeh* 42.

all these relates mainly to the early Muslim period, it is clear from other documents,¹ as well as from imperial enactments, that the monasteries farther north had been called upon for taxes—for the land-tax at any rate—in the preceding centuries and it cannot be supposed that those at Thebes had escaped a like obligation.

Fiscal officials
named

Certain fiscal officials are met with at Thebes at this period, though mostly in fragmentary or obscure contexts. The title *ἀπαιτητής* is found once or twice,² likewise that of *ἀκτουάριος*,³ of *ζυγοστάτης*⁴ and of *λογογράφος*.⁵ In one case two *προνοηταί* appear as tax-collectors,⁶ another releases a camel-herd from the burden of further *ἀγγαρεία*.⁷ "The whole *τάξις*" seems in these texts to be the body of local officials, fiscal and other.⁸ The two Coptic titles *ⲁⲣⲁ*⁹ and *ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ*¹⁰ should be those of officials, perhaps fiscal; but as yet it has not been possible to fix the meaning of either. Finally it must be once more repeated that positive connection between most of these functionaries and the anchorites, or indeed the coenobites, is but seldom to be deduced from our texts.

Rarity of legal
texts

It has already been remarked that the legal documents found at this settlement were few¹¹ and it is therefore to be supposed that legal business of a formal sort occupied the hermits but seldom. The sole record of legal proceedings in which a dweller here had been concerned¹² seems to show that an anchorite had acted as mediator in bringing the parties to agreement. From other texts we gather that the hermits were occasionally appealed to for some such intervention between litigants.¹³ Once we read of a scribe¹⁴ being summoned from Ermont¹⁵ and once (perhaps) of consultation with a notary.¹⁶ Our only legal text of any importance, the will of Jacob and Elias (Part II Appendix III), is drawn up by a scribe whose title is lost—if indeed the gap (l. 150) sufficed to contain more than his mere name—but whose hand looks decidedly unprofessional, compared with those of most of the Jême documents. A like impression is given by the script of our other will.¹⁷ A third monkish will was written, the testator says, by himself, without the help of a scribe.¹⁸ Wills written upon ostraca are still less formal in appearance¹⁹; they may of course be but copies of the documents themselves. On the other hand, the formal letter written on behalf of the notables to Epiphanius, is the work of one who calls himself "the scribe (*γραμματεὺς*) of Jême"²⁰—a style to be compared with that used by the writer of another monastic will.²¹ Others of our legal texts are the work of simple clerics or monks.²²

1 E.g. BM. Gk. v 1686, 1758, P. Cairo 67117, P. Oxyrh. xvi 2020 (38). V. also CSCO. 73, 99 (cf. p. ix).

2 CO. 79, ST. 293, Hall p. 111 *inf.* l. 3, BP. 4961.

3 144 n. 4 CO. Ad. 58 = Hall p. 106 *infra*.

5 CO. 79. In MMA. 14.1.6 (discarded) the *λογογράφος* of the *πόλις* of Ermont issues a receipt (cf. 96) to a monk.

6 V. above, p. 172. 7 Hall pp. 99, 100 (ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ).

8 ST. 293, RE. 69, WZKM. 1902, 264. The *τάξις* of the church is the body of its clergy (Budge *Apoc.* 93, MIE. ii 362, though in the former it has two meanings), or the clerical ranks, orders (Kircher 218. Cf. PO. v 82, 6).

9 189 n.

10 ST. 98, 212. Cf. Ryl. 374 n.

11 Several discarded fragments show remains of legal (or fiscal) texts, among them some similar to 96 ff.

12 88.

13 181, 300, 344?, 487? So too ST. 300. Bishop and clergy appear in several Deir el Bahri documents as referees or judges: CO. 59, 65, 86, 130, 297; also B KU. 315.

14 Νομικός. Cf. Steinwenter in Wessely xix 61 ff.

15 254.

16 186.

17 87. 18 Jême no. 67, 138.

19 E.g. CO. 146, *ib.* Ad. 3, ST. 56.

20 163.

21 Jême no. 65, 98: "scribe of the *castrum* of the Memnonia."

22 84, 85.

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One may regard the quantity of correspondence which circulated among these hermits as remarkable, albeit two factors in an estimate of it remain inevitably vague¹: only approximately can we gauge the period of time during which the settlement remained occupied—somewhat over a century probably—and we have even less knowledge as to the number of individuals whom the community and its neighboring friends may have harbored during that period. A calculation attempted upon a mere count of the proper names in our Index would be misleading, for it is very often impossible, among the more common names, to distinguish individuals; moreover, in any such calculation the countless fragments on which no names at all are visible would be left out of the reckoning.

Amount of
correspondence

Among whom did these letters pass to and fro? To what distance from the hill of Jême did they reach? Rarely do incidental place-names help us to judge of this. Ermont, the local capital, some ten miles distant up the river, is indeed named often enough: many writers of letters and witnesses to deeds describe themselves as “of the town of Ermont,” or of places “in the nome of Ermont”; but this need not imply that they are there at the time of writing. Here and there the wording of a letter may suggest that it was written from Ermont²; in one case bishop Pesenthius is asked to write thither.³ About twice as far off, down stream, lay Keft, from which and from its vicinity came that bishop’s correspondence which, there is reason to suppose, was sent to him at our settlement.⁴ These, if we might judge by the places incidentally named, are the limits, southward and northward, to which the correspondence of our hermits attained. For the most part we might conjecture that it was with like hermitages and monasteries, in the Theban hills about them, that letters were exchanged. Even, it seems, among the brethren themselves around the tomb of Daga, communication was now and then by writing. Positive evidence as to this is scanty, but where, at one point in the site, a letter was found addressed to a certain hermit and, at another point, one written by him, it may surely be concluded that correspondence circulated even within that limited area. An instance in which this would seem to be the case is that of the couple Isaac and Elias, to whom so many letters are addressed,⁵ but who appear also as joint authors.⁶ Another instance is perhaps bishop Pisrael⁷; Psan, the disciple of Epiphanius, possibly a third.⁸ Indeed Epiphanius, several of whose own letters, besides the many addressed to him, were found at various points, may be himself enlisted to support the conjecture that those immediately around him sometimes took occasion to send letters to their neighbors within the same community.

Area over
which the
letters passed

Letters ex-
changed within
the community

It might seem natural to assume that writers who, as the greater number do, sign their names, but add nothing as to their residence, still more the many who prefer the anonymity

Anonymous
letters

1 The letters recovered from our site number in all a little under 600, whereof 416 are published here. The remainder are discarded fragments.

2 176, 310. 3 172.

4 *V.* below, p. 223. *Cf.* also 152.

5 *V.* 110.

6 94, 160, 401, Cairo 44674.80 (discarded).

7 150 and 426. *Cf.* above, p. 135.

8 287 and most of the occurrences of his name in Part II Index I.

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of "thy son,"¹ "thy servant,"² "this humblest one,"³ "thy humblest daughter,"⁴ or again "the brethren," "humblest brethren,"⁵ dwell at no great distance from their correspondents and feel no need to designate themselves more closely. But this is scarcely an adequate explanation. Possibly the bearer of the letter would, in such cases, announce the writer's name when delivering it. Such anonymity is sometimes a form of humility and it may be so here. A curious specimen is to be read in the salutations at the close of a long Theban letter: "Be so kind and do obeisance at the feet of the hidden jewel, him that belongeth unto the man of Tarsus (*sc.* Saint Paul) and that appeareth not."⁶ The writers did not however impose this anonymity upon themselves alone; they often treat their correspondents likewise, addressing them simply as "fathership," "holy father," "lord father" and so on⁷; or as "the brethren,"⁸ or "the pious ones,"⁹ or "the beloved,"¹⁰ usually remaining at the same time anonymous themselves, as where a letter, asking for a book, is directed simply to "the brethren" from "these humblest ones."¹¹ A letter directed to "the brethren" would presumably be intended either for a whole community, or for a particular group of anchorites, or perhaps merely for one of the various couples whom we so often find both writing and written to—and the converse would be the case where "the brethren" are authors.

Informal letters

Plenty of letters are wholly informal, dispensing with greetings and salutations even as impersonal as these, though still retaining here and there an expression of courtesy.¹² Therein they approach more nearly than do most Coptic letters from Thebes to the style of those, written likewise by Egyptian Christians of almost the same period, in Greek, which, being with few exceptions unconcerned with ecclesiastics, are similarly free from pious formulas and epithets. Coptic letters again from other sites—those, for instance, from Ashmunain—where laymen, instead of monks, are the preponderating element, are likewise without this kind of decoration.

The most informal type: mere messages

Among the correspondence are many letters consisting of but a few words and bare of all formalities: hardly letters at all, rather mere hasty messages,¹³ asking that something shall be sent forthwith, or bidding the recipient come at once, or conveying a piece of urgent news, as that which bears the words "He died to-day" and nothing more.¹⁴ In some of these instances one may almost wonder why such words should have been written down,¹⁵ and the discipline of silence, observed by Egyptian ascetes elsewhere,¹⁶ suggests itself as a possible explanation: where oral communication was forbidden, writing might on occasion be a necessity—a consideration which might account for the anonymity of some of the

<p>1 134. 3 <i>E.g.</i> 118, 198, 403, 438. 5 213, 218, 388. 6 Imper. Russian Archaeol. Soc. <i>Zapiski</i> xviii 026. 7 121, 134, 213, 240, 368, 403. 8 113, 173. 11 MMA. 12.180.165 (discarded).</p>	<p>2 Rare here, 377. 4 489 probably. 6 Imper. Russian Archaeol. Soc. <i>Zapiski</i> xviii 026. 7 121, 134, 213, 240, 368, 403. 8 113, 173. 9 373. 10 438.</p>	<p>12 <i>E.g.</i> 196, 197, 221, 230, 233, 235, 295, 297, 299, 305, 313, 323, 353, 366, 371, 390, 395, 396, 498, 512, 514. 13 <i>E.g.</i> 197, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 243, 295, 370, 371, 390, 395, 396, 512. 14 Bodleian Copt. inscr. 16. 15 197, 512, also 390, 395. 16 Zöckler <i>Askese</i>² 248, 279, Bousset in <i>Zeits. f. Kirchengesch.</i> xlii 27.</p>
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longer letters. Short messages of this type are in fact scarcely found in other collections of ostraca; they would seem to have been peculiar to a community of hermits—including, as this did, ἔγκλειστοι—such as ours.¹

The right delivery of anonymous letters must have depended ultimately upon the instructions to the messenger, whose intelligence may often have been somewhat tried. One writer, for example, owns that he is ignorant of his correspondent's whereabouts: "Were it not that I know not where you dwell, I would have gone often to visit you."² Letter-carriers were not always available: "Seeing that Tribunus wrote a sherd yesterday unto your fathership and hath found none as yet by whom to send (it), God knoweth, I have written this one and have not suffered him to know aught of it, lest we should cause you trouble twice."³ Or those reliable were not easily to be had: "I have finished (the book) a long while, but [I found not] a man who should take care thereof, that I might send it."⁴ These Copts call the letter-carrier γραμματηφόρος, or simply "the man that shall bring this letter." That the Greek word need not imply an independent calling is seen from a letter to a bishop, wherein two γραμματηφόροι are described as "your clerical servants"⁵; yet sometimes a separate profession seems to be in question.⁶ The other title, σύμμαχος, is hardly to be found at Thebes.⁷ In a society such as that with which we are concerned, one should not expect to find mention of the official postal service.⁸ Letters might be entrusted to camel-herds, who doubtless passing constantly to and fro, between the towns in the plain and the tracks thence leading northward along the desert edge, would traverse or skirt the foot-hills on which so many of the monkish settlements lay. And as letter-bearers they now and then appear: "When Isaac came north . . . , he said unto me, Write south unto me regarding the pledge. See, (here is) Cyriacus the camel-herd; [I have] written unto thee by him regarding the pledge, that thou shouldest send it me by him."⁹ "The camel-herd came north with a sherd and we gave (? paid) him 17½ artobs."¹⁰ Or the camel-herd may be employed as a porter,¹¹ or he appears as the messenger, sent to summon the recipient of the letter which he had presumably delivered: "So do not fail to come with this camel-herd, for to that end have I sent him";¹² or, more shortly, "When this camel reacheth thee, kindly send . . ."¹³ Elsewhere a boy takes the letter: "Be so good also and give thine answer unto this boy that shall give thee this sherd."¹⁴ "If so be ye are sending to the town, send (and tell) me by this boy."¹⁵ The bearer may be entrusted with bringing back the object for which the writer asks. "When thou shalt receive this sherd, what of

Carriage and
delivery of
letters

¹ Bousset *loc. cit.* cites a Scetiotie recluse who communicated with his disciple only by messages written upon ostraca. At our period, in Palestine, the celebrated Barsanuphius—a hermit of obvious Coptic origin—communicated with his visitors by writing only (*Échos d'Orient* viii 17, *cf.* 154).

² *BKU.* 92. In protasis 2nd singular is used, in apodosis 2nd plural. ³ *CO.* 373. ⁴ *CO.* 252. ⁵ *ST.* 193.

⁶ *Jême* no. 122, 6 ff., *CO.* Ad. 65.

⁷ *V.* 346 n. *Cf.* Bell in *BM.* Gk. iv p. 163 n.

⁸ *V.* Wilcken *Grundz.* 374.

⁹ *MMA.* 24.6.12. ¹⁰ Hall p. 108.

¹¹ 341, Hall p. 60, *BKU.* 282 ("our c. herd"), 299.

¹² *CO.* 328.

¹³ *Sphinx* x 147.

¹⁴ *CO.* 355, reading ⲟⲩⲱ for ⲟ in l. 13, as in *ib.* 327 *vo.* *Cf.* the converse, *Jême* Index 383, *ST.* 54, 5, ⲟⲩⲱ standing for ⲟ. *V.* Chapter x.

¹⁵ *CO.* 214, also *ib.* 384, *ST.* 331, our 326.

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seed-corn (ἐκπῖ) thou hast found, pay the same unto him that shall give thee this sherd."¹ Or the messenger takes with him the articles mentioned in the letter he bears.² Occasionally the bearer is a woman: "I beg thee," says a letter addressed to a woman, "so soon as this woman reacheth thee with this sherd and this bond (γραμμάτιον), that thou do thy utmost to undertake it (*sc.* the loan) and send me a *solidus* by her."³ Where a monk or hermit alludes to his messenger as "this man of mine,"⁴ we may suppose him to be a brother from the writer's community. In one case a letter is sent by "certain brethren," whose way, we may suppose, took them near the recipient⁵; or the occasion of a neighbor going northward is used for sending a letter.⁶ The bearer of an important missive sometimes carries a short note besides, which tells what is to be done with the letter itself,⁷ or he is empowered to supplement it with verbal information.⁸ It might well be no drawback were the carrier unable to read the letter entrusted to him: "Tell no man as to this letter (*lit.* tablet, πλάξ) beyond thyself alone,"⁹ words which may imply that the messenger is illiterate. The wage or fee of such a letter-carrier is now and then referred to; postscripts such as this are added: "Be so kind and give a present (*lit.* a blessing) unto this boy,"¹⁰ or "Give the wage unto [her?] that shall bring you this sherd;"¹¹ or again a letter ends: "If thou find a man and send the answer, it is well (καλῶς), but if not, perhaps (πάντως) we shall persuade George to go north and thou send the message unto us by him and we pay him his wage."¹²

Journeyings
of the hermits

How far afield Theban anchorites themselves might wander we know not. Probably they were less restricted in their movements than the coenobites, who quitted their monastery only with the superior's consent.¹³ Of extended journeyings we hear nothing: travel by river is nowhere mentioned,¹⁴ at most an ass for riding is referred to once or twice. One writer tells his "holy fathership" how he had been unable to pay his respects, for he had not found an ass, that he might come in and salute him.¹⁵ Another bids his friend go at once to Pasaft, or to (the monastery of) the priest Andrew and beg an ass and bring it, together with Psmou's ass; for on the morrow, being the first holiday, the writer proposes to go to visit "our father Apa Pesenthius, the bishop."¹⁶ Again, the author of a deed, in his recital, says: "We mounted with Apa Victor and came unto your community," the verb employed probably indicating the use of asses.¹⁷

¹ Leyden ostr. F 99-1, 424. Cf. CO. 341. In *ib.* 248 such a messenger is "this trusty man (πιστός)." So too BM. 1103, 15.

² 402.

³ ST. 201. Our 177 is perhaps delivered by a woman.

⁴ 283.

⁵ Imper. Russian Archaeol. Soc. *Zapiski* xviii 026.

⁶ 296. Cf. 253.

⁷ 233, 390. This would seem at least to be the object of such texts.

⁸ 471.

⁹ CO. 325.

¹⁰ ST. 274.

¹¹ 177.

¹² Ostrakon *penes* A. H. Gardiner.

¹³ *Reg. Pachom.* (Hieron.) § lxxxiv. The undertaking not to go abroad without permission in CO. 29 ff. is given by

candidates for clerical orders, not by monks, but a 7th century deed from Thebes (BM. Or. 9525 (12)) shows a like undertaking by monastic postulants: "We will go no whither without asking (leave)."

¹⁴ Though Theban monks were sometimes sailors too: *πνεγ*, *Ann. du S. viii* 89, 17 (epitaph).

¹⁵ *OLZ.* 1903, 69.

¹⁶ *Tor.* 27, after collation with the original, kindly lent by the Royal Ontario Museum. On the first of the places named v. 488, on the second p. 115.

¹⁷ BM. Or. 9525 (1) 89. The verb *ταλο*, which so often means "go on board" a ship, seems less likely to do so here.

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But to comings and goings "northward" and "southward" our letters constantly refer.¹ In some twenty cases the writer is clearly to the north of the recipient, in about an equal number he is to the south; in others the relative positions are less clear. Sometimes the distances thus implied are probably less than those which the same expressions, as used among us, would generally involve. So at least it would be in one of our letters, supposing its writer to be indeed Epiphanius himself²; for the distance between that saint's abode—the tomb of Daga—and that of Cyriacus, to whom he writes—Tomb 65—and who dwells to the "south" of him, is but some 150 yards.³

"Northward"
and "south-
ward"

What is the significance of the term "abroad" may be questioned. "If thy brotherhood," says one letter-writer, "hath need of aught, send unto us; we are ready to perform thy bidding. We have thee greatly in remembrance, how that thou art abroad and hast not thy wonted provisions (*lit.* thy διοίκησις is not with thee) and wilt need many a thing and not find it."⁴

"Abroad"

Two other expressions relating to movements among the West Theban population—the verbs "go, come, send in" and "out"—are plentifully used in our texts, yet their use is rarely instructive. In other texts to quit the desert hills and their monasteries for the valley, its towns or the river is generally to "go out,"⁵ while to return to the desert is to "go, or come, in."⁶ In the Theban ostraca however it is not often possible to say whether the verbs have these implications, or whether the meanings are not merely to "enter" and to "go forth" from a monastery or cell. The former may be all that is meant, for instance, by ει ερχομαι in certain cases,⁷ while conversely a *lashane* appears to use this verb of a visit to be paid him, *i.e.* presumably in a town or village.⁸ ει ερχομαι sometimes indicates the "coming forth" *from* a monastery,⁹ yet sometimes it is evidently used of coming out *to* one.¹⁰ In short it is hardly possible to relate these loosely used words to the expressions which so often designate the "inner" and "outer" deserts in the monastic and ascetic literature of Egypt.¹¹

The verbs
"come in,"
"go out"

We may fittingly conclude this chapter with the little that is to be learned as to the hermits' death and burial. The excavations at Daga's tomb fortunately displayed the small cemetery which lay before the buildings and its eleven burials have been fully described by Winlock,¹² who shows that the manner of their disposal and the clothing in which the corpses lay, when compared with conditions in the cemeteries at Deir el Bahri and Deir

Funeral rites
and customs

1 *V.* Part II Index, "south," "north," ρης, ρητ.

2 457.

3 Loret has noted this very use of "north," "south" &c. at Thebes to-day (*Miss.* i 311 n.) and a Scotchman might recall the use in his country of the words "east" and "west," in cases where in England "left" and "right" would seem more natural.

4 *ST.* 228. Cf. 491 n.

5 Zoega 551, *Miss.* iv 732, Budge *Mart.* 222 *inf.*, *Misc.* 450. To leave the "inner" for the "outer" desert: Budge *Misc.* 441, *Miss.* iv 569 *ult.*

6 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 222, 297, Budge *Mart.* 212, Zoega 347, 7, *Miss.* iv 570.

7 *ST.* 253, 206, 216, 11, 223, though the two last, from *lashanes*, should indicate a journey *in*, to the desert hermitage.

8 151.

9 253, perhaps 180.

10 *ST.* 194. So too in Zoega *loc. cit.* 14 it translates ἐξήλθομεν, *sc.* to the desert.

11 As *e.g.* in the Life of Antony (*cf.* Bousset *loc. cit.* 28 ff.), or that of Onnophrius (Budge *Mart.* 205, 213 &c.).

12 *V.* pp. 45 ff. above.

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el Medîneh, prove a general identity in burial fashions among the Copts of Western Thebes at the close of the Byzantine period.¹ The grave-clothes which we thus find in use include, besides the multifarious linen shrouds,² an outer network of long tapes or ribbons—probably the *κειρίαι*, whereof the fabrication was a recognized occupation among the anchorites³—and a leathern apron, covering the body from breast to loins. The shrouds would be the *ῥῆος* “linen,” so often the subject of these letters⁴; the whole together composing the *καίσε*, “burial (furniture),”⁵ a word which sometimes includes the coffin.⁶ Monks prefer to be buried in the *λεβίτων* in which they had been consecrated⁷; Pesenthius bids robe him in this, with hood and girdle.⁸ The shroud had to be paid for and a monk would lay by just sufficient for its purchase. An ascete will sometimes insist on being laid in the grave in the tunic of coarse palm-fiber which had sufficed him during life, declining the silk wrappings brought by his admirers as a last offering.⁹ Similarly in Nitria: the corpse of John Colobus was found shrouded in fiber¹⁰; so too Anastasia, the anchorite.¹¹ The bodies exhumed before the Daga tomb and at Deir el Medîneh had rolls of linen folded over head and feet.¹² To this custom allusion is perhaps made in the Life of Pesenthius, where his disciple cuts a piece from the *ارجوان*, folded beneath the feet of the dead saint.¹³

It chances that in our material the word for “to prepare for burial” (*κωως*) occurs but once and that in a will: “thou it is shalt prepare me for burial and shalt offer my *προσφοράί*.”¹⁴ The other terms: *ωλ*, *σκευάζειν*, are not found here.¹⁵

The many hermits who had tenanted the caves and buildings about the tomb of Daga are represented, so far as the evidence of excavation can show, by only eleven graves. It may well be, as has been conjectured,¹⁶ that these are the graves of the more prominent anchorites only; the brethren generally would be laid in some less conspicuous situation.¹⁷ Where that may have been we know not. About Ermont there were evidently extensive

The cemetery
and others in
the neighbor-
hood

¹ It would have been instructive to have had a fuller account of the burials found by Maspero at Taud and Rizeikât (*BIEg.* 1885, 71, *Miss.* i 185).

² Cf. the *ἐξ ὑγρὸς συνδονίων* for a woman's burial in *PG.* 65, 121 B.

³ *V.* 348 n., cf. 268 n.

⁴ *V.* Winlock p. 70 n. above. Shenoute speaks of *ῥῆος* *κωως* (*CSCO.* 42, 71).

⁵ In the account of Pesenthius's burial *ῥῆος* in the Sa'idic corresponds to *καίσε* in the Bohairic version (Budge *Apoc.* 125 = *MIE.* ii 418). The latter may consist merely of a strip of linen (*Rec.* vi 183 = Budge *Mart.* 217). Cf. the uses of the word *κηδεία* (v. P. M. Meyer *Griech. Texte* p. 96).

⁶ *V.* 519 n. 16.

⁷ *PG.* 65, 432 c, MS. Morgan xli 333 (Hilaria, cf. *PO.* xi 637), both Nitrian.

⁸ Budge *loc. cit.* The aged gardener, Jonas, had grown so stiff that, when dead, his leathern garment could not be removed in order to robe him in his *λεβίτων* (*Paralip.* S. *Pachom.* § 30 = *PO.* iv 475. The Coptic (Arabic), *Mus. Guim.* xvii 631, calls the latter a rough garment of wool).

⁹ Life of Andrew, *Paris arabe* 4882, 10 b. Yet if a monk

is buried in the garments used in life, this seems to be noted as exceptional (Anast. *Sinaita Oriens Christ.* 1892, 72).

¹⁰ *Synax.* Forget ii 295, a better text than Basset's, *PO.* xvii 768. Cf. *ib.* ix 422, where for “fiber” the Ethiopic substitutes “haircloth,” *šaqa šaguer*.

¹¹ Clugnet *Daniel* pp. 3, 6, *φασκίδιν σίβινον*.

¹² *V.* above, p. 48.

¹³ *Paris arabe* 4785, 211 b. The *Synaxar.* (*PO.* xvii 651) has merely “shroud.” *ارجوان*, “purple,” can also mean a plush-like garment of that color (Lane p. 1050).

¹⁴ *V.* above, p. 175.

¹⁵ The first of these corresponds to *περιστέλλειν*, *συστέλλειν*, *colligere*; the second is no doubt to be read in several places where the texts have *σκεπάζειν*: *CSCO.* 41, 76, Budge *Mart.* 128, *Misc.* 106, 466, 467, while *ib.* 68 it = *ωλ* in Forbes Robinson *Apocr. Gosp.* 36. This emendation, *σκευάζειν*, was proposed by Lemm *Alexanderroman* 123.

¹⁶ Winlock p. 45 above.

¹⁷ Elsewhere we learn that prominent monks were buried in the monastery, the rest in the cemetery (*An. Boll.* 7, 100).

THEBAN HERMITS AND THEIR LIFE

cemeteries on the desert edge, west of the town.¹ Many of these stelae are the epitaphs of monks.² At the monastery of Deir el Baḥri, as at our settlement, the small graveyard shows that certain of the monks at least were granted burial close to their own dwellings. At Deir el Medīneh, on the other hand, the epitaphs are rather those of the clerics of a church³; among them one monk and one anchorite. The Theban hermits whose careers were found worthy of record in the *Synaxarium* appear often to have been brought to a church for burial⁴—"his church" sometimes,⁵ which is said to be in a desert cave⁶ and which may be the chapel of his hermitage or *laura*; otherwise a church in some neighboring town.⁷ A devoted disciple would sometimes wish to be laid beside his master, in the same grave: so Theodore with Pachomius,⁸ John with Pesenthus.⁹ Or, the disciple dying first, his teacher directs that he shall be buried with him.¹⁰ At Deir el Baḥri the monks' graves actually held more than one body each, perhaps for a like reason.¹¹

Burial in
churches

Only three among the texts here published appear to mention commemoration of the dead.¹² The wills among the Jême documents are often concerned with the posthumous offerings (*προσφοράι*) to be provided out of the testator's property; but these deeds are without bearing upon the customs of our anchorites. Of the three wills in which religious are concerned, two make no allusion to the matter,¹³ but the other¹⁴ directs that a third of the monkish testator's property is to be expended in alms (*ἀγάπη*), for the benefit of the souls of deceased kinsfolk.

Commemora-
tion of the dead

1 *V.* Daressy in *Ann. du S.* xiii. 270.

2 A dozen in Cairo. Lefebvre *Rec. d'Inscr.* no. 582 is probably from our district, since the monk there is from Pesenthus's monastery.

3 *V.* above, pp. 8, 9.

4 *PO.* iii 302, 498, xi 525. *Cf.* below, p. 216.

5 *Ib.* xi 680.

6 *Ib.* iii 286. *Cf.* the *ἄντρον*, wherein was a church in St. Sabas's monastery (*Sabae Vita* 244).

7 *Ib.* iii 498.

8 *Mus. Guim.* xvii 286.

9 *Paris arabe* 4785, 212.

10 *PO.* iii 481.

11 At the monastery of Choziba five were laid in a single tomb (*Anal. Boll.* vii 368).

12 213, 467, 565 (?). Mention may be made of the obviously Theban ostrakon in C. Simonides *Facsimiles of certain portions &c.* Pl. XI (and p. 68), which has a list of names (sons and fathers), headed *ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως τῶν ψυχῶν κτλ.*, and which possibly served some liturgical purpose.

13 *Jême* nos. 65, 75 (*v.* Part II Appendix III).

14 *Ib.* no. 67, 51.

CHAPTER VII

WRITING MATERIALS

Five in number

THE materials upon which the present texts are written are in all five, though two of these are not represented by more than one or two specimens each: our no. 2 is upon parchment, our 616, 617 upon wood; all others are written either upon papyrus, or upon fragments of pottery or limestone chips, these two substances being usually classed together as "ostraca." Almost three-quarters of our texts are upon the former (some 455 pieces), less than one-eighth upon the latter, while papyrus was used for over one-sixth of the total. Two other substances are absent here: leather and paper. Coptic documents written upon leather are rare and, although several of those known came from the Theban neighborhood,¹ they belong to an age later than that with which we are concerned. Of paper no Coptic specimen has as yet been found at Thebes.²

No leather
or paper

Papyrus

The papyrus sheet used at Thebes for letters and shorter documents at this period is of moderate size; the largest, complete, in the present collection (163) is 18.5 by 33 cm.; one in Paris (*RE.* 5) is now 18 by 37.5 cm. and was once somewhat larger; another (*ST.* 193 = *BM.* 468), now 21 by 34 cm., was likewise larger when unbroken. But the fact that most of our pieces are to-day only fragments makes it unsafe to generalize as to customary dimensions.

Χάρτης

The name for papyrus is the Greek one, *χάρτης*; Coptic has no word which exclusively indicates it. In Bohairic *ⲭⲱⲙ* occasionally translates this,³ or corresponds to it in Sa'idic.⁴ On the other hand, *χάρτης* and *ⲭⲱⲙⲉ* are sometimes found contrasted⁵; the latter is now and then equivalent to "parchment volume."⁶ The word *χάρτης* survived as "document"

¹ *V.* *BM.* p. xv. The other leathern mss. are from Nubia: *Rec.* xxi 223. One Arabic deed of the 9th century is from Edfû: B. Moritz *Arabic Palaeography* p. 113.

² One paper document comes from further south: Aṣṣûn, *ed.* H. Thompson in *PSBA.* xxxiv 173; but this is of a far later date, when papyrus was no doubt out of fashion, even if still obtainable.

³ 2 *Joh.* 12.

⁴ *Cod. Vat.* lxii 162 = *Mus. Guim.* xxv 425, *MIE.* ii 417 = Budge *Apoc.* 123. Once only has the word "papyrus" been met with: *MS. Morgan* xxxvii 75, where, in his Encomium on Antony, John bishop of Shmoun refers to *ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲣⲱⲡ* ⲛ *ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ*, as growing in Egypt only.

⁵ *BM. Or.* 8800 *ⲡⲗ*, *ⲑⲛⲡⲉⲭ*. ⲛ *ⲑⲛⲡⲗ*. Cf. Zoega 475.

⁶ *Munier Catal.* 115.

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and is used of a paper ms.¹; it had much earlier been transferred to deeds upon leather.² Outside Egypt it is even applied to parchment.³

Papyrus came, it seems, from farther north. "If papyrus (χάρτης) be brought southward," says one writer,⁴ "fail not to buy a *tremis* (worth) for me." We meet with several requests in letters that some may be sent. "Send a small σκυτάλη,⁵ for I have no papyrus." "Be so helpful (ἀρι παρακλησις) as to give me 4 or 5 κολλήματα of papyrus," for none, this writer declares, is to be had here and he promises payment.⁶ To bishop Pesenthius himself a woman writes, begging him to send her a τομάριον of papyrus, whereon to write.⁷ Besides σκυτάλη and τομάριον we find, as a measure of papyrus, a new word, ελαμ, perhaps of foreign origin.⁸ Economy led sometimes to the washing and re-using,⁹ often to the use of the blank back of one letter for the writing of another.¹⁰ Papyrus had in fact become scarce at Thebes by now, though it must, in a somewhat later age, have been again easy enough to procure—witness the length and quality of the rolls used for the so-called Jême documents in the middle of the 8th century. Apologies for not using a clean (καθαρός) sheet are less common¹¹ than excuses for writing upon an ostrakon, in place of papyrus,¹² which clearly was the more ceremonious material. "Forgive me," says one letter, "that I have not found papyrus for the moment, fit for the honor of thy holiness."¹³ A remarkable instance of this apology is the ostrakon upon which a bishop excuses himself to his "dear sons" for not having found papyrus.¹⁴ His sons are presumably some civil dignitaries; he has been hindered from visiting them by the approach of the Paschal festival. Slightly more than half of the letters addressed to Epiphanius, all but one addressed to bishop Pesenthius are written upon papyrus.

Whence it came

The writing on these papyri begins almost invariably across the course of the fibers and, even where carried on to the other side of the sheet, it often continues to run thus by being set at right-angles to the writing on the first side. The text once written, the sheet was folded, addressed and tied, though the sequence of these processes is not easy now to determine; probably it would vary.¹⁵ Most usually the sheet appears to have been first folded several times, along the whole width of the sheet, rarely along only the right half of it.¹⁶ Next the address was written upon one or other of these folded surfaces, a more

Method of writing on it

of folding

of addressing

¹ *ÄZ.* lv 71 (13th century).

² *Jême* no. 73, 36.

³ Χάρτην βέβρανεν, A. Vassiliev *Anecdota* 339.

⁴ Imper. Russ. Archaeol. Soc. *Zapiski* xviii 026.

⁵ *Sic leg.*, no doubt, *ST.* 232. Cf. 395.

⁶ *BP.* 8729. The name of the measure seems to be κορημα, but is scarcely legible.

⁷ *Recueil*. . . *Champollion*, 1922, 495. In a Balaizah fragt. τομάριον appears as variant of κοντάκιον, in the headings of parallel monastic accounts.

⁸ *ST.* 270, 277, perhaps *CO.* Ad. 55: a quantity of bread, ελαμ ηκακε. Cf. ? Hebrew *alam* "bind." Τομάριον applies equally to parchment: *MIE.* ii 404; but in *CSCO.* 43, 184, οτωμαριον ηνωμ is evidently a roll of papyrus.

Of papyrus too its Arabic derivate طومار is used: e.g. Guest in *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xliii 248. Cf. Karabacek in *Mitth. Rainer* ii 102.

⁹ E.g. 327 (v. note to text), *RE.* 3, *ib.* 5 vo.

¹⁰ E.g. 136, *RE.* 7 and 8, BM. 468.

¹¹ Crum *Coptic MSS.* no. xii (from the Fayyûm).

¹² *CO.* 97 n. p. 49. If papyrus were not available, the message might be sent verbally: v. 281.




¹³ *ST.* 197.

¹⁴ Hall p. 63 *infra*, μπειρε εχα[ρτης].




¹⁵ The procedure is illustrated by the Pesenthius papyri, *RE.* 1, 6, 10, 16, 19, 28, 41, 54 &c., as well as by several in the present collection: 131, 133, 162, 184, 253, 431.

¹⁶ As in 198 (Part II Plate III), *ST.* 48, *RE.* 21.

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or less ornamental mark having been beforehand drawn midway on this surface. Sometimes the sheet was then folded, once or twice, at right-angles to the previous folds, and finally a narrow papyrus ribbon was passed round it, at a point indicated generally by the ornamental mark.¹ The appearance however of certain of these ornaments seems to need explanation. The lines and curves which compose them appear often broken or interrupted.² These interrupted lines suggest that in such cases the papyrus had been tied about with its ribbon before the address was written³ and that the ornamental mark being intentionally placed just at the point where the address met the ribbon, its design was drawn *upon* and *across* the latter. Consequently, when the ribbon was eventually untied, the pen lines would appear as broken. Since there is, among our letters, no evidence for the use of clay seals, usual upon the ribbon tying legal documents,⁴ we may perhaps suppose that a design such as  or  or , drawn across the ribbon, was accepted as a substitute for, or merely a reminiscence of, the elsewhere customary seal.⁵ Of this the *verso* of 198 offers an illustration. About a centimeter above the square ornament, which divides the address midway, and directly in the path of the ribbon, are the following marks:



If these broken lines be produced, they converge in a design of the type: . So in RE. 28, in an exactly similar position, the lines  if completed—when the ribbon was still in position—give .

That parchment books were familiar, though not yet common, we know from their occurrence in catalogues.⁶ But none is extant which can be traced to Thebes. Papyrus books may have been replaced by parchment; the bindings of the latter are often found padded with leaves from papyrus volumes.⁷ What the import may be of the terms *παλαιός*, *καινούργιος*, applied to papyrus books in Bouriant's catalogue, has not yet been decided.⁸

Potsherds (ostraca) were the every-day material for correspondence and minor documents. They were to be found upon all sides and in all varieties, from the most coarsely ribbed sorts⁹ to the quite smooth types, more or less thickly coated with a grey or yellow wash, though these latter were not much used before the 8th century.¹⁰ Examples of practically ribless ostraca are frequent in all the collections.¹¹ In dimensions too those used differ widely; the present collection contains probably the largest piece, bearing one of the longest texts yet found,¹² as well as some of the smallest, on which the whole consists of

¹ 131, 198 (Part II Plate III).

² The *verso* of 131 shows an example and so, particularly clearly, does that of BM. Or. 9525 (8); many are to be seen among the papyri from Ashmunain and the Fayyûm.

³ Even where there is no ornament this seems evident: v. 254, text.

⁴ Several of the Jême papyri in the British Museum had their seals attached when acquired.

⁵ It is worth noticing how this ornament, on the outside of letters from the Fayyûm, has sometimes the form of a roughly drawn Solomon's seal: BM. 547, 578, 630. Several facsimiles in A. Grohmann *Allgem. Einf. i. d. Arab. Papyri*, 1924, 77.

⁶ 554, ST. 162, 166, *Rec.* xi 132 ff.

⁷ E.g. BM. Or. 7558, which consists of fragmentary papyrus leaves from the Edfû volumes published by Budge.

⁸ That published in *Rec.* xi (v. below, p. 197). The word "new" in CO. Ad. 23 is possibly used in the same way.

⁹ E.g. Part II Plates XII 84, XIII 247, 336.

¹⁰ E.g. CO. Pl. II Ad. 4 and C. 8267, *Tor.* Pl. XI C. 26. On smooth-faced sherds scribes did not hesitate to write upon the rough surface, where the glaze had already been chipped off or had not extended: e.g. B KU. 124, ST. 277.

¹¹ In the present collection: Part II Pl. XII 9, 373, Pl. XIII 175.

¹² Part II Pl. XII 9.

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but a few words.¹ Ostraca were frequently washed and used again, sometimes more than once.² Whether the writer was generally content with the already broken sherds which lay around him we cannot tell; occasionally he may have broken one for his purpose and used the two fragments for separate letters.³ The natural *recto* of an ostrakon is its outer, convex side; the text but rarely overflows onto the back; if it does so, a warning *Verte* is now and then added, at the bottom of the *recto*.⁴ More rarely still another, independent text is written there. This occurs on a few literary ostraca,⁵ now and then on others,⁶ as in the case of a letter, on the *recto* (convex) of which was already a Greek legal text of approximately the same period.⁷ Where the two texts are letters, the second may be a sort of *postscript* to the other.⁸ In rare cases a complete text has been written twice upon one sherd. An interesting letter, for instance, written upon the convex of an ostrakon, is found also, in an entirely different hand and with notable dialectal variants, upon the concave.⁹ Perhaps the latter, in the less literary idiom, is the author's original, whence the more correct version on the *recto* was made. Sometimes it is clear that a letter, too lengthy for one ostrakon, has been continued upon a second.¹⁰ Now and then a small piece seems to have accompanied the main ostrakon, as a kind of introductory or covering note.¹¹

No Greek term is found here to designate ostraca; ὄστρεα alone is used, once with the seemingly superfluous epithet πλαστόν.¹² But in the later Greek literature from Egypt ὄστρακον is met with in this sense: in the well-known case of the hermit Anastasia, who announces her last illness by means of an ὄστρακον γεγραμμένον, set outside her cell¹³; or of another anchorite, who similarly uses one¹⁴; or of the silent hermit, who wrote his needs upon an ostrakon, which he handed to his disciple.¹⁵

Name for
ostraca

Besides potsherds, flakes or slices of white limestone were, as has been said, employed for writing. Their surface and general appearance was superior and for literary texts it is limestone which we find in favor, as well as for the more formal letters, especially at Deir el Bahri, where countless chips of the ancient masonry lay ready to hand. Beyond Thebes this material does not appear to have been used for writing. Among the largest limestone pieces is one bearing two charms and probably hung up as a protective amulet.¹⁶ It measures 24 by 26 cm. One inscribed with Psalm verses measures 15 by 33 cm.¹⁷ One of the smallest must be in the present collection.¹⁸ A limestone flake thus used is termed a πλάξ.¹⁹

Limestone
flakes

1 E.g. 235, 295, 512. V. p. 180 n. 13.

2 V. 210 A. 3 V. 343, 344, 374. 4 268 n.

5 E.g. 22 and 52, BKU. 180. 6 As in 270.

7 CO. 395, where mention of these facts was carelessly omitted.

8 As in Prof. Jéquier's ostrakon, referred to in 397 n. 2.

9 MMA. 24.6.4. Likewise our 191, while 214 and 215 are partly duplicates. In CO. 142 copies of a text (probably legal) upon three ostraca are spoken of.

10 298, 324, CO. 312, 401.

11 390. Cf. also Krall in WZKM. 1902, 257.

12 ST. 354. Distinguishing it from a limestone πλάξ?

13 ROC. v 51, 58 = Clugnet *Daniel* 2, 9.

14 PG. 87, 2957 B. Another instance, *ib.* 2983.

15 A Syriac text, cited by Bousset in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* xlii 27.

16 *Recueil*... Champollion, 1922, 544.

17 Hall Pl. 99 (35123). 18 612 (Part II Pl. XIV).

19 In Coptic otherwise "paving stone": Budge *Mari.* 25 = Hyvernat *Actes* 50, Budge *Misc.* 312. A curious use in Hyvernat *loc. cit.* 319. Stern had remarked upon the perversity of gender of this word as employed in Coptic (*ÄZ.* 1878, 18). Except in literature, it is fem. only in CO. 368, ST. 278.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Ostraca used
for all sorts of
texts

Although the repeated apologies for its employment clearly testify to the low estimation in which the ostrakon was held,¹ it was nevertheless the recipient, upon occasion, of every kind of text, from biblical excerpts to the humblest notes and lists. It is remarkable that, in the period preceding Christianity, this was not so: scarcely an ostrakon, whether of limestone or of pottery, from Greek or Roman times, bears anything but official documents of an inferior order—tax-receipts, with scarcely an exception.² Private documents, above all letters, of which, from Christian or Coptic times, we have countless numbers, are entirely lacking from the foregoing period. It is not easy to account for such a change otherwise than as a mere change of fashion, unless it were a falling off in the supply of papyrus in the 6th and 7th centuries and perhaps the difficulty of obtaining it in the desert, where dwelt the monks and hermits from whom so much of this correspondence emanates.

Used for
copies of papyri

One purpose which the ostrakon served was that of preserving handy copies of documents, whereof the official text was upon papyrus. When we find upon an ostrakon the text of a deed, as well as the signatures of its various witnesses, written all by a single hand,³ it may be assumed that we have before us a copy of the official text, taken by or for one of the persons interested. So too, when the text written upon an ostrakon is there alluded to as "this papyrus" (χάρτης),⁴ it is evident that the papyrus is meant from which this copy was taken. Ostraca, on the other hand, were themselves accepted as legally valid: in many instances the text of a contract, or the form used by its witnesses or scribe refers to "this sherd," drawn up in presence of the magistrate and evidently regarded as itself the decisive document.⁵ Sometimes copies of a legal agreement or decision were multiplied on several sherds.⁶

For magical
texts

The magical use of ostraca is not, as it happens, illustrated in the present collection,⁷ unless we reckon as such the Letter to Abgar⁸; but several examples are to be seen elsewhere.⁹ And not in Egypt alone; besides the inscribed sherd, cast into the Nile to effect the river's rise,¹⁰ we read of them thrown into the sea to prevent storms,¹¹ laid in the stall to protect the cattle¹² and buried in a field to rid it of weeds.¹³

Palaeography

The scribes who used these materials wrote hands of many, widely differing types. Our chronological *data* being, as has been said, but vague, it would be difficult to classify these hands according to age. We can at most hope to distinguish such as are indisputably

¹ Among a score or more of such apologies, only two (CO. 49, Hall p. 63 *inf.*) refer to limestone. It was evidently to the potsherds that indignity attached.

² Coptic tax-receipts from a later age are plentiful (CO. 409 ff. and in all the collections), but on our site they were not to be expected.

³ ST. 41, CO. 310, Hall Pl. 100 (14080).

⁴ Tur. 4, ST. 435 ll. 15-17 ἀιστάει πειχάρτης (*sic*, original seen since publication).

⁵ E.g. CO. 40, 160, 165, 203, 315, Tor. 12, BKU. 71, PSBA. xxxiii Pl. 49. Muslim litigants sometimes wrote their complaints upon sherds, which they handed to the

judge (Karabacek in *Mitth. Rainer* v 64).

⁶ CO. 142.

⁷ On other remnants of Christian magic from Thebes v. below, p. 207.

⁸ 50.

⁹ CO. 490, ST. 398, 399, 400, *Recueil... Champollion* p. 544, perhaps Tur. 20.

¹⁰ *Nuzhat al Qulûb*, Le Strange, transl., 204.

¹¹ *Byz. Zeitschr.* ii 292.

¹² F. Pradel *Griechische... Gebete* (127) 379.

¹³ Heim *Incant. Graeco-barbara* no. 171 (in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* Suppl. xix).

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contemporary with persons or events—Epiphanius, bishop Pesenthius, Damianus the patriarch, the Persian invasion—whereof the dates are otherwise ascertained. Our Plates show, for example, a number of papyrus letters addressed to Epiphanius¹ and one referring to the Persians²; further there appear, among the scribes of our texts, a few whose hands can confidently be identified with hands occurring in the Pesenthiian *dossier* at the Louvre and thus contemporary with him³; while some others of our scribes most probably, if not certainly, recur among the Pesenthiian texts.⁴ With these fixed points we may then connect certain other papyri and ostraca, wherein either the above historical figures themselves, or other persons known to have been their contemporaries, are referred to. And one or two further deductions are permissible from internal evidence. The most frequent hand of all, that of **I** and the list given there, probably belongs to a period other than that of Epiphanius and Pesenthius, for in no case does this scribe name either of them.⁵ Whether he lived before or after them it is not easy to say, for although over half the ostraca written by him were found in the modern rubbish heaps, one or two (including the letter **260**) came from strata which, being among the deepest in the site, should indicate a relatively early period, previous to that of Epiphanius, whose correspondence was mostly found at later levels. And nevertheless, from these same, presumably early strata comes at least one piece mentioning Epiphanius and perhaps a second.⁶ One cannot but hesitate to draw inferences from such meager and discordant evidence. A like hesitation is unavoidable after comparing the records of *provenance* in the cases of other, oft-recurring correspondents, such as the couple Isaac and Elias,⁷ letters to whom came to light at seven points in the site; or Joseph,⁸ letters in whose hand were collected from eight separate points. It seems thus obvious that to attempt, as regards scripts, any table of priority, based upon relative antiquity among the places of finding, would be scarcely practicable. One of the few facts of relative chronology which we might regard as ascertained is the age of the ostrakon **3** and its fellows,⁹ which Evelyn-White tells¹⁰ of having found, collected upon a mat by the last occupants of Cell A—assuming of course that ostraca then in use were ostraca recently written, which again would be difficult of demonstration.¹¹

Our Plates display the diversities of script which appear to have been all in fashion at much the same period and which can be illustrated as well from ostraca as from papyri.

Fixed points

Problems as to relative chronology

Types of script here exemplified

¹ Part II Plates II **163**, III **131**, **198**, IV **111**, **458** (?), V **106**, **133**, VI **162**, **200**; also an ostrakon, Pl. XIII **336**.

² Part II Pl. VII **433**.

³ These are: **84**, **135** (= *RE.* 52), **136** II, **269** (= *RE.* 12 *bis*), **410**, **460**, **494** (= *RE.* 2 and 32), and a discarded fragment (MMA. 14.1.497 = *RE.* 55). Some of these identities were recognized since the printing of Part II.

⁴ Cf. **142** and *RE.* 39, **270** and *RE.* 1.

⁵ *V.* Winlock p. 36 n. above. On the following dilemmas cf. his observations p. xxv above.

⁶ **360** and **454**

⁷ *V.* **110** n.

⁸ *V.* **245**.

⁹ *V.* list there.

¹⁰ At **598**.

¹¹ The script here has indeed a disconcerting similarity with that of *Jême* no. 106 (which it is impossible to judge from Revillout's uncouth facsimile), dated 735 (properly 732) A.D. It might thus supply a chronological argument of importance for the history of our community. The more probable inference however is as to the long persistence of this type of hand.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Beginning with the purely book-scripts shown by papyri,¹ wall frescoes,² graffiti³ and here and there an ostrakon,⁴ and passing by examples of sloping, semi-uncial types,⁵ used for private letters as well as for literary texts, and, in one variety, common upon ostraca⁶ as well as on papyri,⁷ we arrive at hands with relatively few ligatures⁸ and eventually some with a more marked tendency towards them.⁹ But no Coptic hands of this period are ligatured to the extent to which they became so within the following century and a half, as exemplified by some of the Jême papyri and the contemporary tax-receipts.¹⁰ Indeed in the present collection ligatured hands—at any rate upon ostraca—would appear to be rarer even than elsewhere¹¹; but this may be due in part of course to the chances of excavation and partly perhaps to the absence of legally trained scribes (notaries) among our monkish writers, who would lack any calligraphic tradition, beyond that acquired in the practice of transcribing books. Our Greek ostraca, on the other hand, include examples of a fully developed ligatured script.¹² A Greek papyrus, which shows one of the commonest types of running hand of this epoch, was, as it happens, not written at Thebes.¹³

Greek hands

Ostraca used
for practice
in writing

Plenty of specimens show us finally a humbler use to which both limestone and pottery were put; they were the materials upon which learners practised writing.¹⁴ The script in such cases naturally varies in clumsiness, whether the pupil merely copies out the alphabet,¹⁵ or ventures on biblical verses,¹⁶ or literary pieces. The Museum possesses a good example of the latter in a board, whereon is laboriously written out a long passage from The Song of Songs.¹⁷ Our 12 shows a similar hand, as does a writing-board in the British Museum.¹⁸ A stage somewhat advanced in penmanship beyond these, yet still uncouth and very frequent, is illustrated here.¹⁹ We are not however obliged to suppose such unskilled performers to be but learners; doubtless many a monk but rarely used a pen and never attained to any fluency.

Women writers

A certain number of documents and letters have women for their authors²⁰; are the

1 Part II Pl. IV 21, 43, 411, Pls. VIII, IX. The close similarity of script between the books 21, 43 and the letter 198 (Pl. III) suffices to show that the former were contemporary work, not older books preserved. The scribe of 198 was evidently capable of real calligraphy.

2 Hyvernât *Album* viii 5, i.e. our Appendix I D.

3 Part II, facsimiles of 635, 658, 585, 586.

4 Part II Pl. XI 203, CO. p. 84 (lithogr.) E 133, E 206; some in the present collection not reproduced, as 75, 228.

5 Part II Pls. I, XV, XVII 578, Hall Pl. 16 rev.

6 Part II Pls. XI, XII 84, 477.

7 Part II Pl. V 133, 269.

8 Part II Pls. II, III 131, V 106, VI 162.

9 Part II Pls. VI 244, XII 182, XIII 336. A few papyri not reproduced here show the ligatured element yet more prominently: 129 II, 135, 254.

10 CO. p. 84 (lithogr.) P 5, Hall Pls. 86, 87.

11 E.g. CO. Part II Pl. II 48, 78, 300, Hall Pls. 54 (20035), 66 (29757).

12 Part II Pl. XIV 611, 612, 620.

13 Part II Pl. X 624. There are further examples of just this type among the Phillipps fragments and in the Pesenthius dossier (assuming Louvre R. 102 to belong by rights to this).

14 Instruction in writing and reading is the subject of two ostraca from Thebes, which however show no connection with the life of hermits there. The writers (one of them a monk) testify that a teacher has taught a certain priest's son, as promised, and is therefore entitled to his fee—a *trimision* (OLZ. 1903, 67). The beginning of a letter is extant from a monk (a coenobite apparently) to a παιδοδιδάσκαλος (ST. 340). The Pachomian Rule enjoined that novices should be taught to read: (Hieron.) §§ cxxxix, cxi, but nothing is there said as to writing.

15 Hall Pls. 28, 29.

16 BP. 740 has ἀποστὲ ψαχε εὔμεν (? Ps. lix 6 or cvii 7), twelve times copied, in a very unskilled hand.

17 Ch. viii 5-14, MMA. 14.1.218, bought at Luxor.

18 Hall Pl. 100 *infra*.

19 Part II Pl. XIII 180.

20 V. Part II Index p. 375.

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authoresses their own scribes? One of our letters is in the joint names of two women, of whom one expressly says that she writes with her own hand¹; another, likewise from two women, shows two distinct hands, presumably those of the two authoresses.² But the script of women's letters does not in type differentiate itself from the rest. In some cases the authoress has employed a scribe, who gives his name.³ One graffito is possibly by a woman.⁴ The fee for writing a legal document upon an ostrakon is given as a bushel of ἀπαρχή, whatever that ambiguous word may here mean.⁵

Scribe's fee

In the Theban district there must have been about this time no little activity in the making of papyrus books, if we may judge by the amount of remnants that have survived. From our texts we may gather something as to this industry.⁶ That papyrus probably came from farther north we have already seen and have found references to the purchase of it. Requests for the writing of specified books occur now and then. One writer wishes enquiries made of a priest and "calligraph" respecting a Psalter, which the latter had been commissioned to write, while he speaks of himself providing the skin for the binding.⁷ Elsewhere the order for a large piece of work is given, somewhat curtly: "Be so good and write the Minor Prophets and the Judges."⁸ A more plausible interpretation of these words does not suggest itself. It seems unlikely that mere lists of the names should be intended, unless possibly as a charm. It is to be noted that the recipient here is most reverently addressed. Another letter apologizes for delay in sending the book which had long since been completed,⁹ while one in the present work seems to be from a scribe awaiting instructions as to what book it is he shall write¹⁰; and the steward of Saint Menas's church asks that the book, which he had presumably commissioned the deacon whom he addresses to write, may, if completed, be brought him¹¹ without delay, since he requires it for the Forty Days (fast). Pagination was added after the writing of the text, as may be clearly seen in a Phillipps papyrus, where the figures ρνα, ρνα were inserted, in a different ink and hand, whereas the ornamental frames around them are the work of the original penman. The process of piercing and stitching together the leaves is alluded to in a letter likewise addressed to "thy holy fatherhood,"¹² to whom the book is being sent for that purpose. The visible stitching of our papyrus book¹³ well illustrates this. What precisely is meant by

Books of papyrus: their writing, stitching and binding

1 386.

2 170. The long letter, *RE.* 28, by two women, is written throughout in a single, bold and often ligatured hand. *ST.* 387 (from "Tomb 95") shows two letters, by a man and a woman respectively; but the former (the Joseph of our 245) is scribe of both.

3 336.

4 646.

5 The document, *ST.* 38, is an ἐπιτροπή.

6 A number of facts relating to Coptic book-making are collected in *BM. Introduction* pp. xiv, xv.

7 *Imper. Russ. Archaeol. Soc. Zapiski* xviii 026. Two Greek words employed here remain obscure, despite Lemm's suggestions (*Miscel.* xlv).

8 Hall p. 77 *supra*. The facsimile allows of πεκρίτης.

9 *CO.* 252. Reference to termination of a scribe's, rather than merely of a reader's, task seems probable. *Cf.* p. 181.

10 387. But here again there is some ambiguity. "Book" can mean either the material written upon, or the text thereon written.

11 *ST.* 217, using οἶω transitively, as in *Mus. Guim.* xvii 328 (= *κην*, *ib.* 103), *Budge Mart.* 207, 21 &c.

12 *CO.* Ad. 50, reading ψαλμῳ, not ψαλμῳ. If ψαλμῳ be the verb, the meaning would be "punctuate." *Cf.* στίζειν in *BM.* 704, as in *PG.* 65, 132 B &c.

13 *V.* Part II Pl. I.

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“adorn” (κοσμεῖν) is not clear¹: whether illumination of the text with colored initials &c.—though in Theban papyrus books nothing of the kind has hitherto been noticed—or ornamentation of the leather binding. The extant bindings from other districts, notably those from the Fayyûm,² from the White Monastery³ and from Edfû,⁴ are indeed plentifully “adorned” and the two specimens found at Thebes are decorated in the same style.⁵ Goat-skins were used for the outer binding⁶ and between this leather and the board inside it composed of waste papyrus was, occasionally, a thin layer of mixed clay and hashed straw, to which one of our texts perhaps alludes.⁷ The craft of book-binding was learnt, together with that of the scribe, by the boy Pesenthus, eventually bishop of Ermont.⁸ Thongs for books are mentioned, but their purpose is uncertain; they may have served to hold the volume closed, or to suspend it.⁹ Another term obscurely used is ροειρ “sheath,” which we find in this connection, without being able as yet to explain it.¹⁰ For there is no evidence that bound books in Egypt were at this period enclosed in outer leathern cases, although the custom in later days, both there and in Ethiopia, might suggest that it had formerly prevailed. In the library catalogue of the White Monastery books “without sheath” are entered.¹¹

Payment for
books

Payment for books, written to order or merely bought, is the subject of several letters: once the price of a Psalter is in question,¹² elsewhere those of other books.¹³ In one case “the price of the whole book” (which contained the Minor Prophets and no doubt other scriptures) is given as 10,010, the name of some small coin being understood.¹⁴ The cost of the skin for the binding is here said to be excluded from the price.

Libraries

Monasteries, in the usual acceptance of that term, such as Saint Phoebammon’s, had libraries (βιβλιοθήκη), wherein documents and presumably books also, were kept.¹⁵ Whether

¹ 381. To the note there add reference to Bousset *Apophthegmata* 82.

² Hyvernat *Check-list of Pierpont Morgan MSS.* Pl. II.

³ Whence the two wonderful papyrus volumes, Budge’s *Earliest Coptic Psalter* and *Coptic Homilies*, are stated to have come (Budge *By Nile and Tigris* ii 333, 340). The statement of a Siût dealer to the present writer in 1898, that these were found in ruins at El Mashai’ah, 10 m. S. of Abûtiġ, is presumably unreliable.

⁴ Budge *Misc.* Introduction.

⁵ BM. 325 and Leyden (Anastasy no. 9) p. 441. The Theban origin of the first of these is practically certain, that of the second is vouched for in the *Catal... des Antiquités Coptes*, 1900, p. 31.

⁶ V. 380. The allusion here must be to book-binding—only a single skin is required—although ϣααρ seems sometimes to stand for “parchment”: Budge *Misc.* 221, Vat. lvii 271 vo. (Chrysostom *In Titum*).

⁷ 392.

⁸ V. p. 136.

⁹ RE. 76 bis, πειμοϣ πταϣωλπ ϣπεϣωμε παπ μππϣρα (*sic leg.*, v. 368 n.). ϣρα ? for σέρα, “hasp,

fastening”; σειρά, though common in this literature, is hard to fit in here. Should our 373 be interpreted literally and referred here? Observe the thongs upon the BM. Psalter, *ed.* Budge pp. x, xi, and his *Homilies* (BM. 171) p. xiv; perhaps also the four loops upon the outer cover of the Leyden volume, referred to above. That it was with thongs that books were closed is to be gathered from the words μοϣρ, *lit.* “bind, tie,” used for closing a volume (Budge *Misc.* 451), and ελωλ ελωλ, *lit.* “loosen, untie,” for opening it (Rossi *Nuov. Cod.* 41, BM. 1224 &c.). οϣων in Lu. iv 17 seems due merely to the Greek. With μοϣρ *cf.* *ligatum* in *Reg. Pachom.* (Hieron.) §§ lxxxii and c.

¹⁰ RE. 22.

¹¹ *Journ. Theol. St.* v 564.

¹² CO. 248. The amount is not named.

¹³ ST. 217, 256 (?). In *ib.* 318 (already published by Winstedt in *PSBA.* xxix 320) a book is to be valued and its worth ascertained: εϣμπϣα πω (for οϣ).

¹⁴ ST. 163.

¹⁵ *Jême Index II s.v.*, BM. p. xv (references to the library of the White Monastery).

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the niches or cupboards (*θυρίς, θυρίδιον, πρῶτον*), in which we read of books being ranged,¹ were a feature in such libraries, or whether mere cupboards in some other room themselves constituted the "library," remains as yet doubtful.²

¹ *Reg. Pachom.* (Hieron.) *ut supra*, Βίος Παχουμ. § 38, *ROC.* 1909, 361 (228). In Nitria whitewashed bookshelves are mentioned: *PG.* 65, 128 B.

² *MIF.* xxiii 210, which enjoins that the ms. shall be kept in *πρῶτον πηλωμα*, points to the latter as the case.

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE

Sources of
information

THE literature read by Theban ascetics about the year 600 could not but be Coptic for the most part. What still survived in Greek was primarily for liturgical uses, though a few Greek pieces seem to be school exercises. Some notion, obviously incomplete, of the Coptic works familiar at this period would be obtained (1) from the actual remains, in the form of manuscripts or of ostraca, of the works then read, (2) from lists of books to be found among our documents and (3) from chance references occurring in the texts, be it in sermons or in private letters.

Book-lists

It is the second of these classes which, as it happens, supplies us with the fullest information; for among the lists of books, preserved upon Theban ostraca, one is of such uncommon length and interest, that for our present purpose, it alone surpasses in value all our other sources. We shall however not deal with this document separately, but, drawing upon all our material at once, shall offer a combined list of the works named in them. Having to decide upon the limits of what are to be here treated as "Theban" sources, we have thought it justifiable to include the various papyri in the British Museum which, it is practically certain, came, in the early part of the last century, from Thebes¹: among them, those of the Harris collection, subsequently Mr. Martin Kennard's and now BM. Or. 7561, together with a few from the same source in the Munich Library.² With the British Museum's early series are also connected various fragments in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham. The papyri recently acquired by Mr. Pierpont Morgan from Lady Amherst³ have perhaps

Remains of
papyrus
volumes

¹ An earlier claim to Theban *provenance* was made for the fragment of the Acts of St. Coluthus, published in 1781 by Stefano Borgia. This had been procured, in 1778, from a ruined monastery *prope Thebas* (*Fragm. Copt. &c.* pp. 3, 4, reprinted in Georgi's *De Mirac. S. Coluth.* p. 3). But this frag. is in fact part of the same ms. as Paris 129¹⁶ ff. 21-25, which are presumably from the White Monastery. Similarly Georgi's *Fragm. Evang. S. Iohan.*, claimed as of the same *provenance*, is simply a White Monastery ms.

(v. Zoega p. 184 no. 65). Balestri's grounds for distinguishing one portion of this ms. from the other seem inadequate (*Sacr. Bibl. Fragm.* iii p. xxxiv; cf. Tabb. 20, 21).

² These are the fragments copied by Des Rivières, about 1845; v. *PSBA.* xxv 267, xxviii 137, and *BIF.* v 88, where the description of them which he sent to Harris is reprinted by E. Galtier.

³ Published in Crum's *Theological Texts*, 1913.

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equal claims to be here considered, for they too are probably of Theban origin; but reasons of space and the fact that they have been fully published already may excuse their being left out of account.

The important ostrakon (or rather limestone flake) above referred to is that whereof the text was published by U. Bouriant.¹ It will be here designated as *B*, with the same sequence-numeral following in each citation as is given in the edition. The catalogue is strangely prefaced by the deacon's words in the Mass: Προσεύξασθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς(ς) καὶ ἀποστολικῆς(ς) ἐκκλησίας. Its title is: "The list (λόγος) of the holy books of the τόπος of Apa Elias of the Rock."² Its first division contains 33 entries, almost exclusively biblical. The next contains 24, described as "The books that were given unto Kalapesius the second time, in the year of the 1st Indiction" (*i.e.* presumably, the second instalment in a single year). These are patristic works. The last section is headed: "Those that came in to the holy τόπος, in addition to the aforesaid, are the following"³; it consists of 22 miscellaneous books, including one or two biblical, lacking from the original list and probably for that reason acquired later. This last section has an entry which suggests that the list is contemporary with the rest of our material.⁴

A long book
catalogue

I. It would be superfluous to enumerate the canonical books, for, from one of our sources or another, all can be collected (*B* alone contains all, excepting Eccl., Song, Lam., Ezek.). We will merely note certain of the more interesting facts. The Books of Chronicles figure in *B* 8 and a scrap of their text actually survives in our 5, but as yet no other evidence for the Sa'idic version is known. "The Ezras" (ἱεσσαρα) are named in *B* 9 and a fragment of text has in fact been found at the White Monastery.⁵ Our list of names drawn thence⁶ may be derived of course as well from a Coptic as from a Greek text. The ostrakon *BP*. 1069 is a fragmentary list of extra-canonical books, with the number of chapters following each, and is interesting in this connection. We print it so far as legible: εσσα ἱεσοῦθηνλ [?] | τσοφια ἡψινρε ἡ|σιραχ λε τσοφια ἡ|σολομωη 17 (verso) τα... [2 illegible lines ἡμακκα] ἡδῖος κϥ [?] τα12αδσκαλ[ικη] κϥ. The name here of Ezra's father, Southiel, should indicate the ultimate source of the Ethiopic version of at any rate 4 Esdras; for there (in the older of the texts),⁷ in place of Salathiel, we read Sutael.⁸ In this same ostrakon are also named the Books of the Maccabees. So far only a single, minute fragment of their Coptic text has been recognized and that at the White Monastery.⁹ The version

Biblical books

1 In *Rec.* xi 132. A photograph, kindly supplied by the *Institut Français* at Cairo, shows that the edition is remarkably accurate. The notes upon the text, *CO.* p. xix n., now need some rectification.

2 Reading **тпє[тра]**, for which there is exactly space. Cf. above, p. 113.

3 Cf. **ει εροση εση-** similarly in *Jême* no. 67, 50, 57, no. 68, 43; and for this use of **ση-** cf. *Ps.* lxxviii 27.

4 *V.* below, p. 203 (Pesenthius), p. 204 (Shenoute).

5 *ÄZ.* xli 137.

6 581.

7 *V. B. Violet Die Ezraapok.* (Griech. Chr. Schriftst., 1910) p. 2.

8 So too in the *Synaxarium*, *PO.* vii 258, where the person commemorated is clearly the author of 4 Esdras. Cf. also *Ludolf Comment.* 421. (On p. 430, x, Ludolf confounds Esdras and Isidore of Pelusium.)

9 Paris 132³ f. 171, which shows 4 Macc. ii 6, perhaps from a lectionary (?), since the subscription following this verse is "The Book of the Maccabees, in the peace of God. Amen."

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of Job displayed in some Theban fragments¹ appears to differ somewhat from the well-known Sa'idic text shown in the White Monastery mss. and edited by Ciasca.

Of the few Greek biblical texts found at Thebes nothing need be said here, beyond pointing out the liturgical character of the specimens which the present as well as the other like collections include. The famous papyrus Psalter, Codex *U* (here 578), however, can hardly be so regarded. On the persistence of Greek in the liturgies see below. Here should be mentioned the Lectionaries which figure in *B* 23–26, where they are entitled *καταμέρος*, probably the earliest occurrence of that term yet noticed.² Remnants of lectionaries from Thebes are BM. Or. 7561, 65 and perhaps *ib.*, 1–23.³

Liturgical
works

II. Nothing has survived of liturgical books, strictly so-called, from Thebes, unless it be our 43, and this may have belonged to a volume of Canons.⁴ Our catalogue, at *B* 52, contains what is apparently a service for Epiphany, possibly something similar to the *Blessing of the Waters*, edited by Lord Bute and Dr. Budge, 1901.⁵ Liturgical would be the puzzling entries *B* 49, 50, supposing their title to mean “The *κατηχήσεις* of the Funeral (Service),”⁶ perhaps something similar to the formal orations (*marthīyah*) which figure in the Bohairic funeral office.⁷ The sole remnants of a Coptic liturgical text upon papyrus are in the Phillipps Library⁸ and of these the script is so informal that we should imagine the ms. to have been merely a roughly copied extract and not part of a volume. These fragments show the petitions for clergy and celebrant in the Mass,⁹ in phraseology differing from that of any extant Anaphora. The remaining prayers—and there are a good number of them—are all upon ostraca: some in Greek, some in Coptic. We cannot here do more than enumerate them. Comparison with the published parallels shows, in every case, wide divergence of detail.

a. Greek Prayers from the Mass:—*CO.* 516 (priest's *apologia*), Hall pp. 15 (Thanksgiving, cf. Brightman 131), 51 (33182, deacon, before Gospel: Brightman 119), *ST.* 21, 24 (unidentified). Coptic Prayers:—*CO.* 4 (Preface and *Sanctus*), 5 (Kiss of Peace), 6 (Inclination), 7 (?), Hall pp. 24 *inf.* = 138 *rev.* (after Incense: Brightman 152), 138 *obv.* (for inundation and fruits: Brightman 127, 167),¹⁰ *ST.* 19 (?), 20 (? Absolution),¹¹ Rossi in Turin *Atti* 1895,

¹ BM. 939.

² Relatively early is the instance in Vatic. Ivii, f. 33 *a*, where the substantive *πικαταμέρος* translates *καθ' ἑκάστον μέρος* in PG. 58, 757. Cf. also τὸ κατὰ μέρος in the Βίος Παχουμ. § 11.

³ V. Horner's *Coptic Version, Sahidic* iii 344 g.

⁴ Perhaps we may record here a vellum scrap, brought by Prof. Sayce from Kûs, showing the heading “[The] Anaphora of the [holy Apa] Severus,” which recalls the “Canon of father Severus, the great Patriarch,” already in use in the diocese of Hou in the 6th century: *Synax.*, PO. xi 686 = *Miss.* iv 513. On the Anaphora of Severus cf. Baumstark in *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewissensch.* ii 92 ff.

⁵ Cf. BM. 833. But “The Festival of the Epiphany” might be taken here to mean a book of Homilies proper to that occasion.

⁶ It is difficult to justify any other translation. *πρωως*, *πρωως* certainly has no connection with the town of Kûs, as Bouriant assumed; but neither is the noun *ρωως* used in Sa'idic for “preparation for burial,” as in Bohairic (e.g. Gen. 13, *Testam. Abrah.* 255). In Sa'idic it means “a corpse.” The title here is therefore literally “The Homily of the Corpse.”

⁷ BM. 846. Three of these pieces are printed at the end of the *Kitâb al Tagnîz*, Cairo, AM. 1621.

⁸ No. 16402, in frames 1 and 18.

⁹ Cf. Brightman 130, 173.

¹⁰ This prayer begins: *ⲧⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ (ⲙ)ⲙⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟ (sic) ⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ (ⲙ)ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲩⲩ ⲡⲓⲧⲥⲓⲟ &c.*

¹¹ *Verso*, overlooked, shows].ϥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲉⲃⲟ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲧ ⲡⲉ[and]ⲁ ⲡⲡⲉⲕⲁⲩⲁⲃⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲟ[.

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p. 804 (Thanksgiving, quoting Pss. xxxviii 12, ci 1 (?), xciv 2), *BP.* 709 (for Peace), *ib.* 1086 (prefatory to Communion), *ib.* 9444 + 4970 (at Morning Incense).

b. Prayers extraneous to the Mass:—Hall p. 23 (for a monk, on taking the *σχῆμα*, not in Tuki's *Euchologion*), *Tur. Mater.* no. 11 (to a saint, for his intercession to preserve from "schism and heresy"), *ST.* 17 (for the present monastic community), 18 (for the monastery), 23 (to Michael, ? an amulet, Greek). Our 46, 47, 48 (all copies of the same) appear to be a prayer attributed to Shenoute; 44 and 45 await identification. It may finally be noted that the writer of a letter speaks of sending a "book of prayers" (*προσευχαί*).¹

These scanty remnants contribute something towards the evidence, gradually accumulating, for a form (or forms) of liturgy differing considerably in Southern Egypt from those since early days and still familiar in the north. The relation between the types here represented and those current, for instance at the White Monastery, remains yet to be investigated.

Among a large number of Hymns, chiefly in Greek, the most noteworthy are the bilinguals in 592. The seventeen pieces following it are all in Greek, as are likewise *CO.* 517, 518, 519, 521, *Ad.* 39, *ST.* 26, 27, Hall pp. 17 (27421, to a martyr apparently (*cf.* our 594), opening with 1 Tim. vi 12), 22, 46 *rev.*, 137 (to a martyred or persecuted bishop), *BP.* 247 + 1227, Strassburg ostrakon *ed.* Reitzenstein.² Among these are hymns of several sorts: anthems, *troparia*, various forms of the *trisagion*, besides the long acrostical pieces in 592 and 593.³ Like the Prayers, they invite comparison with the large quantity of material now available from other Sa'idic but non-Theban sources.

III. *Apophthegmata*.—Evidence of acquaintance with these is given by the book-list *CO.* *Ad.* 23 and the letters *ib.* 250, 252, in which "The Paradise," "The Paradise of Shiêt," "The Paradise of Nitria" (these two evidently distinct collections) are named. "The Elders of Shiêt," *B* 38, doubtless points to something of this class.⁴ Now and then we meet with a single apophthegm written upon an ostrakon.⁵

Homiletic &c.
(in alphabetical
order)

Athanasius.—Besides the Letter to Monks (our 585), we have in *B* the mention of several works: 77, "Concerning Priests and Monks," possibly the *Σύνταγμα διδασκαλίας*, "to monks and all Christians, both cleric and lay." No surviving treatise bears a title more applicable. 54, *Κηρύγματα*, doubtless the Festal Letters.⁶ 69, "A Discourse wherein he spake with the Philosophers." Since this has "philosophers" in the plural, the Letter to Maximus (*PG.* 26, 1085) is out of the question. Moreover the title suggests a dialogue.

¹ *BKU.* 301.

² *Zwei Religionsgesch. Fragen* 115.

³ *CO.* 514, 515 perhaps also liturgical versicles.

⁴ To the references already given in *CO.* 250 n. add *ROC.* 1906, 67: a novice is expected to read "the Book of the Paradise of our cross-bearing Fathers." It may be observed that the citations in the Encomium on Pesenthus (*MIE.* ii 339, 362) correspond respectively to *PG.* 65, 141 (6?), and 193 (25): a fact not without interest for the

chronology of this literature; *cf.* Bousset *Apophth.* 68 n. (also Peeters in *Anal. Boll.* xlii 434). 5 *ST.* 35.

⁶ *V. CO.* 18 n., adding that *ἐγκύκλιον*, there cited from the Encom. on Pesenthus, corresponds to *κήρυγμα* in the parallel Sa'idic, since published (Budge *Apoc.* 105), thus establishing the meaning. Further, *cf.* *κηρύσσειν* used of the Pascha in Lemm *KKS.* 296 and in *BM. Or.* 8810, 8811, "the 40 days that are proclaimed (*κηρύσσειν*) throughout all the land."

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And this might suggest that we here have the independent form of that much discussed disputation which occupies so large a place in Athanasius's *Vita Antonii* (§§ 72–80) and which, it has been plausibly surmised,¹ may there be but an interpolation. Our 51 is an extract from the Homily which deals with Drunkenness,² while our 49 cites that upon (the Passion and) the Cross. *B* 32 records a “little book of Ἐξηγήσεις,” without further title.³ *BKU*. 291 is a letter containing a quotation from Athanasius.⁴

Basil of Caesarea.—Quoted in 52. Unnamed works by him perhaps in 554.

Cyril (of Alexandria).—*B* 67, “A Discourse on the End (solution) of the Fast.” We assume this to be Cyril of Alexandria, although neither to him, nor to Cyril of Jerusalem is any work with comparable title attributed.⁵ Extracts in Coptic from his doctrinal writings are in our Appendix I (Part II) and in Greek we have his Anathemas (586). An ostracon with book-list⁶ recorded an exegetical work of his.

Damianus of Alexandria.—Beyond his *Synodicon* (Part II Appendix I *A*), we have only references to his Festal Letters (53, 55, *CO*. 18, 249, *Ad*. 59).

Discourses.—*B* 79, “Other small books of selected Discourses” (λόγοι).

Dogmatical Works.—Our 554 has this entry.⁷ One might assume collections of controversial *testimonia* to be intended, such as were in later ages popular in Egypt and in Ethiopia.

Esaias the Exegete.—*B* 80, *CO*. 402, *ST*. 29. Whether in 557, *CO*. *Ad*. 23 Esaias of Scete or Isaiah the Prophet is in question it is impossible to say.⁸

Evagrius Ponticus.—*CO*. 252, *WZKM*. 1902, 257,⁹ also our 554 and perhaps 393, *q.v.*

Gregory Nyssen.—*ST*. 31 names him and contains perhaps a citation from him.

John Chrysostom.—Letter to Basil, on a renegade brother, *PSBA*. xxix 316. This might prove to be from the Epistles to Theodore¹⁰; it has yet to be examined. *B* 61 and 64 are “Books of Discourses of Apa John,” whom we should assume to be Chrysostom, were not that surname or the title “archbishop” always found added, in Coptic texts, to the saint's name. Indeed in *B* 60 he is styled “John of Constantinople,” possibly with the object of differentiating him from the namesake whose discourses are entered under 61 and 64. Yet, despite these facts, one is inclined to see in the latter Chrysostom, whose works were so widely popular in Egypt.¹¹

Pachomius.—*B* 37, “On the End of the Community” (κοινωνία). No such title suits

¹ By Butler *Hist. Laus.* i 227.

² Perhaps the same as a text in Turin: Lemm *KKS*. 272.

³ Cf. the use of the same word *s.v.* Shenoute, below.

⁴ Among lost works passing under his name was a Life of Paul the Hermit, quoted in the *Synaxar.*, 2nd Amshîr, *PO*. xi 780.

⁵ Unless the Discourse on Low (New) Sunday by Cyril Hieros. (MS. Morgan xxxiv) could be intended.

⁶ *Rec.* xxxiv 160.

⁷ But *v.* note 8 there. Crum *Coptic MSS.* no. xiii 8

has πτωμε πδοματιον (*sic leg.*).

⁸ Esaias Abbas was popular at the White Monastery (BM. p. 519, Wessely no. 276) and in Nitria (Evelyn-White *New Texts &c.* App. I).

⁹ The Παροιμίαι there named have not yet been identified among his reputed works.

¹⁰ Whereof a Coptic version existed: BM. 981.

¹¹ On other writers named John known to the Copts *v.* Ryl. 65 and *Papyruscodex* p. xvii, though the latter notes now require revision.

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anything ascribed to Pachomius. Nor are the words free from obscurity.¹ One might imagine a prophetic utterance, for which visions and revelations, such as those narrated in the *Bíos* §§ 45, 65 or *Paralipomena* §§ 18, 24–26, might give excuse; or perhaps a purely apocryphal prophecy, similar to those attributed to Pesenthius and Samuel of Kalamôn and narrating, whilst pretending to foretell, the disruption of the Pachomian community which resulted from Justinian's persecution.

Pesenthius of Keft.—A small fragment, showing the heading and first words of a homily by him, is BM. Or. 7561, 60.² Same ms. as the pages of his Encomium, noticed below.

"Rich and Poor, a short piece upon."—*B* 75. Perhaps an extract from a longer discourse. In the Coptic "History of the Church"³ Chrysostom is stated to have written "upon the Rich and the Poor."⁴

Sarapion, bishop.—"A Discourse (λόγος) concerning. . . ." The subject of the homily is doubtful, *τρυπτε ἄπαθος*, "the fig (tree) of passion," being a reading somewhat difficult to accept.⁵

Severus of Antioch.—Our Appendix I *D* and *F* are long extracts from him, while 59 is from one of his Epistles, *Ann. du S.* xxii 270 (2) from another, or from a homily. 49 cites him and works by him are entered in the lists 554 and 556.

Shenoute.—Ἐξηγήσεις by him are *B* 44, 45.⁶ A volume of them is asked for in one letter⁷; his *κατηχήσεις* figure in another list,⁸ extracts from his works in our 56, 57, 58, perhaps in 65, 66, also in *BKU*. 180 *verso* and in BM. Or. 7561, 74–76. *B* 46 is "Another Discourse on Drunkenness," with which *cf.* the title of Zoega ccciii. A passage in the Life of Pesenthius shows him to have been familiar with Shenoute's homilies and tells us the subject of one of them.⁹

Here we must class the several dialogues and dissertations comprised in the Phillipps papyrus¹⁰ and finally the fragment relating to the Exit of the Soul, from another ms. in the same collection.¹¹ Of this last text another copy is included in BM. Or. 7561, 74–78, above mentioned, where a considerable passage preceding it is preserved. The style is perhaps that of Shenoute.¹²

Various pieces, clearly homiletic or epistolary, such as our 54, 60–63, 79, should be

1 *ῥαη* generally means "end, termination," rarely "consummation, completion, *συντέλεια*" (Ezek. xxii 12, Eccli. xlvii 12 (10)), never "object, goal."

2 "[Apa] Pesynthius, the bishop of Keft, speaking as to how it becometh to honour [. . .]"

3 *V. PSBA.* xxiv 68 ff. for a description of it.

4 *Miss.* iv 815. "Rich" and "poor" are here both in the plural.

5 *V. Spiegelberg and Ehrhard in Rec.* xxxiv 160.

6 Ἐξήγησις is thus used in *CSCO.* 42, 26, Wessely no. 50a.

7 *ST.* 317. 8 *CO.* 459.

9 *MIE.* ii 373: "Let no priest spit in church, above all before the sanctuary, neither blow (or snort) with his nose;

and let no man sit at ease in church, nor speak of (εὐθε) such as stand (serving) in the Holy of Holies." Shenoute's extant writings contain no piece thus entitled, though (Pseudo-)Shenoute, MS. Morgan liv, has a long passage upon drunkenness (p. 141 ff.).

10 *Papyruscodex* pp. 1–41. Our 70, which contains similar *ζητήματα*, may be mentioned here.

11 *Loc. cit.* 48–50.

12 It would be interesting to investigate the relations of this to the other pieces treating of the same subject (among them, Tur. 3) and thought to descend from a common Egyptian source (*Leont. Neap.* Gelzer 146).

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noticed here, but as they show no author's names, nothing further need be said of them. It has been suggested that they are not seldom extracts from Festal Epistles.¹

Canons

IV. The Apostles.—Canons of, *B* 43.

The Apostles.—Didascalia of, *B* 55. Here, as always in Coptic, διδασκαλικ(ή).² This work is included in the list above quoted (*BP.* 1069), with Ezra, Sirach &c., apparently as the last of the extracanonical scriptures.³

Athanasius.—Canons of, *B* 2. Their currency at Thebes at this period is witnessed by the papyrus BM. 167.⁴

The same.—'Εντολαί, *B* 53. No such title occurs among the works ascribed to Athanasius, unless that be meant which, according to John of Nikiu, he composed "upon the Precepts of Christ."⁵

The so-called Γνωμαί of Nicaea seem to be represented by a series of short precepts upon an ostrakon.⁶ None of the known mss. of them is Theban.

Pachomius.—Canons of, *B* 31. Presumably the original Coptic form of the Canons, recently identified by Professor Lefort⁷ and whereof BM. 170—also a Theban ms.—seems to represent either a divergent text, or some admonitory work which cited these Canons.

The list of bishops in 560 shows that the Canons of the early Councils were available in some form.⁸

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V. Athanasius.—The Encomium upon, *B* 36. At least three such are extant in Coptic: one by Cyril of Alexandria,⁹ two by Constantine of Siût.¹⁰

Basil.—Encomium upon by Gregory, *B* 59. This might be either the Oration of Gregory Nazianzen,¹¹ or that of Gregory Nyssen¹²; but the allusion in the account of Basil in the *Synaxarium*¹³ makes the former probable.

Chrysaphius the Ethiopian.—Life of, *CO.* 459. To the note there may be added: Budge *Misc.* Pl. XXXVIII, where a "well (πηγή) of Apa Chrysaphius" is named, apparently at Esne; though this is more likely to be some less conspicuous local namesake.

Constantine.—80 refers to a legend of the Emperor, which recurs in the story of his daughter Eudoxia and the finding of the Cross.¹⁴

Cosmas and Damianus.—BM. Or. 7561, 129 is a fragment of the Acts of these saints, which are to be read complete in MS. Morgan li and whereof fragments have come from the White Monastery.¹⁵

¹ Preuschen in *Byz. Zeitschr.* 1906, 643.

² *V.* Carl Schmidt in *Götting. Nachr.* 1901, 337.

³ The acceptance of one or other of these pseudo-apostolic compositions was peculiar to the Egyptian church. *V. Zahn* in *PRE.* ³9, 779, 793. Cf. that mentioned in 467.

⁴ *Ed.* Riedel and Crum, 1904. ⁵ *Ed.* Charles, p. 82.

⁶ *V.* J. Lammeyer *Die Sogen. Gnomen d. Conc. v. N.*, 1912; F. Haase *Die Kopt. Quellen z. Konz. v. N.*, 1920.

⁷ In *Ac. des Inscr.*, *CR.* 1919, 341, *Le Muséon* xxxiv 61, xxxvii 1.

⁸ Presumably similar to the Coptic versions of the Acts of Nicaea and Ephesus (Zoega clix, *TuU.* NF. xi).

⁹ Lemm, *KKS.* 624, has shown that the composition is ascribed to him.

¹⁰ MS. Morgan xxxvii contains both.

¹¹ *PG.* 36, 493.

¹² *PG.* 46, 788.

¹³ *PO.* xi 551.

¹⁴ *V.* Part II Addenda.

¹⁵ Paris 102, 8 and 129¹⁵, 17, 18, *PSBA.* xxx 133.

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Elias of Pshouêb.—Life of, 78, q.v.

Hilaria, daughter of Zeno.—History of, BM. Or. 7561, 134. Now available in the complete text in MS. Morgan xli.¹

Histories of the Church.—B 58. It has been elsewhere suggested² that this is the compilation whence the Arabic Patriarchal Chronicle of Severus of Ashmunain was subsequently adapted.

John the Baptist.—The Revelation of the Bones of Apa John the Baptist, B 72. This recalls the story published by Steindorff in *ÄZ.* 1883, 137.

The same.—Discourses of (*sic*), B 71. Presumably Homilies or Panegyrics upon the Baptist.³

John Chrysostom.—An Encomium of Apa Severian upon John of Constantinople, B 60. No such work is known. That John's praises should have been eventually sung by one of his most persistent enemies is hardly conceivable. The ascription might be set down either to a careless scribe or to an ignorant author, unaware of the historical facts, conscious merely of a traditional connection between the two names and influenced moreover by the occasional confusion of their writings,⁴ were it not that the account of Severian in the *Synaxarium* shows the Coptic church to have accepted a quite perverted tradition.⁵

Macarius of Tkôw.—An Encomium by Dioscorus upon, BM. Or. 7561, 84 ff.⁶

Macarius of Tôhe.⁷—Life of, B 57. A saint unidentified among many namesakes. Tôhe too is an ambiguous name.

Macrina.—The Life of Macrina, sister of Basil and Gregory, B 70. Presumably that by Gregory Nyssen.⁸

Maria.—The Life of Saint (ἀγία), B 42. We cannot tell which of the many Coptic panegyrics upon the Virgin is here intended.

Pachomius.—The Life of Apa, B 34. It is of course impossible here to decide between the several versions of the Life. The mss. of two among them are connected by *provenance* with Thebes.⁹

Pesenthius of Keft.—Life of, BM. Or. 7561, 61, 62. These are fragments corresponding to passages of the published Sa'idic text.¹⁰ The work is perhaps referred to in *ST.* 281, 12. The absence from B of a saint locally so famous may confirm the presumption that that catalogue dates from his lifetime. That the Life (or rather, Encomium) was composed not long

¹ Has it been observed that the story of Hilaria remarkably resembles that of Apolinaria, *Ac.* SS., 5th January?

² *PSBA.* xxiv 84. A passage from the ninth "history," coinciding with one on Zoega p. 262, is introduced into the Acts of Mercurius (*Budge Misc.* 243).

³ It may be observed that the Encomium by Theodosius, in MS. Morgan xli, is not identical with that published by Rossi and De Vis (*Homélies Coptes*).

⁴ Lemm *KKS.* liii has published fragments of what appears to be a narrative of Chrysostom's exile, related

by one of his companions. BM. 327, dealing with the same events, is from Thebes.

⁵ *PO.* i 245, 7th Tût.

⁶ Published *PSBA.* xxv 267, xxviii 137. The almost complete text in MS. Morgan xviii.

⁷ *Sic leg.*, no doubt, and not *καπαριος*, the 2nd syllable whereof is *μα* and is inserted above. One is almost tempted to read Patouhe, in place of Patoure, as the monastery's name treated of on p. 111 above.

⁸ *PG.* 46, 960.

⁹ *Theol. Texts* nos. 24, 25.

¹⁰ *Budge Apoc.* 86, 87, 109.

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after Pesenthius's death is evident from the script of these very fragments, which should belong to the latter part of the 7th century.¹

Peter the Iberian.—*Plerophoriæ* of, in the book-list *CO.* 459. In our 554 some work of his is entered, but without name. There seems no ground for disputing the authorship of the *Plerophoriæ*, as given in the above list² and as substantiated by the *Antiphonary*.³ The task performed by John Rufus would be merely that of rearranging and retelling the anecdotes, originally told in the work of his teacher, Peter. Besides the fragments elsewhere published,⁴ there are one or two scraps belonging presumably to Peter's work among the Theban mss. in the Phillipps Library.⁵

Phib.—Life of (?), BM. Or. 7561, 135–148. These fragments correspond to passages in the Life by Papohe, contained in MS. Morgan lvi.⁶

Polycarp.—*CO.* 23. The account of him taken from Irenaeus,⁷ more probably as quoted by some subsequent writer than directly from that father.

Severus of Antioch.—81, Life by John of Beth Aphthonia. It remains uncertain whether BM. 273 is from a narrative concerning his dealings with Theodora, or from a homiletic text.⁸

Shenoute.—Encomium by Apa Constantine on, B 66. The author may be the bishop of Siût, contemporary with the patriarchs Damianus and Andronicus.⁹

Thomas of Pjinjêb.—B 39. We take this to be a Life, since an ascete of this name is known as contemporary with Shenoute.¹⁰

Martyrdoms

VI. Arsinouphius.—BM. Or. 7561, 52, 53. A martyr of this name (Orsenouphius) is a contemporary of Phoebammon's at Siût (*v.* above, p. 110) and is commemorated, with Ischyron and others, on the 7th Baûnah.¹¹ Namesakes (called Warshenûfa), occurring on the 10th Baûnah and 29th Abîb, are not suitable here.

Gamoul.—BM. 325, has been edited.¹² The Phillipps Library has further fragments.

James the Persian (*Intercisus*).—BM. Or. 7561, 119, has been published.¹³

¹ Except for a tailed form of ϣ, it much resembles BM. Pl. 8, 274. Thus the type is that of *ib.* Pl. 2, 971 and Hyvernât *Album* Pl. VIII 5 (= our Appendix I D), which are datable *ca.* 600. Cf. also *CO.* p. 84 (lithogr.), E. 133, which must be of the same period.

² Although Lemm did so: *Iberica* 21 n., and although the *Chronicle of Michael*, ii 69, seems to support him.

³ *V. Theol. Texts* p. 62 n. Cf. also Evelyn-White's *New Texts* p. 164 n.

⁴ *Theol. Texts*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ No. 16402, 9+16. They correspond, although not verbally, to *PO.* viii pp. 31 and 70. The second of these passages is preceded by a blank space and headed by the numeral 𐌸[.], *i.e.* 20+? In the Syriac the same section is numbered 29. But unless we were to suppose the Coptic a version from John's Greek, there would be no ground for reading 𐌸 here.

⁶ Cf. also *ÄZ.* xl 61.

⁷ *Haer.* iii 3.

⁸ Cf. *ROC.* 1923, 103. There are other fragments of this ms. and most likely from this text, all of a homiletic character, in the Phillipps Library.

⁹ That the latter was his contemporary is explicitly stated in Constantine's Second Encomium on Claudius (MS. Morgan xlvi 147); that he had been consecrated by Damianus he tells us elsewhere (BM. 865 n.). No panegyric by him on Shenoute is otherwise known. If this were indeed Constantine of Siût, we should hereby obtain a *terminus ante quem* for dating B.

¹⁰ *Miss.* iv 462.

¹¹ *PO.* xvii 542. For ارماسيوس, read ? ارسانيوس (cf. the form in Forget i 329, 14). The Acts are preserved in Ethiopic: Wright no. ccliv, 9, Zotenberg no. 131, 15. A reminiscence of this group in the martyrs Ouersinouphius and Peter, on a lamp: Hall p. 20 (4).

¹² Winstedt *St. Theodore* pp. 169 ff.

¹³ Winstedt in *PSBA.* xxix 315.

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John the Baptist.—*B* 73. Known Coptic texts relating to him are enumerated by De Vis¹; none, so far as titles are preserved, is entitled "Martyrdom."

Jôôre.—*B* 40. This is presumably the Martyrdom²; but it is difficult to explain the added words: "together with the conclusion" (*συντέλεια*). The Turin book-list³ includes an Encomium on and Martyrdom of Jôôre. Could *συντέλεια* here mean the account of his death, appended to the preliminary encomium? The word is scarcely ever used in Coptic except where quoting the phrase *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* (*v.* above, p. 201 n.).

Justus and his family.—*BM.* 338. Edited with the Martyrdom of Gamoul, as above.

Leontius.—*B* 61. Impossible to say which martyr is intended. The story of Leontius Arabs was known in the south; a fragment of the text comes from Edfû.⁴

Mena.—Small fragments of his Miracles, following, we may suppose, upon a text of the Martyrdom, are in the Phillipps Library. The one short passage intelligible is not to be found in the Greek text.⁵

Peshate.—*BM.* Or. 7561, 118 (spelt there Pishate). The Sa'idic Calendar names him on the 24th Tûbah,⁶ but these Theban fragments give "the 25th of January (*ιανοταριος*), which is Tôbe."

Peter and Paul.—The papyrus fragments edited by Lemm⁷ came from Luxor. Others are in Munich.⁸

Peter the Archbishop.—*B* 74. Doubtless Peter I of Alexandria, whose Martyrdom is only fragmentarily extant in Sa'idic.⁹

Philotheus.—*B* 33, *BM.* Or. 7561, 123-126. *Cf.* also *Theol. Texts* p. 68. MS. Morgan xli has the complete text.

Phoebammon.—*BM.* Or. 7561, 67-69 and perhaps others. The text is evidently the same as that of MS. Morgan xlvi. On this martyr *v.* above, p. 109.

Polycarp.—*BM.* Or. 7561, 63, 64. This interesting text is wholly different in detail from the Greek Martyrdom (Letter of the Smyrnaeans).

Victor.—"The Martyrdom (*μαρτυρία*) of Apa Victor" as a book is referred to in a letter.¹⁰

A few biographical texts and allusions are of uncertain character. "A . . . , archbishop of Alexandria, interpreting one of the Prophets," is mentioned in **140**, *q.v.*

Jebius.—The end of an author's name in **554**, *q.v.*

Εκστασις*.—554**. Lack of context leaves this quite obscure.

Unclassified
biographical
texts

¹ *Homélies Coptes*, 1922, pp. 1 ff.

² Rossi i v 25. *Cf.* *BM.* 337.

³ Rossi *Nuov. Cod.* 3, 4.

⁴ Lemm *Bruchst. Kopt. Märtyrerakten* p. v. Delehayé observes (*Les Martyrs d'Égypte* 99) that L. Arabs and the more celebrated L. of Tripolis are probably identical. Of the former MS. Morgan xxxviii has the complete history.

⁵ *Ed.* Pomialowski, 1900. *Cf.* *BM.* 340.

⁶ Leyden p. 190, Paris 129²⁰, 170. So too the Arabic *Synaxarium*.

⁷ *Kopt. Apokr. Apostelakten* ii p. 293.

⁸ *Ed.* Winstedt in *PSBA.* xxviii 232.

⁹ Zoega cxxxviii and various leaves in Paris (129¹⁶, 74 &c.).

¹⁰ *ST.* 281.

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Epiphanius (doubtless of Salamis).—*B* 35. This might be the Life, whereof a Coptic version has survived,¹ or a volume of his works, which were popular in Egypt.

Hêmai, Apa.—*B* 37. The only saint whom this name might recall is found in the Sa'idic Calendar, where ἀπ[α .]. μαῖ ἡμαῖ, op is commemorated upon the 11th Amshîr.² Here [Hê]mai might be read as the name, Ka[h]ior as the place, remembering the Pachomian monastery so called near Shmoun. Hêmai appears to be a name exclusively Theban³ and in the present case its bearer might be one of Pachomius's disciples, sent north to the dependent community—a conjecture given probability by the occurrence of "Apa Hêmai the less" among the Pachomian abbots in the interesting list, Tur. 20.

Malchus.—*B* 41, where Bouriant's μα[λ]χος is misleading. The λ is not lacking, but is inserted, above α. There is no trace in Egypt of Jerome's *Vita Malchi*.

Paul and Theophilus.—*B* 48. We have nothing worth suggesting here.⁴

Peter.—*B* 36. Not identifiable.

Philip.—*B* 56. Assuming this not to be the apocryphal Acts of the Apostle, we might recall Philip, "bishop of the East" (ἀνατολή), part of whose Discourse on the Virgin for the 21st Tûbah is preserved.⁵ A Philip, bishop of the East, figures again in the Coptic Histories of the Church, as contemporary with Valens and Valentinian.⁶ No such person is otherwise traceable.

Stephen the Anchorite.—*B* 64. Perhaps "Discourses by" is to be understood, since the preceding part of the volume contained λόγοι by "Apa John." Writers of the name were known in Egypt: a sermon by one of them is preserved in Arabic,⁷ an Eulogy on the archimandrite Apollo by another, who is a post-Justinian bishop.⁸ But whether either of them was known as an anchorite has not been ascertained.

"The Daughter of P. . . .," or "The Daughter of the. . . ."—*CO*. 458. This awaits explanation. It stands in a book-list, after the Gospels of Mark and John.

Miscellaneous

VII. The Beatitudes.—69, 78. *V*. the notes there.

Greek secular works may be mentioned here: 611–614 are lines from the *Iliad*, 615 is a selection of Sentences from Menander (and not the only one discovered at Thebes), 616 is a quotation from the *Anthology*.

A Medical Work (*lit.* A Physician's Book).—*B* 78. A similar book is named in *CO*. 253. From

¹ Rossi *Nuov. Cod.* 7 ff. = *PG*. 41, 24 ff.

² Paris 129²⁰, 173 *vo*. The second word could indeed be read without *lacuna*, μαῖορ.

³ *Jême* and *CO*. Indexes. Perhaps represented in Greek by Ἀμαεῖς (*Epist. Ammon. Episc.* § 9. *V*. also Preisigke). One might even compare it with northern Sa'. εαμοῖ (BM. 1213, Ryl. 199, *Saqqara* no. 307), Fay. εαμαῖ (Krall lxiii, Cairo 8595), Boh. εμοῖ (*Mus. Guim.* xxv 323), presumably = Ἀμμώης, *PG*. 65, 126. A saint named εαμοῖ is the father of the renowned Apollo of Bawît (*MIF*. xii 91, doubtless to be read اماي in *Synax.*, *PO*. i 366) and is perhaps invoked in Tur. *Mater.* no. 34.

⁴ The second name looks indeed doubtful. A saint Theophilus, of whom we know nothing, occurs in *ST*. 46.

⁵ Paris 131¹, 60. This piece plainly betrays its Egyptian origin by a play upon the homophones ὡς "wood" and ὡς "hundred."

⁶ Zoega pp. 259, 266. Presumably the same again in the Hamburg text of the Patriarchal Chronicle, *ed.* Seybold, p. 67, 14, where انطاكية would be misread for انطابية.

⁷ Paris *arabe* 4895 f. 42, entitled سيرة, although the text is purely hortatory.

⁸ MS. Morgan xxxvii.

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such books we may suppose the medical recipes to have been copied which occur on ostraca.¹

Two magical texts from Thebes are of sufficient importance to be classed as literature. These are the well-known papyrus volume at Leyden² and the papyrus found by Lord Carnarvon buried in an amphora, close to Deir el Bakhît.³ The first of these contains a series of pieces: two long exorcisms (εὐχή, ἐξορκισμός, προσευχή), attributed to a Saint Gregory and directed, the first against sickness and other troubles induced by sorcery, the second against the powers of evil in general⁴; further, the correspondence of Christ and Abgar, lists of certain saints &c. Lord Carnarvon's papyrus is a roll of some 70 lines, which open with incantations mainly in ἐφέσια γράμματα, and then give 14 interesting recipes, partially magical and often very obscure. The idiom of both mss. is more or less archaic, but the script of the Leyden volume and the flawless Byzantine protocol preserved upon the other place both of them in the period which here concerns us—the 6th or 7th century.⁵

A Glossary.—A small fragment, in double column, Greek and Coptic, is in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck.⁶ The half-dozen words legible are: [ο]νοθυλικά,⁷ [ε]λαιων, ελαιου, κολυαντρον,⁸ δυοσμην,⁹ χωματος, πλινθου and, on the other side: ρατ, ρομπτ, ελλε,¹⁰ αθαδ, ποειπ. Lists of Greek words, often syllabically separated, are not uncommon among the ostraca; but bilingual vocabularies such as this from Thebes are rare.¹¹

The Πανάριον (?).—In *RE.* 22 *rev.* ππαπαρε is clearly the title of a book¹² and Revillout took it to be the work of Epiphanius of Salamis. It follows on "Apa Daniel," presumably the prophet.

The Στιχηρόν (*sing.*).—*RE.*, *loc. cit.* and *ib.* 79 (= Louvre ostr. E 6260). In both cases this is a book; in the first, preceded by a *lacuna*, it is followed by "Apa Daniel" (*v.* above); in the second (a request for the loan of books to read in church) it follows Jeremiah and Ezekiel and precedes Daniel. One is obviously tempted to identify it with Lamentations, though that in Coptic is entitled πεφρηπος.¹³

Finally, we may invite consideration once again of that work whereof the obscure title, in 554 l. 16, awaits explanation.

¹ 574, 575 and references there, adding Hall p. 64, the longest of such texts. Some of the words in the list *ib.* p. 39 show a familiarity with Greek medical terminology.

² *V.* above, p. 194 n. 5.

³ *V.* above, p. 21.

⁴ Both translated by Boeser in *Rec... Champollion* 529 ff. That the first prayer is attributed, in its Greek form, to Gregory Nazianzen was shown by Crum in *OLZ.* 1899, 21.

⁵ Indeed the protocol so much resembles P. Cairo 67151 and 67186 in type, that the Carnarvon papyrus may safely be assigned to the 6th century.

⁶ Papyrus Nr. 21 (F). This Museum possesses a number of papyrus fragments, brought from Egypt by A. Bederlanger in 1831 and undoubtedly Theban (*cf.* Part II

Addenda, *ad* 615).

⁷ *Cf.* ? ὀνοθήρας, οἰνοθήρας.

⁸ Κολυανδρον كزيرة in Paris 44, 66 a, 82 b.

⁹ *Cf.* ἡδύοσμος.

¹⁰ ? Ελλε.

¹¹ *CO.* 434. This had been published previously and was published once more, with corrections, by A. Pellegrini in *Sphinx* x 152.

¹² Elsewhere the word has its proper meaning of "basket": *CO.* 100, *Ryl.* 240.

¹³ *Miss.* vi 249. Στιχηρά *plur.* is used liturgically for a class of hymn (Baumstark in *Dict. Relig. & Ethics* vii 10 b). It is the title of one of Evagrius's writings (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, s.v.).

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Finding-places
of the literary
texts

It should be observed that all the literary texts in the present collection, whether upon papyri or ostraca, were found, with rare exceptions, either in Cell A or in what we have called the Original Monastery. The latter of these designations is, as has been already explained,¹ too extensive and too vague to form a basis for any assumptions; the other site, where biblical and liturgical texts, both Greek and Coptic, were frequent,² seems to have been the resort of Epiphanius and of others among the more conspicuous anchorites.

General
character of
the literature

The foregoing review hardly suggests any unlooked-for conclusions. The books read by these Thebans would seem to have been, as indeed we should expect, of much the same character as those which furnished monastic libraries further to the south and north: several of the chief Greek writers of the catholic church are represented here, besides the champions of monophysite "orthodoxy," just as at Edfû, Achmîm and in the Fayyûm.³ Of the Acts of saints and martyrs, two only—those of Chrysaphius and Hêmai—might be claimed as proper to the district, or, negatively speaking, as unknown at any rate to the common Egyptian Calendar. And Elias of Pshouêb finds indeed a place there, but only in the southern recension.⁴ If we are to maintain here the distinction between coenobites and hermits, it will be needless, where quality is so similar, to institute comparisons as to quantity. The books at the disposal of Epiphanius and his circle were presumably very limited in number; we know not whether any considerable library, such as that represented by the catalogue *B*—doubtless that of a coenobium—lay within their reach. We should have no excuse for ascribing any of the many papyrus volumes, whereof the surviving remnants are noticed in the above summary, to our site; and if we may accept them as vaguely "Theban," that is as far towards precision as existing records allow us now to go.

¹ *V.* above, p. xxiii.

² *V.* note at 598.

³ The libraries respectively of the church of St. Mercurius, edited in Sir E. Budge's volumes, of the White

Monastery, edited by Zoega and his many successors, and of St. Michael's at Hamûli, now Mr. Pierpont Morgan's.

⁴ *V.* 78.

CHAPTER IX

EPIPHANIUS AND PESENTHIUS

AMONG all the gifts from the past which the soil and climate of Egypt have preserved to us, the correspondence of an obscure Theban hermit may not appear very noteworthy; and yet its preservation is not without an importance of its own. From one point of view the early history of Christianity has not its parallel to show: in what other country have material conditions allowed of the actual letters received by a personage of such renowned sanctity—a recognized saint in his own district at least—being brought down to us from an age so remote? The correspondence of all other saints of antiquity, be they Syrians, Greeks, Westerns, nay even Alexandrians and the more eminent among the Copts themselves, has reached us only in the form of copies, retranscribed for the most part through many generations. And such letters are moreover generally of a class widely different from those here published; the informal, casual notes, exchanged in everyday life—and our letters are very seldom more than that—would attract the pious copyist but rarely, if indeed he ever met with them. What he desired to perpetuate were deliberate compositions, which, whatever their theological or literary value, must of necessity contribute relatively little towards our knowledge of the daily life and surroundings of their authors; whereas the letters addressed to the holy man of Daga's tomb, like those sent to his fellow-saint and neighbor, the bishop of Keft, are written with no eye to any larger public than at most the little group of brethren or disciples dwelling close by. Moreover these letters have not had anything to undergo at the hands of subsequent transcribers. They illustrate, in the case of Epiphanius, the hermit's spiritual influence and they reflect the veneration paid him; while in that of Pesenthius, they tell of the cares and responsibilities from which, even when he had quitted his see, the bishop was unable to escape.

Character and
importance of
their corre-
spondence

The interests of Epiphanius are, so far as can be gathered,¹ confined to Western Thebes

¹ With the exceptions shown in 131 and 133. *V.* below, p. 214.

THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

and the concerns of its hermits and villagers. Those of bishop Pesenthius naturally stretch somewhat farther, extending to his diocese of Keft, and were doubtless not out of touch with the world beyond the Thebaid. It is with Epiphanius that we are of course mainly occupied, but the bishop takes no small part in the correspondence and it is of him that, thanks to the help of extraneous sources, we know much more. Yet for neither of these saints have we materials for a biography in any but the meagerest and incompletest outline. The "Life" of Pesenthius (as the Sa'idic text is entitled) is in truth nothing more than an "Encomium" (as the Bohairic version calls it), a panegyric, the author—or rather, authors—of which are above all intent upon displaying their hero's miraculous "virtues," paying only the rarest and most spasmodic attention to the more prosaic facts of his career; while as to Epiphanius, we must own that the documents tell us scarcely any facts at all and that they rarely contain even an allusion which might confidently be used for biographical purposes. Here, then, is ample scope for the practise of that *ars difficillima nesciendi* with which all have to be content who concern themselves with Coptic—as distinct from Alexandrian—history, where documents for the most part fragmentary or ambiguous and a language still but imperfectly understood combine to hinder progress.¹

I. Epiphanius.
Frequency of
the name

The name Epiphanius² is to be read in 79 of the present texts, not to mention its occurrences in the rest of our Theban material. Thus it is here of all names the oftenest recurring, although John—always the commonest name among the Copts—rivals it closely. Without doubt there are many more among our present texts in which this name would have been seen, had they reached us complete. These 79 texts, whether documents or letters addressed to an Epiphanius, or written by an Epiphanius, or merely mentioning a person so named, were found in many parts of the present site, some of them even beyond it. That the name retained considerable popularity at Thebes is evident from the number of those who bear it in the so-called Jême papyri. The period and the locality to which these belong make it not improbable that such popularity is reminiscent of the revered anchorite of an earlier generation, so conspicuous in our texts.

How many of
the name here?

In how many of these recurrences of the name is it Epiphanius, the renowned hermit, who is in question? It may seem *primâ facie* improbable that so many instances should refer all to a single individual; yet it has been shown above (p. xxv) that such an interpretation of the evidence is at least plausible and that all occurrences of the name allow of being referred ultimately to a single Epiphanius. The arguments for distinguishing a second, less conspicuous Epiphanius, a member likewise of the community around the tomb of Daga, are (1) that an Epiphanius once resided in Cell A, who is addressed less respectfully and

¹ "Toute phrase doit être accompagnée d'un *peut-être* . . . Si on n'en trouve pas assez, qu'on en suppose les marges semées à profusion." Renan's words might well serve as motto for the present work.

² To the variants given *Jême* Index p. 435 add $\Phi\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma$

in *RE.* 1, 15, 16, where it happens that a Psan is also in question. A name $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ is indeed found in prechristian times (Preisigke *Namenb.*), but scarcely affects the identification here proposed. In *Osireion*, Pl. xxxvii, occurs $\pi\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi$.

EPIPHANIUS AND PESENTHIUS

formally than is the eminent anchorite and who does not appear to occupy any position of prominence. This might be deduced from the letters written by his mother,¹ or from one by bishop (?) Pesenthius.² Yet in others found here the phraseology is quite appropriate to the greater man³ and even in one of his mother's letters the scribe, in a *postscript*, addresses him as "fathership" and begs his prayers.⁴ (2) That the correspondence of the Epiphanius in Cell A is more often concerned with family affairs—letters to and from his mother, upon purely domestic and worldly matters—than might appear probable, were this the holy man. In support of this one could point to certain letters both from⁵ and to him,⁶ besides others, where the need of clothes, the weight of a coin, the purchase of wine, are the subjects.⁷ But is there any reason to assume that a hermit, even of Epiphanius's repute, would have renounced all dealings with his family? Here and there other hermits—or at any rate dwellers in our community—are seen in correspondence with their relatives⁸ and in the *Synaxarium* such intercourse is occasionally mentioned.⁹ Moreover it must not be forgotten that, in a world of monks and nuns, the terms "father, mother, brother, son" do not always bear their literal values.¹⁰ Thus we are possibly misled in some cases into giving their secular meanings to such words, where only spiritual kinship is intended. In other letters too, where family matters are discussed, it is plain that the recipient is Epiphanius the anchorite¹¹; while as to his participation in worldly affairs, there is plenty of evidence that he was consulted and gave instructions on matters relating presumably to the management of his *τόπος*,¹² besides giving advice or help to extraneous applicants.¹³ In fact these considerations seem to indicate that solution of the dilemma which we have decided to propose and to invite us to attribute the letters wherein secular concerns are conspicuous to earlier years in the career of that same Epiphanius who subsequently attained to the position of authority which we know to have been reached by the venerated anchorite of Daga's tomb.

Again, how far may we rely upon the evidence of finding-places as a clue towards identifying individuals? Is it not but too probable that localities so near together—most of the rooms and courts immediately about the Daga tomb are contiguous or merge into one another and Cell A itself is but some 30 yards away—should have become mutually "contaminated,"

Evidence
from finding-
places of
texts

1 336, 485.

2 382.

3 120, 206, 329, 445, 463.

4 336.

5 259, 374, 397.

6 120, 206, 336, 485.

7 Hall p. 106 *inf.*, BP. 4935.

8 E.g. 179, 294, Cairo 46304, 109 (discarded; Enoch writing to his father and mother, asking for corn).

9 PO. xi 515, Jonah and his sister. We read of Syrian monks bringing their aged mother to live beside them in the monastery (*Book of Governors*, Budge ii 252. St. Sabas's widowed mother joined her son at his monastery: *Sabae Vita* p. 252). An interesting example of the reverence paid by parents to a son who has attained to ecclesiastical dignity is a letter from "his humblest mother" to her "lord father and son, the *πάππας*," who is possibly a bishop,

since she prays God may [establish] him in peace upon his throne and crush his foes beneath his feet (*Sphinx* x 3 no. 6).

10 Thus Pachomius's elder brother, in admiration at his virtues, resolves to call him no longer "brother," but "father" (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 27; instructive also is *ib.* 533). Similarly of Hypatius near Chalcedon, for like reasons (*Callinici Vita Hyp.*, ed. 1895, 38). And here we may notice ST. 303, where the writer, John, calls recipients "my sons," whilst his scribe (?), in a postscript, terms the same couple "my fathers."

11 142.

12 Cf. 271, 327 (?), 342, 432, 437, 474, 483.

13 E.g. 184, 433.

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that ostraca and, still more easily, papyri should, whether in ancient days or modern, have strayed from their original destinations and finally have been found just sufficiently far thence to mislead us?

Those found
below floors

Only from one class of sites might such evidence be taken seriously and even here as respects time, rather than place. Texts unearthed from beneath floors and pavements ought obviously to belong to the earlier stages in the history of the settlement. Among such texts are eight of the letters addressed to Epiphanius¹ and all these seem to relate to the saintly anchorite. Now we know, from the statement of his successors Jacob and Elias,² that it was in his lifetime that the principal tower was built; and it was beneath the floor of this same tower that certain of the above letters were discovered. But since not a few among the rest of those addressed to Epiphanius were found at higher levels, we might conclude that he had lived to see some at least of the later additions and alterations in the buildings. And yet even here we are warned that but small reliance is to be placed upon variety in levels.³ Pavements seem to have been sometimes lifted and relaid and when such disturbances took place, who can tell what scattering and burying of the excavated or surrounding rubbish resulted?

Palaeographical
help

Among so large an amount of correspondence one might have hoped for palaeographical help towards distinguishing the greater from the lesser Epiphanius, if two of the name there were. But only letters written by an Epiphanius would serve our purpose here and these are naturally few: in our collection a dozen at most and only half of these available in facsimile. Among them three are almost certainly in one and the same hand.⁴ The first is to the writer's mother, the second to Paternouthius; yet the former of these is not in the hand of other letters to his mother,⁵ neither is the latter in the hand of another to Paternouthius.⁶ Palaeographical facts therefore seem to oblige us either to admit two Epiphaniuses, or—what, on our assumption, must be here allowed the greater probability—the employment, as often elsewhere, of various scribes. The scribe in fact of one of these same letters names himself⁷: he is Enoch, whose hand we meet again in another letter.⁸ Moreover a scribe must have been employed where a letter to Epiphanius and one from him are in the same hand.⁹ Of these letters from Epiphanius one alone might, from its contents, be fitly attributed to him whose reputation as a spiritual guide and teacher we know to have been wide-spread¹⁰; unfortunately the hand in which this is written is not to be identified with that of any other among the above letters.

Epiphanius the
anchorite

Whether the problem as to one or more dwellers in our settlement bearing this name be regarded as yet unsolved or no, it is indubitable that one so named was a person greatly revered, venerated indeed as a saint and prophet, not during his life only, but even after

¹ 106, 327 (?), 342, 418, 423, 439, 444, 474.

² *V.* the text, Part II Appendix III l. 65, and Winlock above, p. 32.

³ *Cf.* Winlock above, p. xxiii.

⁴ 259, 374, 408.

⁵ *BP.* 4935, Hall p. 106 *infra* (photographs of this and of the next cited ostrakon have been used).

⁶ *Ib.* p. 102.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 106.

⁸ 232; also probably in MMA. 14.1.178 (discarded).

⁹ 186 and 485.

¹⁰ 108.

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death—so much is abundantly clear from the tone of many of the letters addressed to him. And this is emphasized again in the anecdote about him in the Life of Pesenthius related below.¹ The phrases of address used and the adulatory epithets given him by his correspondents range from the more ordinary “beloved” or “holy father,” “fatherly sanctity,”² “that truly beareth Christ,” to *πνευματοφόρος*,³ *πνευματικός*,⁴ “perfect in all virtues,”⁵ “whose benefits fill all places,”⁶ “the good shepherd,”⁷ “the new psalmist,”⁸ “God’s temple,”⁹ “the prophet.”¹⁰ Those who write to him are his “humblest son,”¹¹ his “humblest servants,”¹² “unprofitable servant.”¹³ They kiss or do obeisance at his holy feet,¹⁴ or the dust of his feet¹⁵; they venerate his footprints.¹⁶

Veneration for him

Many are the letters to Epiphanius wherein his prayers are asked¹⁷; indeed he seems to have received few that did not include a request of this nature. Sometimes a writer will beg his intercession for himself or for his family who are sick,¹⁸ or he will ask the saint’s prayers which shall maintain him in health¹⁹ or prosper his undertakings.²⁰ And his prayers are believed far-reaching, potent no matter at what distance.²¹ A suppliant seems sometimes to hesitate to make his appeal directly and begs the good offices of an intermediary.²² His help is often invited in worldly affairs: by the village magistrates and community for intervention on behalf of prisoners,²³ or by private persons in financial straits,²⁴ or again by someone in dread of the approaching Persian invasion.²⁵ He is consulted by a writer as to her movements: shall she remain or shall she depart?²⁶ Elsewhere Epiphanius is appealed to as peace-maker.²⁷ He is called upon by a bishop, who styles him “beloved brother,” to remonstrate with an intruder,²⁸ while bishop Pesenthius addresses him as an equal,²⁹ even as a spiritual superior.³⁰ His counsel is sought by a distracted and hesitating cleric³¹ and by parents whose children had died.³² Thus he is clearly a person revered and influential among his neighbors, venerated for his holy life and consequently credited with power to benefit them. And this reputation had spread beyond his immediate surroundings. In the letter from bishop (?) Constantine we find Epiphanius recipient of one sent him by the

His prayers and mediation sought

His widespread reputation

1 Paris *arabe* 4785, 192b. *V.* below, p. 221. 2 342.
3 106, 163, 200. 4 111, 133. 5 164, 184, 473, 483.
6 163. 7 487. 8 163. 9 162.
10 *Ib.* “Prophet” evidently means diviner, wonder-worker, sometimes. *Cf.* its application to Matthew the Poor and Shenoute (*Miss.* iv 708). *V.* 162 n.
11 164. 12 444. 13 342. 14 162, 415.
15 198. 16 106, 164. 17 *E.g.* 200, 206, 208, 336.
18 144, 201, 329. 19 212. 20 142. 21 198.
22 201. 23 163 and probably 183. *V.* above, p. 175.
24 271, 475. 25 433 and probably 200.
26 433. A discarded fragt. (MMA. 14.1.136), addressed perhaps to Ep., since found in Cell B, whence others to him come, may be thus completed: “Be so kind, [my] holy [father, and write] a word for [me and] say, Go[. . .]” Similar advice is asked of other holy men: *CO.* 385, 386, *ST.* 249. The last of these has: “Seeing I came unto thee, my holy father, and told thee how that I would go north after my father and thou saidest, Nay, but thou shalt go by a road

(or possibly Verily, if thou go) [. . . .] I remained and went not. See now, [my] holy [father], do thou but point out [to me a road and I will] walk therein. For [. . . .] the Holy [Spirit] that is in [thee. . .]” Perhaps oracular foreknowledge is attributed to the person so consulted. *Cf.* the similar questions put in prayers to God or saints: P. Oxy. 925, 1150.

27 216 (*v.* below), also MMA. 23.3.709, which is a letter from “his servant,” begging Ep. to bestir himself (*σκυλλεῖν*) “for God’s sake and go and speak with my father and set us at peace one with another, for I have not found tranquillity (? *ἡμῖς ἡ τωσέ*, *cf.* *CO.* Ad. 67) hitherto.”

28 MMA. 23.3.702. *V.* above, p. 134.

29 382, 417, assuming this Pesenthius to be the bishop.

30 111, 133, 198, 208, on a like assumption. Ep. is called “brother” also in 447, 465. 31 162.

32 209 (probably to be thus understood), 194 (most likely to Ep., *v.* note there). A holy man seems to be appealed to in a similar case by a “poor widow, Tamar,” in Louvre 9286.

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patriarch himself,¹ while in another, whereof Pesenthius (most probably the bishop) is joint author, we see him formally notified of the patriarchal wishes.² Like testimony to the consideration in which he is held is afforded by another communication upon ecclesiastical business.³ And thus we are reminded of the document relating to the affair of the priest Cyriacus, at whose examination Epiphanius's disciple and representative takes part, side by side with several bishops.⁴

Posthumous
fame

To the posthumous fame of this holy man we have eloquent testimony in the graffiti with which certain walls of the tomb of Daga were covered.⁵ These are written some in Greek, some in Coptic, the former language being still employed, as in many inscriptions and stelae of this and even of later periods, presumably out of some conservative sentiment, allied perhaps to that which so long maintained Greek as a liturgical language in the South.

Invocations

Four of these graffiti show invocations of Epiphanius,⁶ who is styled ἅγιος, a word generally reserved for saints departed.⁷ With them must be counted the invocation roughly scrawled upon an ostrakon and its papyrus counterpart.⁸ Thus his reputed dwelling, or perhaps his grave, in the cemetery before it, had become a place of pilgrimage, where visitors solicited the intercession of the great hermit's prayers, which are asked just as are those of "the holy fathers" or of "the saints."⁹ A conventional allusion to the help of his prayers (presumably after his death) is also found in a letter.¹⁰ Here it may be observed that these invocations, as contrasted with similar graffiti to be seen elsewhere, invoke no other saints by name, unless we except the fathers of Nicaea.¹¹ The graffiti from neighboring Theban sites are mostly epitaphs, rarely invocations.¹² Two of the latter address a series of saints,¹³ one "all saints"¹⁴; the rest seem to ask—as do most of ours here—the prayers of passers-by.¹⁵ Such an absence of other names might point to the short duration of our community; one imagines a series of names—such as that customary, for instance, at Wâdi Sarga—to indicate a chronological succession of abbots. But at the Daga settlement it is clear that Epiphanius, alone among the anchorites who had preceded and followed him, had attained to the character of a saint. Herein his preeminent position is not unlike that of Apollo at Bawîṭ.

Does he figure in
the Diptychs?

The name Epiphanius is found in one type of the Diptychs: to whom is it to be referred? In some texts it is placed between the Egyptians Pijimi, Hor, Phis and the foreigners Archellides and Arsenius—all anchorites¹⁶; in others the Syrians Barsauma and Ephrem

1 131.

2 133.

3 144.

4 RE. 11 = *ÄZ.* 1879, 38. Of Revillout's two copies (or rather prints) the latter is slightly the better. The original has gone astray.

5 *V.* Part II, pp. 326 ff.

6 640, 644, 647, 680. It was presumably these invocations which led Maspero (*Guide du Visiteur*, 1902, p. 256) to describe the tomb as a church dedicated to St. Epiphanius.

7 An exception is ST. 299, where "the saintly (Coptic equivalent to ἅγιος) Apa Jeremias" is saluted and his prayers asked, almost as if he were a person of already acknowledged sanctity. Cf. the use of the word in 247,

CO. 396 and *ΜΠΑΝΙΟΣ* ST. 328.

8 205, ST. 405 (*v.* Part II Addenda p. xvi).

9 Cf. 649, 662, 677, 682, 701 &c.

10 213.

11 In 682. Cf., for example, the graffiti at Wâdi Sarga (nos. 48 ff.), those at Bawîṭ or at Abydos (*The Osireion*).

12 *V.* above, pp. 8, 9.

13 L.D. vi 102 no. 4, 103 no. 37.

14 *Loc. cit.* 102 no. 5.

15 The graffiti at St. Simeon's (Hatre's) at Aswân are prayers to God or appeals to passers-by (*Rec.* xxxvii 42 ff.).

16 The Cairo *Euchologion* 358 and *Psalmodia* (*Theotokia*) 86, BM. 789, 791.

EPIPHANIUS AND PESENTHIUS

and the martyrs John and Simeon are its immediate predecessors, Archellides and Arsenius following as before.¹ But in all instances this Epiphanius is coupled with an Ammonius—not the martyr-bishop of Esne, for he is found elsewhere in the same catalogue, and scarcely the obscure bishop of Aswân, commemorated upon the 11th Hatûr. The names in the Diptychs, though far from conforming to the sequence of the Calendar, can nevertheless be shown to fall, here and there, into chronologically related groups. Thus, if we assume this Ammonius to be the hermit of Tûnah, whose day is the 20th Bashans,² it seems most probable—as indeed it is upon other grounds—that the Epiphanius with whom he is here linked is none other than the bishop of Salamis, commemorated upon the 17th of that month and famed, as we know, throughout Egypt.³ An argument against this assumption might be found in the omission of the Cyprian Epiphanius from the Uniate Diptychs: there neither he nor his predecessors nor followers in the Jacobite version are admitted, with the exception of Ammonius and Arsenius, who have been retained.⁴ But the Uniate catalogue is so modern, so abbreviated, ignoring even many of the “catholic” saints found in the others, that this omission can hardly be regarded as serious testimony against the claim of Epiphanius of Salamis.

The place in which naturally to expect commemoration of a Theban saint thus venerated is the Theban *Synaxarium*. Whether or no this recension be the work of John bishop of Keft (as has been suggested above),⁵ it at any rate pays conspicuous attention to a series of holy men of this district, several of them hermits much resembling Epiphanius, but all ignored by the commonly received recension. Among these is at least one of Epiphanius’s own contemporaries: Pesenthius, bishop of Ermont⁶; but most of these saints are chronologically somewhat elusive. Other local worthies find admittance of whom there was evidently nothing to record save the bare name and whose claims to notice can scarcely have been better than those of our anchorite; as an example: the bishop of Naḳâdah, entered under the 22nd Baremhât.⁷

The names of these Theban saints are not yet all certainly legible⁸: the sole ms. available in Europe is abnormally inaccurate and ambiguous. There is among those still doubtful one which, with a little manipulation, could be read as “Epiphanius.” This is the name written usually بداسيوس, “Badâsiyûs,”⁹ once مداسيوس, “Madâsiyûs”¹⁰; while it is noticeable that the other copy of the text—that at Luxor¹¹—has ابداسيوس, perhaps merely due to the customary preceding انبا. No known ascete, connected with the district, suggests a

Or in the
Synaxarium?

(The story of
Badâsiûs)

¹ Leyden MS. no. 41, BM. Or. 8805.

² He is in fact called “A. the anchorite” in certain lists: *PO.* x 271.

³ *PG.* 41, 61, δισβόητος. Cf. Bousset *Apophthegmata*, 1923, 35, 36. He was said to have visited the Upper Thebaid (*PG.*, *loc. cit.* 57, 60).

⁴ Tuki *Missale* ⲡⲕⲁ, *Euchologion*, ed. Cyril Macaire, 1898, ٥٩. Here Ammonius is perhaps taken for the Nitrian Amoun, since he is coupled with Arsenius.

⁵ *V.* p. 124.

⁶ 20th Kihak. *V.* above, p. 136.

⁷ *PO.* xvi 247. One of the saints whom one would expect to find in this recension: the martyr-bishop Patape of Keft (19th Abîb, v. Forget ii 232) is omitted.

⁸ E.g. those commemorated on Hatûr 16th as Hûb, on Kihak 22nd as Nâbis, on Amshîr 1st as Abadiûn: all forms awaiting correction.

⁹ *PO.* xi 666, 23rd Tûbah.

¹⁰ *PO.* iii 283, 13th Hatûr.

¹¹ *V.* above, p. 136.

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name which this, as it stands, might be taken to represent.¹ But between انداسيوس and اسفانيوس (ابيفانيوس Epiphanius) the scriptural divergence seems slight indeed, when we regard the depravation which the forms of some names have suffered in this manuscript. Moreover, after examining the story of this saint, it cannot be denied that, in its main outline—serviceable details are rare—it might, for all we know, be that of Epiphanius.

The ascete here in question (whose parents are not named) is a native of Pbow. In company with another youth, Joseph, son of Pegôsh, he enters the monastery of Pachomius. After training there, he withdraws to a solitary cell, in which he steadfastly remains, supporting himself by his handiwork and earning fame by miraculous cures. The brethren of the monastery urge him to take the $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$, but he declines and for greater solitude and with his inseparable companion Joseph, he retires southward to the district of Keft. There, after a period of further miracles—despite his endeavors to keep his gifts secret—he at length falls sick and, promising to pray, after death, that the district may have a long respite from barbarian attacks, he dies and is laid to rest “in his church,” the scene of his devotions and subsequently a place of pilgrimage for the sick.

But besides the story of Badâsiûs, the *Synaxarium* fortunately preserves that of his friend Joseph,² which, although in general but another version of the foregoing narrative, shows certain differences. Joseph, for his part, does not refuse the habit, and the place of their retirement, on quitting the Pachomian monastery, is more precisely given as the Gebel el Asâs, south of Gebel Bishwêw,³ where, to counteract the malevolence of the demons who still haunt an ancient temple close by, he builds a church to the Apostles. Joseph, who had survived his friend, likewise lies buried in “his church,” in a mountain cave—whether both in one church is not clear.

We know not whence or when Epiphanius came to the Daga tomb; his retirement there might well have had its incentive in such unsought and importunate popularity as that described in these stories. The allusion again to barbarian onslaughts might be interpreted as reminiscent of the Persian troubles, whereof Epiphanius had been an eye-witness. The silence of our letters as to any friend of his named Joseph⁴ would not perhaps preclude the identification just suggested, but it may weaken the argument in its favor. And it might be further urged that our Epiphanius, if he witnessed the Persian conquest (*ca.* 620),

¹ A name occurs indeed once or twice, in documents Theban and other (*CO.* 116, Ryl. 255), which might be thought the original of this: $\alpha\eta\alpha\ \rho\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (? ابراسيوس). But no saint is so called and speculation is fruitless.

² *PO.* iii 283.

³ *V.* 78, 132. If the identification here suggested were accepted, G. Bishwêw would be the name of Sheik ‘Abd el Kurnah.

⁴ One might at most recall the Joseph quoted in a letter (444), whereof Epiphanius was joint recipient. His contemporary namesake, writer of so many letters (463, 475; *cf.* 245), shows no claim to have played any such part. Since

we are occupied here with mere speculations, one more may be ventured. That يوساب stands for $\iota\omega\sigma\eta\beta$ is proved by the Patriarchal Catalogue (*Rec.* vii 93) and Chronicle (*PO.* x 476) and its occasional form يساب (*PO.* iii 479, xi 677) must be taken for a mere error. Yet from the latter, especially when read with its foregoing انبا, to ايسان Ebsân, is an easy step and we should thus obtain the name of Epiphanius’s disciple and successor, Psan. There is however no evidence that Psan was other than a younger subordinate, whereas Joseph is described as a coeval. On *Psan v.* below, p. 222.

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could scarcely have been a neophyte in the monastery of Pbow previous to the disruption of the Pachomian communities caused by Justinian's persecution (*ca.* 540), after which catastrophe monophysite orthodoxy appears to have taken no further interest in the Pachomians. A further objection might be found in the church, wherein both these anchorites are buried; for at our site there is no church, nor any evidence of interment save in the open, in front of the buildings.¹ In short, while admitting that justification for emending the name "Badâsiyûs" (Abdâsiyûs) into "Epiphanius" is not very strong, it may at the same time be recollected that the authors of the *Synaxarium*, compiled long after the age of our Epiphanius, might be forgiven a certain vagueness as to the facts in the career of one who—less fortunate than his friend Pesenthius—had found no encomiast and whose memory may well have grown dim by the time a biographical notice was needed.

Hopes of discovering our Theban Epiphanius in one other literary text rest upon assumptions even more frail. In the Calendar of Abû 'l Barakât the name occurs on two successive days, the 16th and 17th Bashans.² There would be no ground for regarding this as more than mere erroneous repetition did not one ms.³ here add, on the second date, the abbreviation ح, which these mss. employ for حبس, "recluse." But (1) this interesting Calendar is at best of but questionable authority, (2) the significant abbreviation is inserted at the 17th, *i.e.* on the proper day of Epiphanius of Salamis, and (3) it may well be merely an error for خ = اخري, *i.e.* the reading of "another copy."⁴

Is he to be found in the Calendar?

If we turn to the present texts for information as to Epiphanius's origin and family, we gather very little that is helpful. On our assumption that but a single hermit of the name figures in our material, we might suppose that his father was that Andrew whose son Epiphanius is the legatee in the will of Kalashire,⁵ that his mother's name was Koledjew⁶ and that possibly he had a brother named Jacob⁷; while "the children of Andrew," referred to in another letter, may have been those of his parents.⁸ We might further see in Patermouthius, with whom Epiphanius sometimes corresponds, and Tagapê, who is perhaps the latter's wife,⁹ the hermit's kinsfolk. The relations between this Patermouthius and Epiphanius seem ambiguous. While the former addresses the latter reverently, begging his prayers¹⁰ and (perhaps) styling himself his son,¹¹ yet elsewhere "his lord father" Patermouthius is most humbly accosted by "his son" Epiphanius.¹² In this last instance the use of the title κύριος shows Patermouthius to have been a layman, one, no doubt,

His parentage and relatives

¹ "Church" might however have either become a conventional, general term, or its use may testify to the ignorance of these latter-day compilers.

² *PO.* x 271.

³ Cod. Upsalensis (photographs kindly lent by Dom L. Villecourt).

⁴ Cf. the note in the apparatus, *loc. cit.*

⁵ 87.

⁶ 336.

⁷ 363.

⁸ 142; but if so, it is strange that no term of relationship should be used of them.

⁹ 120. In Tur. 13 greetings are sent to Tagapê and her husband, but nothing shows that this is the woman here in question.

¹⁰ 206.

¹¹ 112. Epiphanius as recipient here is but a probable assumption.

¹² Hall p. 102.

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who held the anchorite in veneration. Yet Epiphanius, who is careful when writing to his own mother, to greet him, on one occasion calls him "brother."¹

Some contemporaries

Among other contemporaries of Epiphanius, a John, an Enoch, a Victor and a Moses—apparently more than one—are conspicuous.² In no instance is he named foremost in their company: the others are invariably greeted before him. This would indicate that, at the period of his association with these men, his position was not yet one of eminence—an assumption supported by occasional references to him in this connection as merely "brother."³

His places of abode

Where Epiphanius had his usual abode it is not easy to determine. Of the letters which we may fairly assume to be directed to him, the majority can no longer be located, for they were picked up in the modern rubbish mounds which covered so much of the site. A few came from Cell A,⁴ half-a-dozen from beneath floors, a few from the rubbish hole in Room 5 (the tomb itself). It is perhaps significant that among these last are three of the most noteworthy pieces⁵ and it has thence been concluded that Epiphanius inhabited the tomb of Daga. The passage quoted below from the biography of Pesenthus refers to his visiting Epiphanius in a "cave"—possibly a reminiscence of his residence here. And yet we know, from documents found there, that he must at one time have dwelt in a tomb (Site XX) on the hill-side east of Deir el Baḥri, some 500 yards distant from that of Daga, where traces of Coptic building are in fact still to be seen.⁶ Moreover there is evidence which appears to show that he was at one time the tenant of Cell B.⁷ Was Epiphanius, then, a *κυκλευτής*, a wandering hermit, such as we meet with now and then in the *Synaxarium* and of whose vagabond habits the Life of Harmīna gives a typical account?⁸ He may, for all we know, have changed his abode from time to time, but probably only within a narrow area; for unquestionably, both during life and afterwards, it was as the hermit of Jême that he was famed. It may be that he retired to the cave above Deir el Baḥri as an occasional relief from his somewhat more conspicuous and approachable habitation in the Daga tomb, where his position as center of a community would involve some degree of responsibility. Such was notoriously the custom, both of religious and clerics, of abbots and bishops, burdened with the nominal direction of larger monasteries, and it may well have been the usage in smaller and less regular communities.

His position in the community

It seems, and it would indeed be expected, that Epiphanius bore no formal office among the monastic societies of Jême. He is designated merely as "anchorite,"⁹ or "monk"¹⁰ or simply as "of the hill of Jême."¹¹ The case in which he is termed "our father" hardly implies precise office or dignity.¹² Once he bears the more distinctive title of *ἐγκλειστος* and

A recluse

¹ 374 A.

² *V.* above, p. xxv.

³ 202, *CO.* 252. *Cf.* however with this p. 213 n. 29.

⁴ *V.* Winlock above, p. 42 n.

⁵ 131, 162, 163.

⁶ *V.* above, p. 20.

⁷ 123, 201.

⁸ Paris *arabe* 148, ff. 294 ff. *Cf.* the *Synaxar.*, 2nd Kihak, a shortened and simplified narrative.

⁹ *V.* Part II Index p. 350.

¹⁰ 87, 411 A (?), 415.

¹¹ 108, 111, 420.

¹² 360.

this in the letter wherein the *lashane* and community of Jême are appealing for his help.¹ Since we have evidence that his place of abode varied, we may take it that his reclusion was temporary, as it was in the case of other hermits.² It is true that in all Epiphanius's correspondence allusions to any movement on his part are rare; once the *lashane* begs his presence at church,³ once he is called for by someone in urgent need and once he himself—though this may be a letter from his earlier years—speaks of visiting his correspondent.⁴ Of the four letters to be found at Site XX, two plainly urge him to betake himself elsewhere,⁵ whence it is evident that there at least he was not living as a recluse. Nor in his case more than in that, for instance, of John of Lycopolis, would reclusion have necessarily hindered communication with visitors, who repeatedly write of coming to pay their respects to him or of regrets at being prevented from so doing.⁶ On the other hand one might imagine the presence at an episcopal council of his disciple, in place of himself,⁷ to have been due to the ἐγκλεισμός which forbade his going thither.

The "monastery" of Epiphanius is a description not unsuited to an anchorite's cell, provided we use the word μοναστήριον in its primary and narrowest sense—the sense which it appears to bear, for example, in the letter of bishop Serenianus⁸—but since we see that his abode is referred to as a τόπος, wherein others also dwelt,⁹ it may be conjectured that he, in some sense, presided over a community of hermits.¹⁰ It is however remarkable that in two only of the letters addressed to him¹¹ is there any reference to "the brethren that are with thee" or to "thy children," who are so often included in the greetings sent by their correspondents to others of the hermits.¹²

He perhaps
presided over
the com-
munity

The probable limits of the τόπος have been discussed already.¹³ We gather, from certain phrases in the will of two of his successors,¹⁴ that Epiphanius was not the first hermit to occupy it; who his forerunners may have been was suggested on an earlier page.¹⁵

Extent of his
τόπος

Like his friend bishop Pesenthius and other anchorites, Epiphanius presumably followed some craft. He might indeed ply several crafts in turn.¹⁶ But the texts seldom help us to recognize in what the occupation—the ἐργόχειρον—of a hermit consists. In the case of Epiphanius we see him busied with procuring yarn,¹⁷ which he may himself have woven

His handi-
craft

1 163.

2 PO. iii 433. Hypatius of Chalcedon was used to shut himself into his cell during Lent, plastering the door with clay (Callinici Vita Hyp., ed. 1895, 27). A recluse might subsequently become a bishop (Papyruscodex p. xvii; cf. J.Th.St. xxv 431). The reputed Typicon of Sabas (Byz. Z. iii 169) assumes the existence of semi-recluses, but that temporary reclusion was disapproved, at any rate by the Byzantine church, we see by a 7th century canon (Conc. Quinisext. xli). On ἐγκλειστοι in Egypt v. Bousset in Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. xlii 26. The classic instances are Anthony and John of Lycopolis; contemporary with our texts are the various recluses seen by John Moschus (PG. 87, 2905 B, 2921 C, 2924 A, 2936 C, 3000 D).

3 The assumption that 216 is addressed to Epiphanius is a pretty safe one.

4 457. Cf. also Hall p. 107.

5 MMA. 23.3.702 and 709.

6 E.g. 106, 198, 206, 435, 473.

7 V. above, p. 214.

8 V. above, p. 134.

9 Part II Appendix III and 142. Cf. 92.

10 V. 360, cited above. The inference, from broken phrases in 142, that inmates of the τόπος were subject to rules, is scarcely justified.

11 III, 382.

12 E.g. 174, 240, 244, 304, 318, 337, 350.

13 V. Winlock above, p. 28.

14 Part II Appendix III l. 75.

15 V. p. xxvi above.

16 As did the ascete Victor: PO. xi 518.

17 363. Cf. 329 and especially 360. Winlock points out that ετααν appears here to be yarn, not (as it certainly is elsewhere) linen.

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upon one of the identical looms found at the site¹; or concerned about a crop of flax, which he hopes to see saved "ere the fear of man come northward,"² which may or may not allude to the Persian invaders, the menace of whose approaching return, after penetrating Nubia, might be in the writer's thoughts. In another letter the writer wishes "master Epiphanius" asked to make some nails—bolts or plugs for a waterwheel, it seems—but, as has been said,³ the identity of this Epiphanius is questionable. Indeed if this and like letters, relating to purely worldly affairs, could be conclusively assigned to a namesake of less importance, we should be left without any information as to the handicraft wherewith the greater man occupied his time.

Period at
which he lived

What evidence have we as to the period at which this eminent ascete lived? A *terminus ante quem* is offered by the papyrus on whose *verso* "the holy Apa Epiphanius" is named or invoked (clearly as already deceased), while on its *recto* is an earlier Greek text, dated in A.D. 508.⁴ Something more precise can however be reached. We see from the document alluded to above,⁵ wherein his disciple Psan figures together with bishop Pesenthius of Keft, that Epiphanius was alive at the time—why otherwise should Psan, whom we know to have succeeded him as tenant of the τόπος,⁶ be still described as his disciple? Now Pesenthius was probably raised to the episcopate in 598; we may assume therefore that about the year 600 Epiphanius would be alive and in occupation of his hermitage. Further, if Tagapê, joint authoress of one of the letters to Epiphanius,⁷ could be proved identical with the writer of a letter which speaks of the Persian advance southward as imminent,⁸ and if this last was likewise directed to Epiphanius⁹—recipient's name happens to be lost—we should conclude that he witnessed the Persian invasion of the Upper Thebaid, about the year 620.¹⁰ The scribe of this letter of Tagapê's is almost certainly he who also writes to Epiphanius on his mother's behalf¹¹—a coincidence supporting the view that the letter naming the Persians was likewise intended for him. And still another of the letters to him very likely alludes to these invaders.¹² Something too might be made of the script of a Greek letter, written upon the *recto* of and therefore earlier than one addressed to Epiphanius in Coptic,¹³ were it not of that ambiguous type which shows features characteristic equally of the middle¹⁴ and end of the 6th¹⁵ and of the beginning of the 7th centuries.¹⁶ Thus it could at most but confirm the presumption that Epiphanius's correspondence dates from about the year 600.

1 *V.* above, p. 69. If this is he to whom 329 refers, we gather that he employed others to weave.

2 *Ann. du S.* xxi 74. *V.* above, p. 101. Among reasons supporting the view that this too is the greater Epiphanius might be his phraseology: "May the Lord bless thee &c.", in a formula regularly used by bishop Abraham and presumably indicative of ecclesiastical rank or eminence.

3 *V.* above, p. 160.

4 *ST.* 405. The Greek text was read by B. P. Grenfell.

5 *RE.* 11.

7 120.

6 *V.* Part II Appendix III.

8 433.

9 But it must be observed that the places here named point rather to the neighborhood of Keft, so that the letter might be to bishop Pesenthius.

10 *V.* above, p. 100.

11 336.

12 200.

13 624. *V.* Part II Plate X.

14 *Cf.* P. Cairo ii Pl. I *inf.* (A.D. 541), BM. Gk. iii Pl. 89 (A.D. 558).

15 *Cf.* P. Amh. Pl. xix (A.D. 592), Schubart *Pap. Graec.* 46 (A.D. 599).

16 *Cf.* Schubart *loc. cit.* 48 a (A.D. 615), P. Amh. Pl. xxiii (A.D. 610-640).

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Relations with
bishop
Pesenthius

An historical personage who figures largely throughout our material is Pesenthius, the celebrated bishop of Keft, of whom we treat in the second part of this chapter. From the Arabic version of his biography we learn that the bishop had at Jême a saintly friend named Epiphanius, whom he used to visit—"a great devotee and very holy man, serving God without pause and with all his heart, whose fame was spread abroad among all. It befell upon a day that Pesenthius visited him, to enquire after his health and to get his blessing."¹ After asking leave, as was *de rigueur*, "according to the rules of the church and of the brethren," Pesenthius, reciting from Jeremiah the while, enters the cave (*magârah*) in which Epiphanius is, and there beholds two men seated on the benches (*maṣâṭib*). Epiphanius, having concluded his recital from the Pauline Epistles, Pesenthius and he greet one another and stay long in converse. The narrator—here it is Pesenthius's Nitrian follower, Theodore—subsequently learns that the stranger whom they had found there was none other than the Apostle himself. This anecdote has the appearance of a literary echo of that fame which the holy man had achieved during life and which was clearly considerable; for only to eminent saints do the apostles thus vouchsafe visits.² At any rate, with the exception of course of the bishop of Salamis, no other Epiphanius is known to the *Synaxarium* or the Calendars, and we can hardly be considered rash in identifying our hermit, whom we know to have dwelt at Jême and in Pesenthius's day, with the contemporary of whom the Arabic Life here tells us.

Pesenthius is the name of many of our letter-writers: seven of the letters addressed to Epiphanius are signed with it.³ That in no one of these the writer styles himself bishop is no proof that the bishop of Keft is not the author. Where the letter is of a wholly private character, a bishop will often omit his title and prefer to sign himself ἐλάχιστος, as in two of these.⁴ "This sinner," or "thy servant," used likewise by writers of these letters, might equally be adopted even by a bishop in writing to one so revered. One letter is in a style particularly suited to the intercourse between the bishop and Epiphanius as described in the above-cited anecdote from the Pesenthian biography.⁵ That it is indeed a letter we see from its closing phrases and address; otherwise it might well have passed for an extract from a homily, though what the occasion was for thus recalling the story of the sons of Eli we do not learn. The respect paid to Epiphanius shows itself in another letter, whereof bishop Pesenthius is perhaps part-author,⁶ and which, besides being the only one in our collection written in a fine, almost literary uncial, consists of nothing but a series of complimentary phrases.⁷ Such a composition must, one would suppose, have been called forth by some special occasion, unless its object were merely to keep its writers in the holy

¹ Paris *arabe* 4785, 192b. The other forms of this version (Paris 4794 and 4878) omit the incident.

² E.g. Pesenthius, *MIE*. ii 349, 353, Shenoute, *CSCO*. 41 pp. 46, 47, 55, 61.

³ *V*. p. 213 n. 29.

⁴ 133, 198 (the authorship is but inferred); cf. *CO*. 61, *BKU*. 318.

⁵ III.

⁶ 198.

⁷ Another, in an almost equally calligraphic hand, addresses bishop Pesenthius in terms hardly less inept (*RE*. 44).

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man's memory.¹ Two others at least, among the letters which Epiphanius received, are equally empty² and so no doubt were more of them, if one may judge by the fragments preserved. Elsewhere, as we shall see below, Pesenthius addresses him without formality, in terms of brotherly equality.

His disciple
Psan

A figure conspicuous in the company of Epiphanius is that of his disciple and eventual successor,³ Psan (or Pson),⁴ a name not otherwise common and in the present collection always, we may take it, indicating this same individual.⁵ In six letters he is addressed or saluted together with Epiphanius,⁶ in some of these with not less respect and formality. In one instance he is alluded to in strange and obscure terms.⁷ Perhaps those letters directed to him alone and in reverential language belong to the period after he had succeeded Epiphanius in occupancy of the τόπος.⁸ His prayers and mediation are solicited just as were those of his master.⁹ He is often called "anchorite," at times "holy father"; the title of μαθητής is only given him in the document above cited, in which he is seen representing Epiphanius as assessor to certain bishops.¹⁰ The spots at which the 22 letters addressed to him were found are many: six come from the western portions of the buildings,¹¹ three from the eastern.¹² If such records were to be allowed any meaning, we might infer, from the list given higher up, that Psan had, after Epiphanius's death, taken up his abode in the western quarters of the τόπος. During the latter's lifetime, however, letters were addressed to him and Psan jointly at Cell B and, as Winlock observes, there are in that cell many graffiti which, although Epiphanius's name is not now visible among them, should indicate the reputed abode of a venerated ascete.¹³ Yet Psan also appears with Epiphanius at several other points in our site, thus leaving us in doubt as to his actual *habitat*.

Letters by Psan

We have, besides the letters to Psan, several signed with that name. Only one of these is published here and the identity of its author may perhaps be questioned.¹⁴ Another, by a priest thus named, has been already referred to. But two letters, found subsequently at Site XX, are interesting enough to be here described. In one of them¹⁵ "Pson, this humblest and wretched one,"¹⁶ writes to his "beloved, always revered father, that truly

1 "About as interesting as a visiting card and seem to have no more significance than a polite attention" (Dill *Roman Society*, 1898, p. 129, in reference to certain letters of Symmachus).

2 106, 164.

3 The disciple as recognized heir: Raabe *Peter d. Iberer* 116, on Peter, Esaias's disciple, styled his "servant and heir."

4 The spellings Pson and Psan seem to alternate arbitrarily. The writer to Epiphanius at Site XX (MMA. 23.3.706 and 708) calls himself Pson, the writers of 287 and MMA. 14.1.540 (discarded) Psan. He who is addressed with Epiphanius is Psan in 144, 482, Pson in 106; so too in 199. Other texts vary similarly: Psan in our will (App. III), Pson in *RE*. 22, Hall pp. 97 *inf.*, 131. The title "anchorite" is given to a Pson in 277, 281, to a Psan in 193, 431.

5 With the possible exception of 287. Whether the priest who writes, from Keft presumably, to bishop Pesenthius (*RE*. 15) and the priest who, in a discarded fragt. (MMA. 14.1.540), seems to write officially to certain men of Tabennêse, are one and the same, we cannot tell. Epiphanius's disciple nowhere appears as a cleric and would scarcely be found at Keft.

6 106, 123, 144, 327 (prob.), 417, 482.

7 327.

8 172, 193, 199, 277, 281, 431.

9 172, 199.

10 *RE*. 11.

11 165, 172, 190, 199, 320, 431.

12 404 and 2 discarded: MMA. 14.1.46 and 169.

13 *V.* above, p. 43. 14 287. 15 MMA. 23.3.706.

16 Ταλαίπωρος is a word rare with these hermits: 178, *ST*. 295. Psan seems to affect it: *v.* Hall p. 97 *ult.*, where it is perhaps written νεπιωρος, though πέρπερος would not be too improbable an epithet here.

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beareth Christ, . . . his holy father, Apa Epiphanius," whom he adjures by his holy prayers¹ to have mind of him in his prayers; for the demons weary him²; "that God may give me means to do His will and may bring about my end (in a manner) pleasing unto Him."³ The second ostrakon from this outlying site is directed to "my holy (?) lord father, Apa Epiphanius, by Pson, this humblest one," who begs his prayers.⁴ These two letters show that Epiphanius and his disciple—if at that time Pson was so serving him—did not share a dwelling. Moreover they tell us that Pson at times employed a scribe; for while both of these are probably by one hand, another letter, undoubtedly his, shows not only a quite different script, but a strongly marked dialect,⁵ whereas both the letters from Site XX are in normal Sa'idic.

Two other companions of Epiphanius meet us more than once: the priest Mark⁶ and a certain Elias, whom Epiphanius appears to have employed as a messenger,⁷ and who may be identical with his σὺγκελλος at Cell B⁸ and possibly with that Elias who eventually succeeded to his position.⁹ But as to neither of these do the texts give us any noteworthy information.

Other companions

We have throughout assumed that, among the many occurrences in the present collection of the name Pesenthius—besides many more in the rest of our material—some refer to the famous bishop of Keft. What grounds were there for such an assumption? That Damianus was patriarch through some of the period during which the settlement at the Daga tomb was in being and that the Persian invasion was an event contemporary with several of its documents—these are facts which, chronologically speaking, might justify our expectation of meeting the bishop here. Furthermore, there are, among the present letters, some written by scribes whose hands reappear in the well-known Pesenthan correspondence in the Louvre.¹⁰ Of these, two are explicitly addressed to bishop Pesenthius¹¹; two others perhaps so.¹² Besides these, by otherwise known scribes, several more of our letters address the bishop by name and title.¹³ There is therefore no reason to doubt that he resided, at some period of his episcopacy, in this community and, seeing that among his correspondents here, we meet with some already known elsewhere as such, it will not seem improbable that the letters in the Louvre, together with the related fragments in the Phillipps collection,¹⁴ most of which are addressed to him by name, were unearthed at or near to the tomb of Daga. Further, there are, besides the letters addressing the bishop,

II. Pesenthius of Keft. Letters to him

1 *V.* above, p. 168.
 2 $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\pi\lambda\epsilon\pi\ \mu\mu\omicron\iota$ = ἀκηδιᾶν, recalling Evagrius's ὁ τῆς ἀκηδίας δαίμων (*PG.* 40, 1273. Cf. Munier *Catal.* p. 83).
 3 Cf. 164 n. 4 *MMA.* 23.3.708.
 5 Hall *loc. cit.* and Pl. 68. These facts might of course be held sufficient evidence of homonymity, not identity.
 6 *V.* 165 n., 198 n., 482.
 7 271, 437. His position may be that of διακονητής, not equivalent to μαθητής.

8 201. 9 *V.* Part II Appendix III.
 10 84 and 330 by scribe of *RE.* 10, 22 and 29; 410 by him of *RE.* 20; 460 by him of *RE.* 3, 4, 15 *ro.*; 494 (and probably 430) by him of *RE.* 2, 32, 50; 254 by him of *RE.* 8; 270 *ro.* probably by him of *RE.* 1.
 11 254, 494. 12 330, 410.
 13 117 (*sic*), 152, 153, 425 (?), 440 (?), 469, 484 (?).
 14 *ST.* 174, 175, 176, 179.

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others of ours, written by scribes whom we meet again in the Louvre series.¹ These cannot but increase the probability that the Pesentian *dossier* came from our site. The papyri in our collection which concern the bishop were found at scattered points, covering all quarters of the site.² One piece only—and that the sole ostrakon addressed to him—is from an earlier level and, one would therefore surmise, from an earlier period of the settlement.³

His identity

Since it is now ascertained that two bishops named Pesentius held adjoining sees—Keft and Ermont—at the same period,⁴ we might well be uncertain which of the two is here in question. For the hill of Jême lay in the diocese of Ermont and bishops of Ermont are found residing in its monasteries.⁵ But while two of the letters addressed to Pesentius plainly style him bishop of Keft⁶ and others allude to that town⁷ and villages in its neighborhood (Pallas, Kôs, Pesenai, Psenhôr, Tôhe, Trakata, Temraut), the seat of the other bishop, Ermont, is not once named in the correspondence.⁸ There can therefore be little doubt that the bishop Pesentius, who is the recipient of many letters found at the tomb of Daga, is identical with the bishop of Keft, of whom from literary and other sources we already know so much. Though there are hardly any documents beyond the Louvre papyri and these which address or even mention a bishop of this name,⁹ there are several which address a Pesentius as “lord father, Apa Pesentius,” or “our holy lord [father], Apa Pesentius,” or as “beloved, holy father” and the like, thus indicating in all probability the bishop¹⁰ and recalling exactly similar phraseology in his biography.¹¹ In cases too, where Pesentius is called “anchorite”¹² it may well be that the bishop is intended; for we know him to have spent years in the hermit’s life. He is in fact styled “bishop and anchorite” by his Sa’idic encomiast.¹³ Where merely a priest of the name is in question, we cannot conclude that this is the future bishop.¹⁴ Among our present letters not a few have a Pesentius for author, but in them the episcopal title is not to be found; and yet there is, in some instances, great probability that the writer is the bishop. It has already been noticed¹⁵ that certain letters from Pesentius to Epiphanius style the latter “brother” and that a person so venerated would hardly be thus addressed but where some spiritual or hierarchical equality was admitted. There is reason again to suppose the letter to

Relations with
Epiphanius

1 135 by the scribe of *RE*. 52, 142 by him of *RE*. 39; not to mention Appendix I A (Pl. XV), which is the work of the scribe of 84 &c. (as above).

2 The *provenance* of the Louvre papyri appears to have been unrecorded; v. Pierret in *Comptes Rendus* 1871, 185. The earliest traceable reference to them is that by Revillout, *loc. cit.* 1870, 322; but if the Phillipps fragments of them were acquired at Libri’s sales, in 1862 and 1864 (v. *ST*. Preface), the whole *dossier* had evidently reached Paris earlier than that. Goodwin’s copies (BM. 466) were probably made in the fifties.

3 469.

4 *V*. above, p. 136.

5 Bishop Abraham, whose correspondence and will are

extant, dwelt at St. Phoebammon’s.

6 *RE*. 11, *ST*. 174.

7 152, 484.

8 Twice only is bishop P. named in connection with Ermont or Jême: 172, *CO*. 286. One need hardly assume this to be the other bishop.

9 *CO*. 286, *Tor*. 27. In Hall p. 29 *inf.* he is named, but merely in a kind of invocation.

10 515, *BKU*. 115, 302, *ST*. 215, 254, 305, 360, 374, Hall p. 62 *sup.*

11 Budge *Apoc.* 90, 94, 96, 117, 124.

12 *CO*. 345, 378.

13 Budge *loc. cit.* 75, 101.

14 281, *CO*. 325, 372, *ST*. 243, 359, 367.

15 *V*. above, p. 213.

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Lucianus¹ to be the bishop's, as also that written upon the back of one of those directed to him,² which has all the appearance of an episcopal rescript. Moreover it is written by the scribe of the letter to Lucianus and of that regarding book-binding, to which there is reference below. In other cases a writer Pesenthius speaks of coming, or of having come "southward,"³ and this recalls the visits which we know the bishop to have paid to Jême and in particular to Epiphanius. Finally, the epithet ἐλάχιστος, often assumed by writers of this name,⁴ though not indeed distinctive, is employed, as we have seen, by bishops.

In Christian times—noticeably not earlier—Pesenthius was among the commonest of Theban names⁵ and it is probably to the wide fame of the venerated bishop of Keft that this popularity should be traced. In the shorter form "Pesente" and in "Pesentiôn" there appears to be some implication of contempt or ridicule, to judge from a passage in the Arabic biography,⁶ where the bishop, recalling the difficulties and hostility which had beset him in his first years of office, says: "They called me not a man at all, but dubbed me the mad lunatic, that knoweth not what he saith . . . and they named me Pesentiôn and Pesente." At the same time πεσσηθιος ψημ, "little Pesenthius," could be used in admiration or affection.⁷ Whether from a remark in the *Synaxarium* we are to conclude that the very name was itself distinguished or revered seems uncertain.⁸

The name
Pesenthius

The bishop's history is familiar to students and scarcely needs repetition; but the few quasi-historical facts to be gathered from it may be recapitulated.⁹ Pesenthius was born probably in the year 568, at Psamêr, a village of the Hermonthite nome,¹⁰ where his parents were, it seems, well-to-do, since their flocks needed several shepherds. With these the boy at first spent his time, but he was early attracted to religion and received the σχῆμα at the hands of Elias, head of the monastery of Saint Phoebammon¹¹ at Jême. An attempt, significant of a later age, is made to connect the monasteries of Thebes with those of Scete by introducing a monk, Theodore, from the latter monastic center into this Theban

The bishop's
career

¹ 136 II.

² RE. 18 bis (not, as Revillout has it, from, but to the priest Paul and others).

³ 126, 224, 382.

⁴ 126, 198, 224, 380, Hall p. 55, CO. 331, ST. 289.

⁵ No satisfactory etymology has as yet been proposed (e.g. Spiegelberg's, OLZ. 1903, 63). To Prof. Griffith and Sir H. Thompson I suggested a connection with Πασεμθώους and like derivatives of demotic *Pate-hrsmtw* (v. Ryl. Dem. iii 450); they agree however in thinking the initial Coptic **πε-** irreconcilable with this. Preisigke's *Namenb.* cites **Πεντεως** (from Elephantine) and **Πενθηνος**, which are still nearer to the Coptic. On the multifarious Coptic forms v. PSBA. xxx 260, adding **ΠΙΣΕΝΤΕ**, PSBA. xxxiv 176, ÄZ. 1918, 70.

⁶ Paris *arabe* 4785, 196 b. **بسنديون** and **بسنده** are the forms. The first of these recalls certain Syriac forms of names, e.g. Shanûdîn (Leipoldt *Schenute* 16), Posidiûn (= Poseidonius, Budge *Paradise* ii 215), which themselves perhaps represent classical forms, such as Heraclîôn, Hieraciôn, Hilariôn, Ischyriôn, Marciôn, Nemesiôn. On the other

hand, Pesentiôn recalls significantly the Egyptian theophoric names, e.g. Anoubiôn, Apiôn, Horiôn, Thermouthiôn, Sarapiôn.

⁷ Budge *Apoc.* 79, 91. In the Boh. of these the first corresponds to **ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓ** (MIE. ii 353); the other is not represented. The use of the shorter form by the authoress of ST. 360 and the longer by her scribe is noticeable.

⁸ PO. iii 394, of bishop John of Ermont, who had an elder brother, "whose great name was Pesenthius" (so the text literally.)

⁹ Drawing for that purpose upon the Sa'idic, Bohairic and Arabic texts of the Encomium jointly.

¹⁰ V. above, p. 121. This is recorded by the Arabic recension only.

¹¹ There would be no excuse for identifying Elias with either hermit of the name, who dwelt for a time at Jême, but whose dates are quite unknown (*Synaxar.*, 13th and 17th Kihak).

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community and attributing to him a share in the consecration of Pesenthius and even in the composition of the biography.¹ Such is the tradition as to his earliest years given by the Arabic version, but from the Coptic texts we learn merely that he had early adopted the anachoritic life,² dwelling in a cave, but apparently in the vicinity of other anchorites, since they made their journeys to the well in common. This name ⲙⲏⲁ, for "cave," is applicable either to a deserted tomb, tenanted by an independent hermit, or to a dwelling expressly hollowed in the rock or built beside it, but included in a group or *λαύρα*. At this period of his career it would doubtless be a cell of the latter sort that Pesenthius inhabited, for his cave had both door and window.³ Subsequently he removed to another cave and is now spoken of as dwelling to the north of the brethren.⁴ Next we find him in a community at the hill of Tsenti. Whether this refers to life still in a *λαύρα* or henceforth in a more regular monastery is not evident. His dwelling is here spoken of as a "house," with windows⁵; but this use of the word ⲙⲏ need not be pressed. It was his custom here to go down for water to the plain, where the flocks were; or he is described as going to the dyke (ⲧⲏⲡⲉ). This however gives no indication of the intervening distance, for it is notorious that desert anchorites were sometimes used to carrying their water for miles.⁶

How long Pesenthius remained a mere monk or hermit we cannot estimate. Doubtless during these years, perhaps subsequently, he carried on the "handicraft" to which, in his dying words, he alludes. We do not know what that was, but if he were the author of one of the letters signed with this name,⁷ we might take it to have been book-binding, in which his namesake, the bishop of Ermont, was likewise skilled.⁸ To the practice of his craft Pesenthius had owed the one *solidus* which he left at death.⁹ Before being raised to the episcopate he had doubtless received clerical orders, although in his biography there is no mention of this. Indeed his words to those who came offering him the bishopric would suggest that, at that time, he was not in orders.¹⁰ And in fact the histories of several bishops in the *Synaxarium* say nothing as to the preliminary grades,¹¹ though in other cases again previous diaconate or priesthood are recorded.¹² Aphou of Oxyrhynchus seems to have been brought direct from the life of an anchorite to the bishop's throne¹³; on the other hand the monk Pselusius, received, we are told, all the subordinate orders *cumulatim*, together with that of episcopacy,¹⁴ and there are not wanting among our letters, as will be

¹ Paris *arabe* 4785, 97 b, 98.

² Ἡσυχάζειν, Budge *Apoc.* 79.

³ Cf. the window in John of Lycopolis's cell (*Miss.* iv 653, 657). That in Palamon's (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 11) is an invention of Amélineau's (*Biós* § 4, παρακύψας ἄνωθεν).

⁴ *MIE.* ii 351.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* 360.

⁶ *V.* above, pp. 6, 149.

⁷ 380. The script is at any rate that of 136 II &c., probably also of *RE.* 18 bis. *V.* above, p. 225 n.

⁸ *V.* above, p. 136.

⁹ Budge *Apoc.* 125. For similar episcopal poverty *v.* *PO.* xvi 374, *Leont. Neap. ed.* Gelzer 92. Cf. *PO.* xvii 212.

¹⁰ "This matter of (being) priest is one for holy men. But as for me, my life is full of all iniquity . . . Such as love the vain world and have pleasure in the rank of bishop and priest and deacon . . ." (*MIE.* ii 365). The phrases "χειροτονία of the priesthood" (Budge *loc. cit.* 91 *infra*), "him that was worthy of the priesthood" (*MIE.* ii 368), applied to the same event, might however be understood as referring only to the episcopal office.

¹¹ E.g. *PO.* iii 260, 277, 433, 500, xi 838.

¹² *Ib.* iii 490, xvi 373, xvii 715.

¹³ Rossi i iii 17.

¹⁴ Budge *Misc.* 468. Cf. Bingham Bk. II x § vii.

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seen immediately, some in which a priest Pesenthius is not unlikely to be the bishop of later days.

Pesenthius's ascetic achievements and the eloquence for which he had already become renowned—the only complete specimen we have of his oratory is a sermon to be ascribed perhaps to his pre-episcopal period¹—and whereof his panegyrists profess to reproduce various passages,² had doubtless designated him for the episcopacy; and after the customary protests, hesitations and even flight,³ he was borne off to the patriarch Damianus, at Alexandria, and consecrated bishop of “the Christ-loving city of Keft,”⁴ probably in the year 598. His episcopacy was, we are told, characterized by charities extending far beyond the limits of his diocese,⁵ by constant defense and patronage of the needy and oppressed. The phrases used of him indeed suggest that he was esteemed almost as *defensor civitatis* in his district,⁶ though the intention may merely be to liken him to other saints whose *ὑπερασπισμός* benefits a place or person. Nor did he fail to admonish his flock in repeated pastoral epistles.⁷

Pesenthius appears to have had his *ἐπισκοπεῖον* in the monastery of Tsenti,⁸ but on the news of the southward advance of the Persians,⁹ he distributed its contents and, abandoning his diocese, fled with a single attendant—his subsequent biographer, John—to Jême. It would be, then, from this period that the Pesenthian correspondence, referred to above, would date: sent him, we may surmise, from his diocese to that retreat among the Theban hills, which we assume to have been, at one time, the community gathered round Epiphanius. This would be a place of retreat distinct from the great rock-tomb, deep in the desert,¹⁰ wherein he lay hid for some time—for how long it is impossible to say. His death perhaps occurred in the midst of a community, since his dying recommendation to the priest and prior Elisaeus was to take good charge of the brethren.¹¹ There is at any rate no evidence that he ever returned to Keft.¹² That he was buried beside the monastery

¹ ROC. xx 38 ff. The subscription styles him “Apa P. of the hill of Tsenti,” as if he were still a simple hermit there, though in the title of the work he is indeed bishop of Keft. The following heading, besides parts of some 15 lines, of another homily, are to be read in a fragment of the papyrus ms. of his Life, BM. Or. 7561, 60 (v. below):]απα πεσθησιου[ς πεπισ]κοπος πκη[τ ευ]χα]ξε ετ-λεθε ε[τ....] ε[τ] εοο[τ] μη[....] μνη[....], “on how it [is befitting?] to glorify the [...] of G[od].” The opening phrases of the text include Eph. vi 12.

² E.g. MIE. ii 337–340, 341–343, 362–365, 378–380: evidence enough at any rate that he had in life enjoyed the reputation of an orator. The same tradition is preserved by the Sa'idic text (Budge *Apoc.* 89, 90), though his eloquence is there seldom illustrated (*loc. cit.* 94–96 = MIE. 378), and by the *Synaxar.* (PO. xvii 650): “sweet of speech and of beautiful language; when he spake none would that he should cease.”

³ Budge *loc. cit.* 92.

⁴ MIE. ii 368.

⁵ Budge 94, MIE. 369.

⁶ Budge *loc. cit.* 82, MIE. 344, “protector not of our poor nome alone, but of the whole χώρα.” Revillout (*RE.* ix p. 135) already draws this comparison with the *defensor*. On the *defensor-ἐκδικος* v. Wilcken *Grundz.* 80, Woess *Asylwesen* 228, P. Oxy. 1883 n.; on the ecclesiastical official so entitled, A. Knecht *System &c.* 111.

⁷ Budge 94, 102, MIE. 378.

⁸ MIE. 393–4. But *ib.* 397 seems rather to place the *ἐπισκοπεῖον* at Keft itself.

⁹ Ca. 621–22. V. 300 n.

¹⁰ MIE. 402. If the distance there given: 3 “miles,” were to be taken seriously, the tomb would be at least as far off the cultivation as the Tombs of the Kings. Clearly a solitary cavern, since P. depended on his disciple's visits for food and water (*loc. cit.* 397, 401).

¹¹ Budge 123; cf. 114.

¹² The Arabic biography says (Paris 4785, 201) that he was 10 years fleeing from the Persians: meaning presumably until their withdrawal in 629.

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of Tsenti¹ need not imply that it was there he had died.² Pesenthius's death has been calculated, from incidental statements in the Sa'idic biography, to have befallen in 631 or 632.³ No further data have as yet invalidated this, for his Prophetic Epistle, wherein the Arab invasion and even the advent of the Turks are foretold,⁴ cannot be used for chronological purposes; while the Berlin ostrakon, which almost certainly mentions the patriarch Agathon (661–677), would thus be of too late a date to allow of the local bishop Pesenthius, whom it concerns, being identical with ours.⁵ Yet the close of his biography, in both versions, does indeed show him at death deeply despondent,⁶ whether as to his nation's or his church's impending fate, it is not easy to discern. The Prophetic Epistle is, as we have it, obviously the concoction of a later age⁷; but that Pesenthius had early been credited with the seer's gift is clear from the abstract given in the Encomium of a similar epistle, wherein he threatens his unrepentant flock with the onslaught of two barbarous nations successively.⁸ The epithet *πνευματοφόρος*, given him in the Diptychs,⁹ might be earned by foreknowledge such as here displayed, or it might be due to the various tales told by his panegyrists of his divinatory powers.

His friends

We have already spoken of the relations between Pesenthius and Epiphanius.¹⁰ Something may here be said as to those between him and other persons met with in our texts and in his biography. One of the joint authors of the latter is (according to the Bohairic version) Moses, a subsequent bishop of Keft. The priest of this name, whom the dying Pesenthius reminds of the upbringing he had had under him¹¹ and to whom he commits his papers (*χάρτης*),¹² may well be the future bishop, presumably Pesenthius's immediate successor and perhaps the same priest who is called head of the monastery of Es Sanad.¹³ The papers bequeathed him would be documents relating to diocesan affairs, while the reference to the past would indicate that Moses had been a previous disciple, perhaps preceding John, who held that position in the bishop's later years and who, in the Arabic Life,¹⁴ is termed "of the hill of Jême," indicating perhaps that he attached himself to Pesenthius only after his retirement thither. Certain letters may point to some such relationship: one from (bishop ?) Pisrael to Pesenthius sends greetings to "the pious priest

¹ *V.* pp. 108, 231.

² The scene of his death is named *πλὰ πτησός πρι*, "the place of the great cell" (Budge 124), an obscure expression recalling one applied to a part of the Macarian monastery in Nitria (*PSBA.* xxix 290 n.).

³ *ZDMG.* 68, 179.

⁴ *ROC.* xix 88, 318. On a rather earlier prophecy of the Arab conquest *v.* Jean Maspero *Hist. des Patriarches*, 1923, 292.

⁵ *BP.* 9447 (*cf.* *CO.* p. xiv n.). This interesting fragment is a letter to a deacon, informing him that ["our] common (*κοινός*) [father ?], Apa Pes[ynthius]," requires his "canon" brought him forthwith (perhaps his due tribute of loaves, *cf.* *BM.* 464, *ST.* 123, *CO.* 105), since he is about to sail northward to meet (*ἀπαντᾶν*) the patriarch, Apa *αὐ[α]θων*,

the arch]bishop. The "canon" was set out upon the *verso* (*εἰς πλινε πῶανων*), but is now perfectly illegible.

⁶ *MIE.* 416, Budge 125 *inf.*

⁷ According to Nau (*Journ. As.* 1917, 415) it is related to the "Revelations" of Pseudo-Methodius.

⁸ Budge 94 *inf.*, *MIE.* 378. The latter text is faulty (in the ms.); the Sa'idic shows that a sentence has dropped out after the first word on p. 379.

⁹ Cairo *Euchologion* 359. *Cf.* 163 n.

¹⁰ *V.* above, p. 221.

¹¹ Budge 123, *MIE.* 417.

¹² Boh. indeed has *αὐτῶν*, but Sa'idic too would use that word if *books* were meant.

¹³ *V.* above, p. 113.

¹⁴ Paris, 4785, 201.

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Moses,"¹ while in other two Moses is found appealing to the bishop to redress his wrongs.² In certain other cases it is only by conjecturing the Pesenthius named to be our bishop that we can bring them into this connection. Three letters which greet a Moses have Pesenthius for their writer's name.³ That the author should, in each of these, sign himself ἐλάχιστος would not be opposed to episcopal usage⁴; only in the last of these instances, where Moses is addressed as "my father," has the assumption less probability.⁵ Where a priest Pesenthius is addressed and Moses greeted,⁶ or again, where the priests Pesenthius and Moses are greeted together,⁷ we can hardly draw positive conclusions; for, as has been said, we have no documents wherein Pesenthius, the future bishop, indisputably figures as a priest.

Although the bishop's faithful disciple and biographer, the priest John, is not easily distinguishable in these texts among his many namesakes, one can scarcely believe that chance has wholly overlooked him. One might suppose him to be the John addressed in three letters by a Pesenthius, who in two of them styles himself ἐλάχιστος⁸; or the John who writes to "his beloved father, the priest Apa Pesenthius."⁹ Again the John who, jointly with a Pesenthius and both using the epithet of humility, writes upon ecclesiastical business to Epiphanius and who writes independently to him on other occasions,¹⁰ might be the bishop's disciple, though contents and tone of these letters hardly leave the impression of that relationship. Indeed one of them addresses the bishop as "holy lord brother," clearly forbidding us to seek in its author the latter's disciple.¹¹ Rather one is reminded of the bishop John, elsewhere mentioned.¹²

The third of the bishop's friends who figures in his biography is the priest Elisaeus, once called prior (προεστώς) of the τόπος,¹³ twice elsewhere called priest.¹⁴ From the dialogue between him and the dying bishop we gather that of the two Elisaeus was the elder. The bishop's last charge to him we have referred to already. To this man's position as head of a monastery the greetings evidently allude in the interesting letter of [bishop] Shenoute.¹⁵ Elisaeus is there called monk and is addressed as "thy brotherhood," while the pious brethren that are with him are likewise greeted. So they are again in a letter to bishop

¹ RE. 7.

² RE. 6 and 47. The latter, though the author's name is lost, is undoubtedly by the scribe of the former, which, it may be noted, tells how Moses had been cast forth from the τόπος with his papers (χάρτης)—a circumstance recalling those eventually to be entrusted by the bishop to a person of this name. Moses may have been chartulary of the monastery or of the diocese.

³ 208, ST. 289, Hall p. 55.

⁴ V. 399 n.

⁵ Cf. the Moses in 202, who seems to be senior to Epiphanius. V. pp. xxvi, 218.

⁶ Hall p. 109, ST. 243.

⁷ CO. 372.

⁸ 308, CO. 331, ST. 289.

⁹ ST. 243.

¹⁰ V. 133 n.

¹¹ ST. 179.

¹² 133, if this reading were unimpeachable. Bishop John of Ermont, whom the Theban *Synaxar.* commemorates

(PO. iii 394), is represented as living when idolatry was still vigorous in the district. He is at best a hazy figure, whose presumptive date is obscured by the presence in his history of a Pesenthius and a Patermouthius. It is however observable that John is the name of two bishops of this see in the Moir-Bryce diptych (above, p. 135).

¹³ Budge 114, but not in the parallel Bohairic or Arabic.

¹⁴ Paris 4785, 184, 207 b.

¹⁵ RE. 10 *penult.*, ἀπὸ ἐλ[α]ισ[τ]ος. That this writer is a bishop is presumed from his styling bishop Pisrael "our brother." But seeing that he also calls Elisaeus "brother," he may himself be no more than a monastic dignitary. A bishop Sinuthius of Edfû, of about this period, is named in P. Grenfell i no. lxiii, while another Edfû papyrus of the same series (lxvi) speaks perhaps of a bishop Constantine, as does the Pesenthius document here under consideration. Cf. also our 131.

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Pesenthius,¹ whence we may suppose that at that time the bishop was resident in the monastery over which Elisaeus—there called θεοσεβέστατος, τέλειος, ἐνάρετος—presided. Further, there is mention, on the one hand, of an οἰκονόμος,² on the other of an anchorite of this name, the latter dwelling in our community³ and possibly identical with the holy man to whom appeal is made in another letter.⁴ A correspondent too of Epiphanius is named Elisaeus.⁵ How many of these namesakes are in fact one and the same it is impossible to say.

Another of our bishop's contemporaries brings us to a chronological dilemma. Pesenthius and Abraham, bishop of Hou (Diospolis Parva) are represented in the *Synaxarium*⁶ as together present at a certain consecration. Were this statement accurate, the bishop of Hou in question here could not be identical with his namesake, likewise bishop of that see, who, as contemporary of the monk Manasse,⁷ was contemporary again with Abraham, the last monophysite abbot of Pbow, expelled by Justinian, fifty years earlier.⁸ The names of Abraham, this Pachomian abbot, and of Manasse are in fact coupled together in certain versions of the Diptychs.⁹

His memory in
later times

The memory of the bishop of Keft has been preserved not only in the biographical panegyric, whereof three Coptic¹⁰ and at least two Arabic recensions¹¹ at one time existed, and by his place in the *Synaxarium*, Calendar and Diptychs, but also by the survival of monasteries named after him, one or other of which may be taken to be that in which he either resided or lies buried. The Arabic biography indeed assigns sixteen years of his early life to the monastery of Phoebammon,¹² a period long enough to suggest our seeking the bishop among some of the many occurrences of his namesakes in the Deir el Bahri ostraca. On the other hand, it is stated clearly enough that, as a hermit, he had dwelt in the hill or in the monastery of Tsenti¹³ and there he is again found when bishop, though apparently not in residence.¹⁴

His monastery

Which of the series of ancient monasteries, lying along the desert edge, south-west of Naḳâdah—all presumably in the so-called Hill of Tsenti, or Gebel el Asâs—is the one in question remains doubtful. There is among them at present a modern—probably a rebuilt—Deir Bâsantâûs,¹⁵ to the south of those of Andrew and Saint George. Again the bishop

¹ *RE.* 44.

² Hall p. 105.

³ 253.

⁴ 486.

⁵ 327.

⁶ *PO.* iii 490.

⁷ *Miss.* iv 673.

⁸ *Ib.* 755 *inf.* The "Contemporain d'Abraham" is but Manasse himself; the fragt. on p. 754 follows immediately upon that on p. 677 *supra*.

⁹ *E.g.* BM. Or. 8805 f. 27. It is to be noted that this ms. was bought (by R. Curzon) at Thebes.

¹⁰ One of the mss. (the papyrus leaves BM. Or. 7561, 60–62, v. above, p. 226, and *cf.* *CO.* p. xiii n. 5) dates probably from the 7th century, only a generation or so after Pesenthius's death. Its text, so far as preserved, appears to be that of Budge. The various singularities of the Arabic texts presuppose another, lost Coptic recension.

¹¹ To be edited from the three Paris mss. by De Lacy O'Leary in the *Patrologia Orientalis*.

¹² Paris 4785, 106.

¹³ Budge 77, *MIE.* 344.

¹⁴ Budge 120.

¹⁵ That the دير شاووس of the Survey Map (1 : 50,000) is to be emended to بستاووس (as written in the Luxor ms. of the *Synax.*, v. above, p. 136) might be inferred from the incorrect forms شاووس in Paris 4878 (a modern copy of the Life) and سنتاووس in 4882 and 4793 (Lives of Andrew, both modern copies) and this is confirmed by Mr. Hayes's investigations (above, p. 115 n.). This monastery is recorded only in the Survey Map and in the list in *El Luluwâb el Bahîyah*, p. 351, as on the desert-edge (*ḥâgir*) of Naḳâdah. Neither Vansleben (*Nouv. Relat.* 411), Baedeker, Murray, Joanne, nor Somers Clarke (*Christ. Antiq. of Nile Valley* map 5) name it.

EPIPHANIUS AND PESENTHIUS

is represented as staying at times in the monastery of the Cross, which we have seen to be probably identical with that of Andrew just named.¹ His name is perhaps preserved in that of the Naga' Abû Sandah, at Ḥigâzah, south-east of Kûṣ.² But his ἐπισκοπεῖον we have seen to have been at the monastery of Tsenti and it was in its church that his body lay before burial. His tomb is located by Abû Ṣâlih outside one of these western monasteries: which of them is not clear,³ but the modern monastery above mentioned claims to contain his remains.⁴ In the older monuments a τόπος of Pesenthius is met with several times. In two of the 8th century deeds from Jême a monastery named after him occurs⁵; one is placed on the hill of Jême, the other on the hill of the Κάστρον Μεμνονίων⁶; they would thus be one and the same. Again, a contract addresses the steward of the τόπος of Apa Pesenthius at Tche,⁷ a place not certainly to be located.⁸ Four monks of his monastery have left us gravestones,⁹ all brought from Ermont, near which it might therefore be conjectured to have stood. That a monastery of the ἅγιος Πεσύνθιος was in fact to be found thereabouts is evident from its occurrence among place-names from the Hermonthite pagarchy in two unpublished papyri of about the year 700.¹⁰

Other saints bearing this name are not unknown. The Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, in the very month in which Pesenthius of Keft is commemorated, tells us of a namesake, an ascete likewise, whose story shows no connection with that of the bishop.¹¹ The visit of a venerated Apa Pesenthius to Abydos was recorded there as memorable,¹² but who he was we know not.

Other saints
of the name

1 *V.* above, p. 115.

2 Survey Map.

3 Fol. 81 b.

4 Information from Mr. Hayes; *v.* above, p. 115 n.

5 *Jême* no. 73, 45, no. 89, 58.

6 Reading ὁροῦ καστρω; *v.* Revillout's facsimile, *Actes* p. 63. 'Ὁρμωμενοῦ without ἀπό seems unlikely.

7 Hall p. 94. Revillout's copy (*RE.* 25 *ter*) is inadequate.

8 *CO.* Ad. 25, *cf.* 31 n., *ST.* 426. Perhaps as πατρε in *RE.* 2, whence it would appear to be in the neighborhood of Kûṣ (Psenhor).

9 Cairo 8449, 8472, 8655, Lefebvre *Recueil* 582 (probably from Ermont, not Aswân. For the simple genitive, τοῦ ἀπα, *cf.* *ST.* 197).

10 Recently acquired by the University of Michigan.

11 *PO.* vii 298.

12 In M. A. Murray *The Osireion* p. 42.

CHAPTER X

THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

The Coptic dialects, principal and secondary

THE dialects in which surviving Coptic literature has reached us are four—naming them in geographical sequence, from South to North—Sa'idic, Achmîmic (with Sub-achmîmic), Fayyûmic and Bohairic. These medieval names are not all particularly felicitous: the Sa'idic should properly be the dialect of the whole valley, southward of the Delta,¹ and the texts written in it have in fact come from all parts, between the latitude of the Cataracts and that of the Fayyûm. Characteristics of the Achmîmic are to be met with at points far distant from the Panopolite nome, while the Fayyûmic idiom is found to have overrun the limits which its name implies and often to merge either with its northern or its southern neighbor. Bohairic, located in the Western Delta and in the neighboring Nitrian Oasis, thanks to political and ecclesiastical circumstances, eventually superseded all and overspread the whole of Egypt—at least as the literary idiom. But each of the dialects contained, within somewhat arbitrary limits, varieties which, though they may not have all survived in Coptic literature, do not fail to assert themselves in the non-literary documents.² Variety in idiom among the Fayyûmic texts is evident, so too are differences between those few written in the already moribund Achmîmic. In Sa'idic, the extent of whose domain surpasses them all, the differences are at least as marked. It is of course with the two last of these dialects that our present material brings us into contact and, in particular, with those varieties to be discerned in texts strictly speaking Theban. For not much reading of those from other parts of the Sa'id is needed to demonstrate the existence of several secondary *patois*, differing one from another in vocabulary, still more in phonetics, not greatly in grammatical usage. The speech of the far South is, for lack as yet of suitable texts, scarcely discernible,³ though we have evidence that it was

¹ Athanasius of Kûş (Quatremère *Recherches* 20) terms it "the Coptic of Mişr," i.e. of Egypt generally. In *Vita Pachom.* § 60 it is ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ γλῶσσα, in the *Epist. Ammon.* § 9 τῶν Θηβαίων γλῶττα, though the Coptic texts call it merely "the Egyptian tongue" (*Mus. Guim.* xvii 241, 302).

² Even with the Bohairic this is so; the rare non-literary

specimens (BM. 545, 563, 572, 590, 608, 626, 1237, Ryl. 460, Crum *Copt. MSS.* xliii) show that dialect in varying stages of purity.

³ *ST.* has a few pieces brought thence: 91, 327, 333, 336, or proving their origin by internal evidence: 96, 116, 181. Others are in Hall: pp. 61, 121, 131, 145 *inf.*, 146. Cf.

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recognizable.¹ That of Edfû and Esne leave a distinct mark upon the literary mss. there written,² conspicuously in the constant tendency to double the vowels and interchange the labials. Of non-literary texts from Edfû we have but a few, in semi-official style,³ so not genuinely representative of the local speech. On the north of Thebes we might look for a distinctive sub-dialect at Achmîm, but non-literary texts of unquestioned *provenance* have not yet come to light there.⁴ The deeds and letters from Ejikôw (Aphrodito) have certain features of their own, whereby they are brought near to our Theban texts⁵; but somewhat farther down-stream, at Deir Ganadlah and Deir Balaizah, the finding-places of much material, the idiom common to all is the purest Sa'idic, less tainted here, it seems, than at any other point in the upper valley.⁶ A like state of things is to be found at Ashmunain, whence has come a larger quantity of documents than from any other papyrus market—for it is far from likely that more than a moderate proportion of them was actually unearthed in the cemeteries there—and where again the language, though not without distinctive features of its own, is but little affected, either by reminiscences of past times, or by contamination from neighbors. The latter influence seems to be still absent in the few Coptic texts from Behnesâ,⁷ but on reaching the Heracleopolite nome, the proximity of the Fayyûm, with its unmistakable phonetic system, is clearly discernible.

For the study of the speech of Thebes and its vicinity our material is considerable; it ranges from texts biblical, liturgical and patristic, through a long series of legal deeds, down to private letters and notes of the most unpretentious sort. But the dialect thus exemplified is by no means uniform: that of the literary texts, be it at length, in papyrus books, or as excerpts on ostraca, is, with no exceptions, that pure Sa'idic idiom which we must suppose to have been already long accepted as the standard dialect of Upper Egypt. And the same, practically untainted Sa'idic is to be read in a large number of the documents, both deeds and letters. Such are found indeed to be decidedly in a majority, no matter which group of texts are examined: among those published here, from the community of Epiphanius, only slightly more than an eighth of the total⁸ can be regarded as in other than normal Sa'idic; of the Deir el Baḥri texts⁹ an eighth is again the approximate proportion of those dialectally affected; while, out of some 125 Jême deeds, less than half show non-Sa'idic features and of those hardly more than a half-dozen have such features at all strongly marked. Throughout the oft-quoted Pesenthius correspondence (in the Louvre and else-

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further Clédat's graffiti, *Rec.* xxxvii 42 ff. These last are of a far later age, but still show (p. 43) forms such as *ⲁⲛⲁⲕ*, *ⲉⲃⲁⲗ*, *ⲛⲁⲃⲉ*, besides a Bohairic taint: *Ⲫⲉ*, *Ⲫⲏ* (pp. 45, 46).

¹ *V. Budge Misc.* 464.

² Those edited by Budge and Worrell.

³ *ST.* 48, 192 &c., Crum in *ÄZ.* 1925, 103. *Jême* nos. 81, 84, written by an Edfû scribe, are but faintly dialectal. In Hall p. 69 *inf.* is a letter.

⁴ The colophons of the later White Monastery codices, where dialectally irregular, are naturally Fayyûmic.

⁵ These features are described in reference to the glossary, *ed.* Bell and Crum, in *Aegyptus* vi.

⁶ *V. Petrie Gizeh and Rifeh* p. 43, *WS.* p. 12.

⁷ Grenfell and Hunt brought thence two or three documents.

⁸ 59 texts out of 492. (The calculation starts from 84.)

⁹ The ostraca found there by the Egypt Exploration Fund and published in *CO.*, besides some from this site in Cairo and included in *CO.*; also a few more in Hall's book.

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where), which comprises between 60 and 70 letters, distinguishing marks of non-Sa'idic dialect are but rarely to be met with.¹ Indeed it is worth observing here that the language of the letters addressing venerable persons, such as Epiphanius or bishop Pesenthus, is consistently of a superior accuracy and purity—an indication either of especial care, or of better education in those who penned them.

Its non-Sa'idic
elements

The presence in our Theban material of this restricted, but undeniable non-Sa'idic element—using of course that rather unsatisfactory term to mean the dialect standardized in the southern bible-version—might be variously explained. The features wherein these texts diverge from that standard are, for the most part, to be found again in such literature as has survived from an earlier period: the texts in the so-called Achmîmic and, yet more, the Sub-achmîmic dialect. That these texts date, as we have them, from an age substantially earlier than those brought from our 6th—8th century settlements in Western Thebes is a fact which probably justifies us in regarding the remarkable features in the Theban texts as, in many cases, survivals from a time when a dialect of the Achmîmic type still occupied the south. Indeed such divergent peculiarities as are to be noted in other Sa'idic *patois*—more particularly in the matter of vocalization—likewise invite comparison with parallel phenomena in the Achmîmic group.

The home and
extension of
Achmîmic

When topographical considerations are of especial importance, as they must be in any attempt to estimate the mutual relationships between dialects, uncertainty regarding the true *provenance* of the texts involved is a serious impediment. It is just this disadvantage which embarrasses our efforts to define the relationship of Achmîmic and Sub-achmîmic to Sa'idic. That the Achmîmic dialect, with its most salient peculiarities, was spoken at Achmîm, has been accepted as proved by certain meager graffiti, found at no distance from the town.² But, with this one exception, nothing is beyond dispute; even here it is to be remembered that the writer of a casual graffito need by no means be a native of the locality. The papyrus and parchment volumes preserving the remnants of the literature of this dialect are customarily ascribed to Achmîm, but there is reason (as has been observed above) to question this supposed *provenance*, which in no single instance rests upon more than indirect and inadequate testimony.³ At most one might be justified in assenting to Maspero's description of the dialect as "that of Achmîm and the northern nomes of Upper Egypt."⁴ The only fully Achmîmic text, whereof the origin is assured, was found not at Achmîm, but in the Fayyûm.⁵ So too the texts in varying stages of Sub-achmîmic: most are of quite doubtful origin. Only the recently discovered *St. John*⁶ can

¹ Most irregularity is shown by *RE*. 10 *vo.* (omitted by Revillout), which happens not to relate to Pesenthus.

² *Rec.* xi 147. Spiegelberg's "Achmîmic" names (*Aeg. Eigennamen* 37, to which Sir H. Thompson refers me), though ascribed indeed mostly to Achmîm, often show forms equally possible, if not actually demonstrable, at Thebes and elsewhere.

³ Those who wish to verify this may read the respective statements in *Miss.* i 243, *ÄZ.* 1886, 115, Steindorff *Elias Apok.* 2 n., 3, *BIF.* viii 43, *Rec.* viii 181, xix 1, *Mith.* Rainer iii 264, *Clemensbrief* C. Schmidt 5, do. Rösch 1, *TuU.* 43 (*Gespräche*) 4.

⁴ *Rec.* viii 181.

⁵ *Crum Coptic MSS.* no. ii = BM. 492.

⁶ *Ed.* Sir H. Thompson, 1924.

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claim indisputable certainty in this respect: it was unearthed at Kâu, some 30 miles north of Achmîm. The ms. of the *Acta Pauli* probably came from the distant south—from Aswân, it would seem.¹ Further, three recently published letters, in an archaic half-Sa'idic, half-Achmîmic,² have been assigned with much probability to the Cynopolite nome (El Kâis), a long way north of those districts with which it is customary to connect pure Achmîmic. On the other hand the series of early letters in the Rylands Library³ may have come from farther south; they form part at any rate of the large collection certainly gathered, as many place-names show, in the Ashmunain neighborhood, though embracing also texts from the parts beyond Siût.⁴ A like vague origin must, for lack of a better, be ascribed to the two magical papyri in the British Museum⁵; for that of the same class at Aberdeen⁶ we can hazard no guess at all. It is at any rate clear that the archaic dialect, either in its purest or in some less pronounced form, had left traces throughout the Sa'id. Among Theban texts that wherein we should naturally seek and in which we in fact find many archaic features is Lord Carnarvon's magical papyrus.⁷ The presence there of some 30 more or less purely Achmîmic forms⁸ is evidence either that that dialect had been prevalent at Thebes itself very shortly before our period, or that, for magical purposes, it was there (as elsewhere) still esteemed more efficacious than the current idiom.

What is the extent and what the character of these survivals in the Theban idiom with which we are here concerned? Taking as our norm that literary Sa'idic which is practically identical with the language of the large majority of our texts, we may look for the divergent features in phonetics, grammatical usage and vocabulary. These components of the language are of course affected to different degrees in different texts. Our letters were, it is true, addressed to the sites where they were found, but the area traversed by such correspondence is not likely for the most part to have been extensive, though a few of them are indeed known to have been brought from farther off—from Esne, Edfû, Aswân, as well as from Keft and Denderah—so that we need hardly hesitate to accept this composite linguistic picture of the district. In a limited number of texts the abnormal features, though at most not more than irregularities upon a substantially Sa'idic surface, are yet prominent throughout.⁹ Passing by others, where similar aberrations, though conspicuous, are less obtrusive, we arrive at a long list of texts whereof the otherwise pure Sa'idic is merely tainted here and there by an extraneous form. It can be assumed that, as a rule,

Character of
the abnormal
features in
Theban

¹ The subsequently discovered fragments (v. C. Schmidt in Berlin Acad. *Sitzb.* 1909, 216 and cf. Rustafjaell *Light of Egypt*, 1909, 3) reached the British Museum mixed with many others, Greek and Coptic. Of the latter several are ascribable as indisputably to Aswân as the accompanying Greek papyri, e.g. those since published as *ST.* 96, 181; further, BM. Or. 6943 (12).

² In Bell's *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, pp. 92 ff.

³ *Catalogue* p. viii.

⁴ *V. WS.* p. 6.

⁵ BM. 1223, 1224.

⁶ *Recueil... Champollion* 539.

⁷ *V.* above, p. 207.

⁸ Remarkable among them are: **ατ(ω)**, **μαχκϣ**, **πκατε**, **οοτ** (= ωω), **ρατνε**, **σαϣηε** (= **σαρϣε**), **σισατνε**, **τατε** (= **ετοοτε**), **ταπα**. A yet earlier stage of the language is recalled by **μнт** "truth."

⁹ Instances: **102**, **260**, **338**, **344**, **373**, **531**, **532**, **544** (the 2nd and last 2 are by the scribe of **1**); *CO.* 181, 185, 244, 254; *ST.* 178, 227, 287, 335; Hall p. 97 *inf.*; *Jême* nos. 16, 18, 66, 68 (the most strongly marked), 69, 71, 113.

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the writer's aim was the maintenance of a correct Sa'idic orthography and grammar and that these sporadic divergencies are unintentional lapses, significant of the idiom that was naturally his. Many a writer is indeed found employing a Sa'idic and a non-Sa'idic form side by side¹; occasionally a correction is made from the one to the other.²

I. Phonetics

It should be premised that certain common phenomena, rather errors in orthography than facts of phonetic significance, will be here left out of account. Chief among these are the interchange between *ε* and *η*, *ο* and *ω*; the writings *αει*, *εει*, *αοτ*, for *αι*, *ει*, *ατ*; the omission of a repeated vowel, as in *μετε*, *τοτ*, *οταε*, or of the helping *e* in prefixes *πκ-*, *πγ-* &c.

a. Vowels

It is in the vocalization of some of the commonest words that divergence from the standard Sa'idic orthography is most frequent. In the following lists seldom are more than illustrative specimens offered, although exhaustive collections have been made from which to draw.

An *asterisk* precedes those forms which are found in Achmîmic or Sub-achmîmic texts, so far as published.

α replaces toneless *ε* in

**α-* prep., *passim*

αβολ 367, 537, *ST.* 97, 178

αλαχιστος *CO.* 327

αματε 143, 260, *ST.* 202

**απερε* (*επερ*) 280

απρηт 177, 306, 532 &c.

αрат-, *арнт-* 145, 456

αγραг 102, 226, *ST.* 227, *αρηг* *ST.* 393,
Hall pp. 62, 69

**αροτη* *ST.* 97, 260, Hall pp. 36, 83

**αχη-* *ST.* 181, 321, 378

απιπe *ST.* 437, Hall p. 82

λαβιτε (*λεβίτων*) *L. D.* vi 102, 21

μαπηт- 103, 176, *ST.* 232, Hall p. 103,
CO. Ad. 27

Occasionally elsewhere, as *ααλαε* (*bis*)
ST. 305

Similarly in end syllables:

αλα *CO.* Ad. 54

ειατα *ST.* 225

καληλα *BKU.* 73

мира (*μεερε*) *ST.* 97

μεрата *Aegyptus* iii 282

πα dat. fem., *WZKM.* 1902, 264

ρωμα *Jême* no. 66, 47

сика *CO.* 270

οταεια *BP.* 5667 (*cf.* *οτε* 165, *οτα* *ST.*
41, *CO.* 179)

шотмара *Jême* no. 13, 25

ροгта *ST.* 120

хеμα 206 n.

Particularly in Greek words:

απακα (*ἀνάγκη*) *ÄZ.* 1892, 43

αππλα 101, *ST.* 350

ειτα (*εἴτε*) *BKU.* 286

ετχαριστα vb., 239, 336, 337, *CO.* 64,
100

просαора 457

στοιχα Hall p. 113

and names:

αελιcαpa *CO.* Ad. 29

ζιστα *CO.* 64

παπαχωpa *BKU.* 264

παρθενωπα *PSBA.* xxxiii 256

πεтра *BKU.* 158

σαβιπα Hall p. 111

ταпаста *CO.* 497, *ST.* 191

тсiελα *Jême* no. 67, 63 (*cf.* 61)

¹ For instance in 348, 531, 532, 543; *CO.* 327, Ad. 27, while MMA. 24.6.4 shows two copies of the same letter: that on concave with several dialect forms (*πηη*, *χαατ*,

χη-, *χηαν* "draw nigh"), replaced in a different hand on convex by normal equivalents (*πακ*, *χοοτ*, *χηп-*, *χηατ* *sic* for *χωп*). ² As in 347. *V.* also the gloss in *CO.* 227 *vo.*

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Rarely α replaces η : $\eta\alpha\tau$ vb. 245, 304, Part II p. 339 n.; $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\tau\eta$ MMA. 24.2.5; $\epsilon\eta\alpha\sigma\tau$ ST. 243; $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 106; $\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\eta$ Hall p. 38 *inf.* $\psi\lambda\alpha\eta\lambda$ CO. 196 shows a somewhat different phenomenon.

α replaces ι perhaps in $\mu\eta\alpha\tau\alpha$ - 245. In $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ($\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$) the first vowel is assimilated to the second.¹

Far the most frequent of all vocalic peculiarities is the use of α in place of \omicron . Examples of its occurrence in various positions—it is found in some 160 words—may be here given.² This is, as is well known, one of the most salient of Achmîmic characteristics, both in the more and in the less pronounced phases of that dialect.

* $\alpha\mu\epsilon$ ST. 38	* $\eta\alpha\tau\tau$ - 286 &c.	$\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ 537, ST. 358
* $\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ 182, 472 &c.	* $\eta\alpha\kappa$ ($\eta\omicron\sigma$) 293, CO. 196 &c.	* $\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho$ 573
* $\alpha\psi$ 438	$\eta\epsilon\alpha\tau$ Pbow, above, p. 120	$\psi\alpha\epsilon\iota\psi$ CO. 93
$\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau$ 446	$\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\iota$ 574	$\psi\alpha\chi\eta$ - <i>Jême</i> no. 45, 48
* $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\tau$ 368	$\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ ST. 237	* $\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\tau$ 372
$\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ Hall p. 115 &c.	$\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ST. 390	* $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa$ ($\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma$) MMA. 23.3.712
* $\epsilon\iota\alpha\eta\epsilon$ 406	* $\rho\alpha\mu\eta\epsilon$ CO. 352	* $\epsilon\lambda\rho\psi$ <i>Jême</i> no. 79, 23
$\kappa\alpha\eta$ - (? $\sigma\alpha\eta$ -) ST. 353	* $\sigma\alpha\lambda\sigma$ - BKU. 113	* $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\alpha\rho\tau$ ST. 335
* $\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ - ($\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$) BM. 445	* $\sigma\alpha\eta\sigma\eta$ 192	$\chi\alpha\lambda\chi$ BKU. 275
$\lambda\alpha\kappa$ BKU. 259	* $\sigma\alpha\tau\tau$ - 336	$\chi\iota\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ <i>Jême</i> no. 105, 12
* $\mu\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$ 65	* $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\alpha$ - ST. 398	* $\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta$ 299
$\mu\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\eta$ Cairo 8600	* $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\tau$ ST. 239 &c.	$\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon$ 547, ST. 125
* $\mu\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$ 459	$\theta\eta\alpha$ - CO. 185	$\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\eta$ 165, 333
* $\eta\alpha\mu$ Hall p. 80 <i>supra</i>	* $\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ 247	

α (or $\alpha\iota$) for ω recurs twice in a single text (Hall p. 100 *supra*), where $\eta\alpha\eta$ (*sic*) stands for $\eta\omega\iota$. $\alpha\iota$ for ϵ is equally rare: $\psi\alpha\iota$ vb., 531, 15, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (perhaps) ST. 97, 9.

ϵ (often η), in place of α , appears constantly, both where toned and toneless:

$\epsilon\iota\tau$ ($\tau\epsilon\theta\omicron$ $\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$) Hall p. 70 <i>supra</i>	* $\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$, $\rho\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ 372, CO. 229, 11
(ϵ) $\lambda\omicron\tau$ <i>Tor.</i> 34	* $\sigma\pi\epsilon\omicron\tau$ 182 (<i>cf.</i> also $\sigma\eta\omicron\tau$, $\sigma\eta\omega$)
$\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ ST. 233, $\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ Hall p. 127 <i>inf.</i>	* $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron$, $\tau\lambda\omicron$ 338, ST. 86, CO. 244, 14 (<i>sic leg.</i>)
*(ϵ) η neg. ST. 333, CO. 181, 5 (?)	* $\tau\rho\kappa\omicron$ <i>Jême</i> no. 66, 45 (<i>cf.</i> $\tau\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron$ by same scribe, no. 76, 48)
(ϵ) $\eta\alpha$ - <i>Jême</i> no. 67, 109	* $\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$ 102, 275, 280, BKU. 125, CO. 377 &c.
$\epsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon$ ($\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon$) CO. 303, Cairo 8530	* $\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\tau$ -, $\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau$ - 434, <i>Jême</i> no. 66, 37, ST. 227
$\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\tau$, $\eta\rho\epsilon\tau$ 169, ST. 306	$\psi(\epsilon)$ - prep., 198, 221
$\epsilon\rho\psi\eta\eta$ ST. 219, BP. 625	* $\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ ST. 56, <i>Jême</i> no. 62, 8
$\eta\epsilon$ "mercy" BM. 1211 A (<i>cf. Rec.</i> xi 147)	* $\epsilon\tau$ 525, <i>Jême</i> no. 56, 18, no. 76, 42 &c.
$\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau$ - 115, 592 η	$\epsilon\theta\omega\rho$ <i>Tor.</i> 12, CO. 478
$\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu$ <i>Jême</i> no. 31, 9 &c., $\eta\epsilon\alpha\mu$ CO. 451	$\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ ($\sigma\alpha\lambda\omicron$) 95, 338
$\eta\epsilon\chi\epsilon\psi$ &c. 341, 398, ST. 233, 272, 334,	$\sigma\lambda\tau\epsilon$ Hall p. 115, for $\sigma\alpha\lambda\tau\epsilon$ ($\sigma\omicron\rho\tau\epsilon$)
Hall p. 62 <i>et saepe</i>	

¹ Thus the Byzantines wrote the name of the Turkish buffoon Karagös, said to have been a "Copt" (gipsy) of the 15th century (G. Jacob *Türk. Litt. Gesch.* i 15, 20, G. Ferrand in *J.As.* 1925, i 179). Might this point to the

forgotten etymology? But on such "Copts" v. Lammens in *ROC.* viii 633.

² The list in CO. p. 116 is fairly representative.

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ε in place of ει, ι is frequent:

αρε CO. 75, Hall pp. 54, 103, αρεс MMA.
14.1.60
εμε vb., CO. Ad. 25 (cf. Achm.)
εορε CO. 20
επε (ἐπεί) 459, Hall p. 109
*ес *passim*
етн 400
πε-, τε-, νε- demonstr., *passim*

ερεме MMA. 14.1.178 (discarded)
τε- (†-) 1st sing., 238, 291, 462 *et saepe*
щene Hall p. 54
ρε- prep., 531, 533, CO. 160
ρετη- v. I n.
ξε vb., CO. 136 (where also xi), ξετοτ 334
*xi- ST. 174, CO. 152, *Jême* no. 6, 26 &c.
*σπ- 455

ε or η for toneless ο is rare: λωτες ST. 129; τριβοτηης ST. 257; χελλη, χελε (χολή) 373, Vienna ostr. 53, CO. 176, *Sphinx* x 146. It is also found for ο before ω, in toned syllables, varying here with η: ερηт CO. 453; ηητε 314; *τηπετε 165, 347, CO. 259, 263, ST. 260 (cf. τηηποτ CO. 264); *xicete 165 (but xicete *Jême* no. 105, 12).

Interchange of ε and οτ in toneless syllables is not uncommon. Compare

κε- and κοτ- *passim*
κελωλ and κοτλωλ (κωλωλ) *Jême* Index
p. 469
κελονx, κλωxe and κοτλωxe, v. 532 n.
κηχοτ ST. 439, κηχοτ BP. 9421 and κοτη-
χοτ 545 &c.
κσοτ- and κсе- *passim*
ρμμδοτ 95, Hall p. 109 (*sic leg.*) and

ροτμοοτ *Jême* no. 87, 30
τεμρατ and тоτμροтт 433 n.
φεηамωп and φοτηамωп *Jême* Index p. 459
ще п- and щот п- "son of," *loc. cit.* p. 387
щехппе ST. 118, Hall p. 117 and соτхппе
(щот-) *Jême* no. 111, 9
ελλο and εотло *Jême* no. 62, 11

Other variants write this vowel as ο: κοпχοτ, роμοот, φοηамωп (in the last two cases with yet other alterations), so increasing the evidence for the obscure and ambiguous quality of these sounds.

Palatalized ε is found in ειελαχ(ιστος) ST. 175; ειεπιτρεπε CO. 138; ιεπωx *Jême* no. 6, 39, no. 71, 4; ιεсар Hall p. 33 *supra* (птож ιεсар)¹; also forms such as таie *Jême* no. 73, 23, тиеie *ib.* no. 66, 43; отеie 78, CO. 348; εηie (ρε) CO. 472. The contrary phenomenon is to be seen in the names οтснф 99, *Jême* no. 11, 63, no. 57, 4, Hall p. 104, οтсаф 99, ostr. Prof. Sayce (unpublished) and οτχαпнс 519 n., 533.

η often stands for α, but in many of the following instances it varies with ε (v. above):

αηη- *Jême* no. 68, 86 (cf. above, (ε)πα-)
ελλην- BKU. 302, *Jême* no. 69, 52
ερηη CO. 130
ημηη (αμρε) Hall p. 47
κληη 546 *Jême* no. 66, 39
μαπηη- 103, 176, *Jême* no. 56, 11, ST. 232
&c.; also мпηη- 332, CO. 198 &c.
ματηη- Tur. 7, BKU. 299

πηη- dative, *passim*
пмη-, пемη- 105, 169, 336 *et saepe*
птη- 284, 418, 534 *et saepe*
пелηη Philae, Budge *Misc.* Pl. xxii
прище name, *Jême* no. 51, 11 (cf. праще Hall
p. 19)
рнт 456, ST. 47, CO. 314, 8 (*sic*)
рнтε *Jême* no. 24, 67

¹ Cf. the forms Ἰουνακέντιος BM. Gk. iv 1469, ἱερηνπαῖος Paris 129¹⁴ 92, ἰοπηνλῆτος (Hippolytus) Budge *Misc.* 134.

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сотнн Aswân, *CO.* 452, *Jême* no. 68, 12
(*cf. ib.* 27)

снч 169

отант- 434, *ST.* 227, *Jême* no. 66, 37

отнн- 94, 459, Hall pp. 103 (14091, 6),
112 &c.

отнн 115, *CO.* Ad. 27 (also отнн), BM.

1211 A, Hall p. 97, отнн *CO.* 276

ннч *Jême* no. 35, 33, no. 39, 27, Tur.
Mater. no. 16

нн- Hall p. 80 (21016, 9 *sic*), *Jême* no.
71, 46, no. 92, 25

1 or ei replaces a: рнн (absol., not pronom.) 169, *CO.* 126, *Jême* no. 61, 1,¹ as well as in the peculiarly Theban forms of the verb † (v. below). In *Jême* no. 67, 15 нн for нн may be a mere error.

1 or ei replaces e frequently in *Jême* no. 66. Other examples are:

апте *CO.* 342

нрмнн *Jême* no. 3, 22

ннч *Jême* no. 60, 17

ннч *CO.* 140

ннч *Tor.* 12

ei- preposit., *ST.* 98 thrice

ннч v. above, p. 19

ннч (?) *BKU.* 264

ннч (ннч) 240

нн vb., 281, *ST.* 109, *CO.* 239, 11, Tur.
Mater. no. 17, 7, *RE.* 37

ннч *Jême* no. 81, 50

ннч 459

ннч *Jême* no. 81, 45

ннч "yea," *CO.* Ad. 47

ннч *ST.* 358

ннч- 534 (also ннч-), *CO.* 72

ннч *CO.* 80, Ad. 60, *Jême* no. 35, 9 &c.

ннч *CO.* 267, Hall p. 72

ннч- vb. neg., *CO.* 355 twice

ннч possess., *BKU.* 38, *ST.* 225, 7²

ннч *Jême* no. 20, 109

ннч- *BKU.* 41, *ST.* 309, 8, 333, 7, prob.
CO. 128, 7

ннч- *CO.* 190

-† enclitic, in *Jême* nos. 36, 37, 44, all by
one scribe

ннч *CO.* 264

*†нч *passim*

ннч- *CO.* 211, 263, 269, 337 &c. (*cf. ннч-*
ib. 264)

ннчнч (ннчнч) *BP.* 710 vo.

ннч п- "son of," *CO.* 315, *Jême* no. 2, 41,
Hall p. 66

ннч- vb., *CO.* 254, 384, *BKU.* 262 &c.

ннч 361

The isolated forms ннч, ннч *CO.* Ad. 35, may also be noted.

ннч = ei is merely the counterpart of ннч = ai, as in 165, 475, *CO.* 224, or *ib.* 315, Ad. 47. The writer of *Jême* no. 65 is especially addicted to this (perhaps archaic) usage.

o stands so many times for a that this deserves to be regarded as a mark of the dialect³:

ннч, v. 210 A n.

ннч- vb., *RE.* 30, *ST.* 394, *Jême* no. 69, 77,
Hall pp. 63, 80, *BKU.* 38⁴; similarly
in ннч *ST.* 99

ннчнч name Katharôn, BM. 441

ннчнч *Jême* no. 7, 6

ннч *ST.* 91

ннчнч *ST.* 227

ннч- 484, *ST.* 178, *BKU.* 154, 268

ннч- &c. verbal prefix, *Jême* no. 1, 58, no.
54, 8, no. 81, 32, 44, Leyd. p. 482⁵

ннчнч *Jême* no. 84, 14

Monastery mss.

4 *Cf. Part II Addenda ad 248.*

5 It is significant that this characterizes the Esne-Edfû
mss.: v. Budge *Misc.* p. xlviii, Worrell *The Coptic MSS. &c.*,
1923, p. 123.

1 As in archaic texts: P. Bruce pp. 139, 140.

2 This recalls the habit of the scribe of *Jême* nos. 79,
112 &c.

3 Though instances are not uncommon in the White

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οϣ (? αϣ) *ST.* 182

οσολτε *BKU.* 292

co- *artifex*, *Tur.* 7

coϣϣ *MMA.* 24.2.3, ϣοϣϣ *Jême* no. 68, 28

εροι *BM.* 1211 A

εχот and εϣот 98

τολσο *Jême* no. 84, 21

τορο 400

οτοϣ- 327, *CO.* 362

εμερολ *BM.* 1211 A

εποот *CO.* 467

εоп *CO.* 185, 295, *BKU.* 125

εорз 640

εοοτοп *CO.* Ad. 46

ο for ε is exemplified by μπολ- neg. imperat., *ST.* 251 = нпор *ib.* 257, with which cf. μπωρ in *CO.* 271, Ad. 55, Hall p. 73¹; προσήτης and προσήτερος 478 n., *CO.* Ad. 62, Hall p. 60; сопсоп (?) 201; εοεοος *ST.* 252.

ο for η, ι, influenced by a neighboring vowel: πομοκος *Rec... Champollion* 495; προροφορει (πληροφορεῖν) *Jême* no. 123, 10; φιλοκαρε (φιλοκαλεῖν) no. 69, 25.

ο stands often for οτ, even for οοτ:

ερον *ST.* 54, 361, *CO.* 108, 119, ερον *CO.*

329

ιοστιпос *Jême* no. 44, 12

κοι, σοι 554, Hall pp. 82, 146 (κοει πελιω)

μορ *ST.* 378, 7 (prob. for μοτз or μωρ)

ποη *ST.* 54, *Jême* no. 69, 65

пос (νους) *Jême* no. 69, 17

поте 217, *Rec... Champollion* 495

поз *CO.* 308

ο (οτ) article, *ST.* 50, *Tor.* 4, *CO.* 155, 242,

355, 12

оп (οὐν) 173, 307, 337, 431, Hall p. 97

supra, *CO.* 83, 186, *ST.* 214, 306 *et*

saepe, though it is not always easy to distinguish this from Coptic он²

οαϣ- *BKU.* 101

παθερμοθιος *ST.* 365

пос name?, 464

ερορηп, ερηп, ερωηпп 'Ρουβήп *CO.* 125, Hall p. 34, *BKU.* 312

εροφпос Hall p. 54

co- (псот-) *CO.* 314

спос (спосотс) 543

споϣ 566, *BP.* 4916

сотп (содстп) *ST.* 222, cf. сωтп *CO.* Ad. 56

тппос 386

Occasionally initial ο stands for οτο-, οτα- or οτω-: ο (οτω) *CO.* 327 *vo.*, 355, 13; οεις (οτοειϣ) 80; он 203, *BKU.* 148; онз *CO.* 78, *Jême* no. 65, 17, 23; οϣ 288, *ST.* 225; οз *ST.* 378, *Jême* no. 3, 47 (αз *ib.* no. 68, 92); οж *MMA.* 24.2.5.

The converse, οτο for ο, is rare, except as οτο vb. qualit.; v. *Jême* Index p. 383. On οτω for ο, v. above, p. 181 n.

οτ often represents an indefinite ε, as shown above. Rarely it stands for ετ, as in the prefixes ποτ- *ST.* 257, 450, *CO.* 57, 146; тоτ- 531, *CO.* 160; ποτ- *Jême* no. 66, 38 (=no. 76, 40).

οτ for ο is very common; for instance:

αμφιηотλια *ST.* 424

αποτ *CO.* 157, *Jême* no. 100, 72, and in compounds: *Jême* no. 35, 101, no. 65, 95

διακοτпос *ST.* 284

επιτροτпн *Jême* no. 57, 13

καθотλпнн *Jême* no. 60, 22

κροτϣ *Jême* no. 3, 11 &c.

¹ For μπωρ- thus v. below, p. 249.

² V. 337 n.

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μεροτс RE. 44

μοτпαστηριον, μοτпαχος *passim*

μοτпωκινис *Jême* no. 92, 1

ποτмотс 506 п.

ποτж- *Jême* no. 104, 21

ποτс *Jême* no. 102, 8

от vb. qualit., 332, *Jême* no. 62, 10, no. 82, 15

отпсга Cairo 44674, 143 (discarded)¹

паптоукратор CO. 109, *Jême* no. 69, 37

ποταν (πότε) MMA. 24.2.5

от for ω is equally so:

απρδαотма *Aegyptus* iii 281

ήκτοотрпс *Jême* no. 39, 73

еот Hall p. 73

еиотт "barley," Hall p. 84 *supra* (also еиωт)

еиотт "father," BM. ostr. 44809

θεετотрот (Θεοδωρώ) *Jême* no. 31, 9

котр CO. 233

месотрп 534, CO. Ad. 44

пћот Ombos, v. above, p. 119

от "great," 540, ST. 226, 261, CO. 450 vo.

отрп CO. 187

отрз *Jême* no. 111, 19

паотпн Tor. 30

потт vb., BKU. 37

протс ST. 112, Hall p. 53, *Jême* no. 10, 63, no. 12, 61

ртоτћ CO. 170, where also ртоταε²

скотр (? шсор, шкар) *Jême* no. 110, 14

смот BP. 4916, *Jême* no. 7, 42

сотлотμωп &c. Hall p. 128 (*sic leg.*), CO. 160, *Jême* Index p. 455

сотφια BP. 975

тоτμαριон Rec... *Champollion* 495

φιλοτδαμωп name, BP. 4983

*прот "winter," BM. 488

ротме BM. ostr. 44809

ротце 493

степотсгс *Jême* no. 19, 13

стеφакот CO. 137 (v. note there), Hall p. 123 (20025)

φоткас, v. p. 11 above and BP. 6139³

хреотс RE. 44

шотп vb., BM. Or. 9525 (8) ro.

злот 311, ST. 437, *Jême* no. 68, 39

зотрп ST. 296 (*cf.* зωρε *ib.* 108, Cairo 8618)

*хот nn., *Jême* no. 66, 40

„ vb., BM. 446

ω stands seldom for α: in ιωκω MMA. 24.2.3, perhaps in сωз nn., CO. 40. Perhaps for ε in сωз vb., ST. 353.

ω is often for ατ in certain common words: еиω "flax," v. Part II p. 356; *μω "mother" 561, Hall p. 123, *Jême* no. 38, 31 (with which *cf.* мот 290, мо *Jême* no. 38, 27, MMA. 24.2.3); μμω 344, 433, 465, BKU. 308, CO. 236; πω vb., 344, Hall p. 73; πω nn., 176, 260, 335, 349, 524, ST. 42, 91, CO. 301 (with which *cf.* ποτ BM. 1211 A); πω dat., 260, 9; επω 226, ST. 333, CO. 347 (with which *cf.* спот 317, CO. 403, and сπεот 182). Several of these correspond to Achm. forms with ο.

ω for от is also common: μωз 163, 278 *et saepe*; πωз Hall p. 117, CO. 324, Ad. 54 (with which *cf.* ποз CO. 308, πατз 438); πωзе vb., 181; смω 201, CO. 66 and the name ψμω; сωо 324; ω interrog., ST. 253, 318, BKU. 144, CO. 327 (with which *cf.* хеотω етшорп MMA. 24.6.13); хωт- (in хоттаγτε) BM. ostr. 44757, MMA. 24.2.5.

1 *Cf.* the form αпсга, BKU. 50, ST. 54.

3 ποτкас in a Balaizah fragment.

2 With which *cf.* κотаз = καз, stele in Florence, Mus. Archeol.

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ω is labialized in ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲏ *Jême* no. 67, 62, ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲥ *ST.* 405, *Jême* no. 57, 12, BM. Or. 9525 (12) *vo.*; ⲟⲩⲱⲩ *Jême* no. 66, 19. Conversely, the initial labial is dropped in ⲱⲣⲉ *CO.* 358, ⲱⲩ *CO.* 372,¹ *ST.* 184, 315 &c.; ⲱⲩⲩ *128*²; ⲱⲉ *Tur. Mater.* no. 16, 3,³ *RE.* 29, 12⁴; ⲱⲉ *CO.* 436.

This looseness in the use of initial labials strongly characterizes the texts from Esne-Edfû; Worrell has given several instances from a single ms.⁵

Doubling of a vowel is not uncommon. Here are examples:

Of a in ⲁⲁⲡⲁ <i>CO.</i> 481	ⲡⲁⲁ ⲡⲡ., <i>CO.</i> 271	ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲁ- <i>Jême</i> no. 122, 10
(? error)	ⲡⲁⲁ- fut., <i>Rendic. Accad.</i>	ⲣⲁⲁⲡ 490
ⲁⲁⲥ <i>CO.</i> 235	<i>Linc.</i> 1906, 475	ⲥⲡⲁⲁⲩ Hall p. 121
ⲁⲁⲩ- <i>CO.</i> 202	ⲡⲡⲁⲁ- 180	ⲥⲭⲁⲁⲩ <i>Jême</i> no. 44, 71
ⲁⲁⲡⲉ <i>Jême</i> no. 25, 11 &c.	ⲡⲥⲁⲁ- <i>CO.</i> 352, Ad. 40	ⲩⲱⲁⲁ- 287
ⲡⲡⲁⲁⲡ Hall p. 63	ⲡⲩⲁⲁ- <i>CO.</i> 132	ⲉⲁⲁⲩ <i>Jême loc. cit.</i>
ⲡⲡⲁⲁⲩ <i>CO.</i> 134	ⲡⲁⲁⲩ 525, <i>Jême</i> no. 65, 3, 42	

Of e in ⲉⲉ- Hall p. 34; ⲡⲉⲉ "truth," *ST.* 174, *Jême* no. 106, 72; ⲡⲉⲉ "love" *Tor.* 28 (*cf.* *CO.* 278 ⲡⲡⲉ); ⲉⲉ *Jême* no. 106, 58, 61 &c. (*cf.* ⲉⲡⲉ *ST.* 246, *Jême* no. 65, 20, no. 69, 23 &c.; once ⲉⲡⲉ *ST.* 393).

Of o in ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ Hall p. 70	ⲥⲡⲟⲟⲩ Hall p. 70	ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲡⲡ., Hall p. 121
ⲡⲡⲟⲟ- &c. <i>CO.</i> 110, <i>Jême</i>	ⲥⲟⲟⲡ <i>CO.</i> 190	ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ vb., <i>Jême</i> no. 4, 34
no. 65, 51 &c.	ⲥⲟⲟⲩ <i>CO.</i> 294	ⲉⲡⲟⲟⲩ Hall p. 74
ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲩ <i>CO.</i> 154	ⲩⲁⲗⲟⲟ- <i>CO.</i> 140	ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲩ <i>CO.</i> 375
ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲩ <i>ib.</i>	ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩⲉ <i>Jême</i> no. 15, 37	ⲟⲟⲟⲥⲉ <i>ST.</i> 224
ⲡⲟⲟⲩⲩ <i>ST.</i> 283	ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩⲉ "fisher," <i>BP.</i> 669	
ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲡ MMA. 24.2.6	ⲩⲱⲟⲟⲡ <i>Jême</i> no. 44, 11 (also ⲩⲱⲟⲡ)	

Of ω in ⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ 268, ⲭⲱⲱⲡ *ST.* 225 (where also ⲭⲱⲱⲡ).

On the other hand single vowels are often found where double would be normal, especially in *ⲉⲩⲉⲡ-, ⲗⲁⲩ, ⲡⲁⲭⲉ, ⲟⲩⲁⲩ, ⲭⲟⲩ (*ⲭⲁⲩ) vb.

It will be recollected that vowel-duplication is the most constant characteristic distinguishing the idiom in which the literary texts from Esne-Edfû are written.

b. Consonants

The use, diverging from the Sa'idic, of certain consonants is occasionally worthy of note⁶ and, although similar irregularities could be recorded from non-Theban texts as well, a few instances from our material may be given.

ⲗ for ⲓ occurs repeatedly in the word ⲓⲩ: 243, 246, 279, 304, *ST.* 294, 309, 430, *CO.* 135, 310, 385, *RE.* 8, 21; rarely otherwise: *ST.* 309, *BKU.* 262 (Aussens. 10), 274. Still rarer is ⲗ for ⲩ: ⲩⲩⲉⲗⲉⲣⲁ (δεύτερα) *Jême* no. 12, 70.⁷

¹ Leg. ⲉⲓⲣ (ⲟⲩ)ⲱⲩ + "I wait."

² ⲉⲓⲱⲩⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲉⲓⲁⲩⲉ.

³ Leg. ⲡⲥⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩ)ⲱⲉ.

⁴ Leg. ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲱⲉ, not ⲱⲡⲉ.

⁵ *loc. cit.* p. 121.

⁶ The lists in *CO.* Coptic Index illustrate several of these features.

⁷ Confusion of initial *b* and *w*, so prevalent in the Esne-Edfû mss., is hardly known here.

LANGUAGE

ϵ represents σ in -ϵη *Jême* no. 69, 29; πολϵ 261; ϵαλп CO. 251; ϵηпη, ϵпηη CO. 327, ST. 281; κλοϵ 222; ϵρομπε Tur. *Mater.* no. 22; ϵαϵ 532.

Conversely σ is for ϵ in several Greek words: ασαпη ST. 209, 225 *et saepe* (cf. таσαпη Tur. 13, collated by Prof. Jernstedt); псеηпης (ἐγγυητής) MMA. 12.180.193; σεωρσιος ST. 378; σπομη 145; also in the prefix пσ- MMA. 23.3.707.

ϵ = χ in ελαϵηστος CO. 165.

Note also how ϵ appears to sound like ι in αϵωп (αἰών) Part II p. 151 *supra*; also the interchange of these letters in ϵραпϵ, ϵραпη 119 n.

κ for ϵ is common; so too ϵ for κ. V. CO. Index pp. 116, 118.¹

κ for χ is found in καλκιοп 550; καλχηαωп 587 n.; κρια CO. 245; ποτρκηρια ST. 169; στοικει *ib.* 318.

Conversely χ represents κ in схϵϵ 258; схϵααρη 391; χαстроп Hall p. 106.

κ stands for ж in κп- (explicable through intermediate жп-) 216 n. and ωрк Hall p. 100.

κ stands for τ in ελгсаδек, v. *Jême* Index p. 434, varying sometimes in a single text: cf. no. 37, 12 and 40. On the converse v. below.

λ for ρ is found in a few Greek words: καλακωс (Κυριακός) CO. 385, BKU. 288; κτλιλос BKU. 49; λιτλα ST. 447; μεχϵιλ Cairo 8461; ολφαпос Hall p. 58; паλαкаλε 27 (has also пара-), 348 &c.; плессе (πράσσεσθαι) *Jême* no. 18, 59, and in fewer Coptic: κιλ *Tor.* 30; ϵλте Hall p. 115 *inf.*; лаρμαп name, Hall p. 18, BKU. 262²; жакотλ CO. 481 (cf. Cairo 8546).

ρ for λ is commoner (as in other Sa'idic *patois*,³ notably that of Ashmunain) and due usually to assimilation:

αφοφορос *Jême* no. 13, 6

ϕергсаргос 559

рке (αλκε) CO. 303

каращгге ST. 54

κρηροпomos *Jême* no. 7, 41 &c.

паракаре *Jême* no. 94, 58, ST. 240

патроргос Cairo 8413

порк- *Tor.* 31

потркнрия Pulcheria, ST. 169

прапне (πληпне) *Jême* no. 94, 50

перрот (πληροῦν) *Jême* no. 7, 44

пророфореи (πληροφορεῖν) *Jême* no. 123, 10

рппη (λυπεῖσθαι) Cairo 8479

схггαρη (σκυτάλη) 391

тсерхот v. *Jême* Index p. 458

φανгсаргос CO. 472

фер, ргнр, пхер name, MMA. 24.2.3 and

24.2.5, *Jême* Index p. 453

φολокаре (φιλοκαλεῖν) *Jême* no. 69, 25

хареб *Jême* no. 36, 5

п stands once for λ: сгмϕопеϵ (συμβουλευεῖν) ST. 254,⁴ and once for ρ: споптглос *Jême* no. 67, 121 (cf. 468 n.).

м replaces α in φοгмамωп Hall p. 73 (*sic*), and п in меσε (=πεσε) ST. 227.⁵ With these cf. perhaps птλн? = мтλн MMA. 24.2.7 and петемотт 278 n.

¹ These equations obviously recall the *g* for *k* at Thebes today.

² Cf. Achm. λερμεп = ϕмап.

³ A curious Theban instance: нр for нλ, the divine name, Leyden p. 456.

⁴ In εϕоп, *Jême* no. 4, 85, λ is either omitted or assimilated; cf. no. 1, 113.

⁵ Cf. Ryl. 396 мажег, *Acta Pauli* мпа.жег, BM. 483 мπεжаг (not Theban).

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п is occasionally omitted, as in *εψα-* CO. 300, or twice in *ψαατακνιτ* 287; also in **са-*, **се-* for *пса-* BM. 445, ST. 101, 442.

Writers seem sometimes to be undecided in choice of *м* or *п*, e.g. *мп-* 356, *мπεκ-* CO. 322, *мппнпн* CO. 167, *пммппнот* 182, *зпм-* 180.

с often stands for *з*: *αωρρισε* *Jême* no. 106, 151 (cf. *ib.* 126); *λασαρος* MMA. 24.2.3; *μαρτιρεσε* *Jême* no. 18, 7; *σαχαριας* ST. 212 et *saere* (*сахер* BКУ. 313); *σεβητεος* ST. 424; *секи* (*ζυγή*) *Jême* no. 16, 23, ST. 378, 3 (leg. *сеση*); *споттасе* ST. 252 (v. below); *τωρεсе* *Jême* no. 18, 21.

Conversely *з* for *с*: *за-* (= *εσα-* fut. fem.) RE. 10 vо.; *αλεζε* (*ἀλλάσσειν*) Hall p. 106, RE. 3, *Jême* no. 7, 22 &c.; *απωταζε* ST. 54; *занл* 437 n.; *зно* ST. 286; *прωζωπον* *Jême* no. 37, 126; *тазе* *Jême* no. 23, 59, no. 45, 57; *термнзе* 288.

с varies with *ш* in a few words: *се* (= *шере*) CO. 207; *еш* 333; *есшн* *Jême* no. 105, 2; *оетс* 80; *скар* *Jême* no. 31, 25; *сот-* 177, 465; *шкер* RE. 20; *шоеш* CO. 459; *шошч* *Jême* no. 68, 28 and in many names: cf. *патωш* (Hall p. 19) and *патωрс*, *пишенαι* and *писпαι*, *прише* and *присе*, *пшамнр* and *псамнр*, *пшнзωр* and *псепзωр*, *пшпсiωп* and *ψпсiωп* (v. above, p. 121).

с stands for initial *х* in *се-* 338, CO. 244, BКУ. 42, for final in *λαхлес* *Jême* no. 76, 45. Similarly *ше-* for *хе-* in 292 n. (adding CO. 381, 8). Likewise *ш* for *х* in ST. 181, *шен-* and *шотн* "twenty-five," Louvre R. 49; *зешзωх* 65, BP. 8708.

т seems to vary with *р* in the name *таχнл* *Jême* no. 16, 49, written *раχнл* *ib.* 14, though the former is authenticated elsewhere.

т is for *к* in the names *талитснпс* *Jême* no. 79, 38, written *калитснпс* *ib.* 1,¹ and probably *тлωхе* CO. 437, for *кλωхе* &c. V. 532 n.

т stands rarely for *с*: *тримнте* and *тримнсе* ST. 96.

θ stands once for *ф* in *θεβρωπια* *Jême* no. 17, 30.

тс represents *х* in *маатсе* ST. 116; *Κολοτσε* 624,² while in *ελαδαкохе* *Jême* no. 49, 3 we see the converse of this. Cf. *ερολοκοτсе* *ib.* no. 36, 43 &c.

ш stands for *з* in the relative prefix *εταш-* 544 n.; also in *сшот* (*схот*) 98; *шра* *Jême* no. 75, 57; *шисе* CO. 271; *штор* (?) ST. 250. It represents *х* in the place-name *пашме* 87 n.; in *шмтснпн* *Jême* no. 7, 63 &c.

Conversely *з* represents Sa'idic *ш* in

* <i>мазе</i> , <i>мозе</i> ST. 228, 359 &c.	<i>сизе</i> CO. Ad. 49	<i>з-</i> vb., ST. 59, 395, <i>Jême</i>
<i>порз</i> ST. 233	<i>сазхе</i> 532, 537, CO. 459	no. 19, 57 (cf. <i>зш-</i> 261)
<i>парзс</i> 351	<i>тразрег</i> CO. 469	<i>зе</i> vb., CO. 321
<i>соеиз</i> 348 (also <i>соеиш</i>)	<i>отωзе</i> ST. 55	<i>знм</i> <i>Jême</i> no. 113, 4, ST. 134

¹ The name recurs at Thebes as *ταριτсени* (Strzygowski, Cairo Catal. no. 7201 = Lefebvre no. 763) and in the *Synaxar.*, 20th Hatûr (PO. iii 313), as that of a martyr associated at Luxor with Shenetôm. Cf. Legrain *Louqsor sans les Pharaons* 11. The name Callisthene is known

(*Synax. Cpolit.*, Delehayе, p. 104). On the interchange of *t* and *k* v. Sethe *Verbum* i § 285, Spiegelberg *Demot. Pap.*... *Elephantine* p. 26, also Rahlfs's *Psalter* 35 (3).

² Cf. forms such as *керωптсе* Hall p. 113, Krall lxvii, Strzygowski *loc. cit.* p. 118, *λεονтсе* *Jême* no. 94, 51.

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ϱομπτ 543, *CO.* 320
ϱοτμαρε *Jême* Index p. 467

ϱαρ *ST.* 240, BM. ostr.
44808
ϱηρε (?) 546

ϱορν Cairo 44674, 126 (dis-
carded)
ϱτερταрт *ST.* 335

ϣ stands for ϣ: ϣε- 292, *ST.* 378, *CO.* 381, Hall p. 98 (5875), BM. Or. 6943 (9); ϣеп- (ϣп-) *ST.* 181; ϣице Louvre R. 49.¹

The letter ϣ is not infrequently met with: (a) for ϣ in ϣανϣ *Jême* no. 116, 4; ϣер-(ϣрп-) *ib.* no. 62, 9 (*cf.* ϱορν above); ϣοος *BKU.* 48=ϣοο *CO.* 307; (b) for ϱ in εβωνϣ *CO.* 44; παϣανс Alexandria stele 281; πϣαταпн 85; ϣонϣнм *Jême* no. 88, 4 (*cf.* ϣανϣнм no. 94, 54); ϣωϣе *CO.* 158, 370, *Jême* no. 65, 44; ϣϣат 256, *RE.* 19 &c.; ϣο 531 п.; ϣарοι *RE.* 10 *vo.* (unpublished). Obscure is ϣαϣ *ST.* 129 (?=ϣαϣт=ϣοϣт. *Cf.* perhaps H. Thompson in *Tor. Demot.* p. 53, note on *kft*).

ϱ is sometimes treated abnormally²:

(a) it is superfluous in οτωϱ 170
Perhaps in τϣερκαϱ &c. *Jême* Index p. 458
(*cf.* Τσελχοῦ)

ϱερϣап- Imp. Russ. Arch. Soc. *Zapiski*
xviii 026

ϱес BM. 458

ϱарнτ *ST.* 191 (as in the Edfû mss.: Budge
Mart. 57, *Misc.* 438, 446)

and in Greek words:

ϱελεсеос, ϱηλεсаиос *CO.* 181, 316; ϱαπαгпωстнс
440 &c., *BKU.* 313; ϱептагпон Leyden
Catal. 1900, no. 35; ϱιατροс 223

(b) it is lacking in λαλнτ *ST.* 415

ⲙⲣⲁⲗ *Rec... Champollion* 495

ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲗⲧ (? ⲙⲭⲁⲣⲧ) *ST.* 298

πιωε above, p. 120

πααμ *Jême* no. 71, 63

πнτ *Jême* no. 119, 3

ϣαι *CO.* 207

ϣιμε 344, 470, 545 &c.

ϣοοτс *RE.* 21, 4 (ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲧϣοοτс)

οτωρ 349, *BKU.* 41, *ST.* 199, *Tur.* 15
&c.

ϣ for τϣ is common. To the examples given in 520 n., *CO.* p. xx n. may be added ⲁϣпε *ST.* 364; ϣн- *ST.* 420; ϣемϣе (ϣмпτϣе) Hall p. 69; ϣере (τϣεερε) *RE.* 18, *Jême* no. 40, 37; ϣερκαϱ *Jême* no. 24, 25. With these *cf.* ϣ reinforced by τ in τϣнме 236 n.; τϣοτни *BKU.* 45, or τ absorbed by ϣ in ϣοε *Jême* no. 67, 77.

ϣ appears to be for τс (v. above) in ϱαλακοϣе *Jême* no. 49, 3; conversely τζ represents it in the name Πατζουеиос MMA. 24.2.6, with which *cf.* ⲁспаϣе (ⲁσπαζειν) Hall p. 83.

ϣ for ϣ is found in ϣω 244 (where also ϣω); ϣοτϣт *BP.* 1774, ϣиϣ *Tor.* 42; also for τϣ in ⲁϣομ *Rendic... Lincei* xv 475.

ϣ is for ϣ in ⲁпτιλεϣе *CO.* 171 and the same *ib.* Ad. 63, and probably 297, 10.

ϣ for ϣ, as in Achm. and early Sa'id. texts,³ is too rarely found here to have been widespread: *Jême* no. 18, 8 ⲁρϣеи (*sic*).

ϣ for ϣ in μεσεϣ (πεϣαϣ) *ST.* 227; ορϣ *ib.* 181; ϣп- (ϣп-) *RE.* 24, *ST.* 227, Hall p. 112.
V. above, under н.

¹ ϣице ϱηпϣοεис, as in *RE.* 18 *ter* &c.

² As so often in Achmimic.

³ *V.* H. Thompson's *Gospel of St. John*, 1924, p. xix.

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Doubled consonants are not uncommon:

ϛ in ϛϛϛραραμ CO. 456; ϛϛϛω 561; ϛϛϛιν CO. 302; πϛϛρρε 192; ϛρεϛϛωπ 304; ταϛϛϛ (ϛ πταϛι) ST. 294; ψϛϛππε Hall p. 117.

κ in τεκκλινρονομια 545; τικκμπτсон CO. 321.

λ in λσφαλλια Cairo 44674, 81 (discarded); λωλλυ ST. 394; λλλχε 232, 385, 390 &c.; ϕελλλδϛε (θλιβειν) ST. 306.

μ in μμαρε- 143; μμειϛι CO. 185; ρμμοπт ib. 167; тμмопохн Cairo 8484.

π in ππнок 86; απпр- CO. 257; απпρ CO. Ad. 4; ιорπππнс CO. 165; ππ- gen. and dat., CO. 93, BKU. 299 &c.; ππα- fut., CO. 128; ππим CO. 279; ππτοϛ vb., 314; τωππα BM. ostr. 44809 and τоппоϛ ST. 289; also CO. Index p. 119.

π in ππαρχинр/ CO. 54; οππеш 309; таππноϛте name, ST. 145. Cf. here the prosthetic e- in πп-, referred to below.

ρ in μαρττρριζε CO. 289; ρρ- ib. Ad. 55, 666, Aegyptus iii 283; ρρп ST. 441; ρωρριζε Jême no. 106, 126 &c.; ерртоϛ ST. 139. But ρρεϛ- ST. 383 is perhaps archaic for πρεϛ-.

с in εисс CO. 411 &c.; ссϛω above, p. 20; еϛεссмоϛ CO. 126, 184, ST. 377 &c.; πиссραи CO. 300; πтассраи- Rec... Champollion 495; πессπте Cairo 8449; тассριμε Jême no. 91, 31. In λασсарос CO. 437 (cf. λасса ib. 29), споттассе ST. 250 double с represents ϛ. V. above.

τ in εтт- 180, Hall p. 22; πттене 2nd plur., 322; мтт- CO. 117; мттρε ostr. penes Prof. Sayce; мтттаϛте CO. 180; мертт- ib. 278; мнтте Rendic... ut sup. 475; шомнтте 356; шмттенооϛ Leyden Catal. 1900, p. 20; ϛнтте Ann. du S. xxii 270.

ψ in ψψλнλ 287.

ϣ in εϣϣ RE. 3.

ϛ in περριοоϛте 108; πρρωϛ CO. 306; περρото CO. 83; ϛρραι Tor. 1, ϛρραιт- CO. 142; ϛραππαιατρα/ Leyden ut sup. (sic leg.).

Notice may here be taken of the frequent reinforcement of certain consonants (explosives) by others of related nature, as in

рксооϛп 192	κϛ(ρ)ια 217, 363	πесптөөс Hall p. 54
пркеи CO. 196	пϛι (? ϣι) ST. 357	петөөоϛ Leyden 484
пρσтаατ ST. 246	ϣϛει (ϣι) BP. 386, таϣϛι- CO. 378	ϛωτϛε 543
лотεϛϛ ST. 315		ϛтωρ Tor. 12
μαστιϛϛ 199	пфεϛ CO. 326	тϛι- (тщε-) 182
κσολ ST. 280	пψап CO. 301 (cf. λαψψανε 331)	
жекσ Aegyptus iii 283		
икϛпос 411	пψιс Tur. Mater. no. 16	

II. Morphology

Peculiarities morphological in the stricter sense, which distinguish these dialectal texts, are not numerous. As regards the verb, the most noticeable are pronominal forms of †: тик 300; тϣ, †ϣ 336, 531 &c., also †ειϣ Tor. 12, тιαϣ Jême no. 16, 39, тιαаϣ Hall p. 109 &c., тειοταϣ ib. p. 117, таиеϣ Cairo 44674, 16; тис 351, CO. 317, †с ST. 170, тс Louvre R. 1783, тιαс

ST. 55; *τεῖον* 278, *Jême* no. 18, 50, no. 113, 9, *†ον* 287, *Sphinx* x 155 &c., also *τεον* ST. 294, *τεν* ST. 233, *τεαν* 280, *τιον* (?) ST. 137. The absolute of this verb is rarely *τε*, ST. 202. These forms recall Achm. *τεε-* and *τε*.¹

A variety of pronominal forms of *ερα* are noticeable here, as in literary texts: **εραγ* 281, 374 B, *Jême* no. 106, 217 &c., *εραγ* ST. 48, *Jême* no. 67, 101, Imp. Russ. Arch. Soc. *Zapiski* xviii 026, *εραγ* *Jême* no. 12, 21, no. 78, 27²; **εραε* CO. Ad. 40, *εραε* CO. 303, 304, BM. 445, *εραε* CO. 311, 392, *Rec... Champollion* 495; *εραον* *Jême* no. 43, 39, *εραιον* 323, *Jême* no. 66, 80, *εραιον* and *εραισον* in one text, above, p. 19, *εραισα* in a *Jême* pap., Leipzig University. *εαε-* appears to be used as construct in *Tor.* 12, *εωε-* perhaps in ST. 353.

The archaic qualitative in *-οειτ* seems to be exemplified by *ελοειτ* (? for *εαλοειτ*) CO. 378; whereas *εοειτ* Tur. *Mater.* no. 16, CO. 304, Hall p. 79, is clearly not qualitative, however else it is to be explained.

Once the Achm. qualitative *ει(ε)=ο* has been noted: ST. 178, 15.

Several verbs with paragogic *-ε* (as in Achm.) are to be met with: *μοτνε* MMA. 23.3.702³; **ηδε* CO. Ad. 27; *ηαλη* (*ηωλ*) *Jême* no. 38, 28; **εατνε* ST. 335; **οτωμε* (the most frequent) 241, 260, 403 &c.; **οτωμε* *Jême* no. 45, 44, no. 46, 20; *ωρη* 344. Presumably to be classed with these is **εωμε* Leyden p. 451. In 541 *αταμε* seems to represent **οτωμε*.

An *-ε* is similarly appended to substantives: *εηερε*, **απερε* 98, 280; *απερε* (?) *Jême* no. 16, 29; *εαε* *ib.* 57, 8; *επε* 547 n.; *εμπε* *Jême* no. 3, 28, no. 6, 17 (*cf.* no. 71, 28 *εμπε*, by same scribe); *εεετε* &c. *Jême* Index p. 367; *ιπε* *Jême* no. 4, 32, Hall p. 106 *supra*, *BKU.* 94; **λαατε*, *λατε* *passim*, v. *Jême* and CO. Indexes; **ηδε* 646, 660, ST. 184, 385, *Jême* no. 66, 73, also *ηαι* CO. 278, Hall p. 61, *BKU.* 264, *ηε* BM. 1211 A,⁴ *ηαειν* ST. 287, Louvre 9286 (where also *ηα*); the names *ηλαειπε*, *ηληπε* &c. and *ηαεμε*⁵; *ροιμε* (*ροοιμ*) *BKU.* 308⁶; *τοε*, *τοτε*, *ταε*, **ταε* 102, *Jême* Index p. 381; *ταητε* *qualit.*, *PSBA.* xxx 204; *οταε* Hall pp. 108 *inf.*, 130 for *οτα* (Achm. *οτε*); *ηαε* 333, 458, CO. 27, 79, Hall p. 61 *inf.*, *Jême* no. 76, 28,⁷ also *ηαι* *BKU.* 308 (?); *ημοτε* *Jême* no. 65, 61; *επε* in *επεεπε* 503, CO. 144, 147, *Jême* no. 1, 64 &c.⁸; *εοτε* "wall," *Jême* no. 11, 60, no. 24, 8, also *εοι* CO. 148, ST. 109, Tur. *Mater.* no. 16 (*sic leg.*).

Plural forms are in some cases new: *ετοοτε*, *ετατε* ST. 92, CO. 454, Hall p. 115 *inf.* (*εοταοτε* *sic leg.*), Louvre R. 1780; *ειαεον* CO. 145, *Jême* no. 38, 24, ST. 108, 396, in CO. 169 apparently *ειαεοντε*; *κοτεε* RE. 5 may be plural, or = *κεοτεε* (*cf.* *κητε* 314); *αελατε* or *λατε* or even *λαατ* 359 n.; *ηρετ*, *ηρητ* 179 n.; *εμητ* 437 n.

A form characteristic of the Theban idiom is *κοτ-*, which very often and irrespective of

¹ Such forms have been observed once only in literary texts and that in the colophon of an Edfu ms.: Budge *Misc.* p. li = Pl. XXII, *αγτιον*.

² With these *cf.* Ryl. 346 *εραεγ*.

³ *μοτνε* Zoega 270, 13, is irrelevant here.

⁴ *Cf.* Achm. *πη* Rec. xi. 147.

⁵ The demotic form (*AZ.* 1888, 67 and Taf. II, Spiegelberg *Eigennamen* p. 25*) shows that this is not a mere

derivate of Greek Παχώμιος, as was suggested in *Theol. Texts* 100 n. *ηαεομα* in MS. Morgan li 36 is probably equivalent, not to this, but to *ηαεομω*.

⁶ *Cf.* *κα προοιμ* *ib.* 151, ST. 388.

⁷ *Cf.* *ib.* no. 66, 31, by the same scribe. The following *π-* has influenced him, as obviously in most instances of this substantive. An instructive exception is CO. 27.

⁸ Apparently an extension of *επε*, although genders differ.

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gender replaces *κε-*. *V. CO.* 221 n. and Index and here Part II p. 357, *ST.* p. 139. Yet in the *Jême* deeds it is only once met with: no. 69, 76, though twice in one Edfû text: Budge *Misc.* 267, 280, a ms. displaying several "Theban" features.¹

Distinctive also is the construct form of *ειωτ*, most often *ειτ-* *CO.* 323 &c., also *ιτ-* *Jême* no. 67, 130, *CO.* 184, 186, 447, *ST.* 361 and *ατ-* *CO.* 145a, 463, *ST.* 55, 362. In *Jême* no. 73 *passim* *αι-* is presumably to be read *αι(τ)-*; similarly *ει-* in *CO.* 180, 15.² Again *μαξ-* in *μαξσαс* *CO.* 476, *ST.* 316, *μαξειωτ* Hall p. 84, seems peculiar to these texts. Another construct form, very common further north, *ρωμ-* instead of the normal *ρμ-*, is met occasionally. *V.* 302 n. and *CO.* 404, 449, Hall p. 80; fem. *τρωμ-* Vald. Schmidt *Den Aegypt. Samling*, 1908, no. 812; also in *προμοται BP.* 5653. In *BKU.* 35 it is not truly construct: *προμναπε*, in *ST.* 222 *ρωμε πετεμοτ* still less so. On other remarkable uses of *ρμ-* *v.* 369 n., adding BM. 478.

The demonstratives have so constantly the forms *πε-*, *τε-*, *κε-* that illustration here is superfluous. *V.* Part II Index IV s.vv. The article, masculine and feminine, is often characterized by a prosthetic vowel (*π̄-*, *τ̄-*), when the following word begins respectively with *π* or *τ*.³ To the occurrences in the present texts⁴ add: *Jême* no. 75, 41, 134, 151 (our Appendix III), *ST.* 251, 286, 328, 334, Hall pp. 94, 109 *supra* (whereas *ib.* p. 69 writes *πεπερεχ/*), *ÄZ.* 1892, 42. Note also that this phenomenon is to be observed, in similar conditions, throughout the Sub-achmîmic *St. John*.

The dative prefix *πα-*, to be found here on all sides, is perhaps the most exclusively Theban feature which we have to record. Plentiful examples are collected in the Indexes to Part II (p. 358), *CO.* and *Jême*.⁵ *πα-* expresses the dative of persons, hardly ever of places: *Jême* no. 98, 12, *CO.* 283, **101**, 16(?); never of things. That the writing *πα-* (*e.g.* **324**, *BKU.* 275) should be of any significance seems unlikely. The pronominal dative is very often, in these dialectal texts as in Achm., *πνι*, *πνη*, *πνη* &c. Similarly the conjunction *μη-* before suffixes is *μμη-*, *μεμη-* *ογ* *μεμε-*, *e.g.* in **105**, **169**, **336**, **666**.

So too the impersonal verbs are *οπητε-*, *οπητη-* **94**, **459**, Hall pp. 103, 112 &c. and *μητη-*, *μηπη-* **103**, **176**, **322**, *ST.* 232, *Jême* no. 56, 11 &c.

Verbal pronouns show remarkable forms in the conjunctive, although few, if any, of these are exclusively Theban: *τα-* **333**; *τη-* Hall p. 127 *inf.* (also *πη-*), *πηκ-* *ST.* 174, 227, Louvre R. 49; *τη-* *CO.* 185, Ad. 27(?), *πη-* *ST.* 178, 19, BM. Or. 6943 (12)⁶; *πητοτ-* *CO.* 484,

¹ Also *Rec.* vi 70, *Osireion* pl. 37 (ostrakon), in one or two Ashmunain texts: BM. 1032, 1129, and possibly in Fayyûmic: BM. 659, 1230.

² *ερπ*, in *ερп-* or *рпас* (*ST.* 306), is perhaps construct, but varies with *ηрп-* and is in any case not peculiarly Theban.

³ Rarely otherwise, as *Pistis ed.* Schmidt 241, 26, 242, 13 &c. Attention was directed to this peculiarity in *Papyrus-cod.* p. xi, where various but non-Theban texts exhibiting

it were named. To them add BM. 273 = *ROC.* xxiii 101 ff. Stern's view, that the phenomenon merely indicates a late date, is expressed in his §§ 6 and 62. Cf. also Mallon in *Mélanges... Beyrouth* i 116, Rahlfs *Psalter* 41.

⁴ *V.* Part II p. 358 for the masc.; the fem. is rare: instances *Tor.* 29, 8, Part II Append. I, penult. *τ̄τιμη*; *v.* also *Pistis* 293 *ult.* (*τε-* and *τ̄τιμη*).

⁵ *V.* also Stern § 502.

⁶ *πη-* *CO.* 265 is perhaps a mere error.

Hall p. 127 *inf.* (πτορρωε)¹; πσοτ- *v.* CO. 284 n., 398, со(т)- CO. 314.² Similarly πте- (*sic*) in RE. 5 seems to stand for πсе-. The 3rd person of another series: πег- appears now and then: *Jême* no. 2, 42, no. 69, 35, no. 78, 61.

Other abnormal verbal prefixes are to be found, but seldom in more than a single example each:

ате- 2nd fem., ST. 48 (*bis*), Cairo ostr. 47400³
 аретн- 286
 ача- fut. III, CO. 168
 папта- rel. fut., 102,⁴ ппта- ST. 309
 петпа- do., BM. 488 (петпапро) and (е)теа- CO. 181⁵
 пн еупа- do., WZKM. 1902, 264 (collated)
 птаре- (= таре-) final, 72, 199, 275, CO. 254, RE. 44 &c.⁶
 птера- do., 2nd fem., CO. Ad. 58
 етаг-, етащ- relat., *v.* 544 n.
 ерщанте- condit., CO. 116, 140, *Jême* no. 4, 64, no. 65, 73, no. 66, 23 (?)
 еща- (ерщан-) do., RE. 10 *vo.* (not published)
 щат- (щант-) ST. 227
 ерща- do., CO. 300
 ещарег- aorist, 373
 те- (тре-) causat., *Jême* no. 122, 56, CO. 180, 16, also? 339 (птаотт)
 and the negatives:
 паते- (мпаते-) BKU. 308
 пата- 236, 13
 мпаеи- (?) 238, 16

мпап- CO. 344, MMA. 23.3.701 (мпап-соотп)
 мпр- 2nd fem., Cairo ostr. 47400⁷
 пег- (? мпег-) CO. 136
 пга-? neg. fut., CO. 384
 ма- appears to stand occasionally for маре-: CO. 61, 300, 342, 381, RE. 3 *sub fn.*; or for мап- 1st plur.: 437, Hall p. 127 *inf.* (ма†); elsewhere for мп-: 459 (*bis*), ST. 300, RE. 5 l. 23 (?), which last in Hall p. 74 and ? in CO. 180, 15 is written мап-. In ST. 227, 23 this negative seems to be мма-, followed by ап. маг- *Jême* no. 97, 48 remains obscure
 мр-, мер- imperat. neg., *Zapiski ut sup.*, Leyden *Catal.* 1900, no. 7 (мермот); also пр- 335⁸
 ммен- seems to be the Achm. neg. imper. in CO. 152 *vo.*, as in a Florence stele (мплэп &c.) and Tur. *Mater.* no. 37⁹
 мпор, used as мпр-, CO. 271, Ad. 55, ST. 222, Hall p. 73.¹⁰ *V.* above, p. 240 and CO. p. xxi n. 9¹¹

On the use made of мпте- *vb.* neg., *v.* below.

The 2nd plur. often shows metathesis of the second vowel: тетне- ST. 394 &c.; ететне- CO. Ad. 60 and етне- 84 A, BKU. 318; атне- 541, ST. 364; птетне- ST. 333; щатне- Hall p. 89; матне- CO. 61; мпте- *ib.* Ad. 52; ошатне- *ib.* Ad. 38. With these may be mentioned тнртне CO. 277 (*sic* prob.), while гтотне ST. 286 is 1st plur.

1 τот- is found in Ryl. 316, whereof the idiom might suggest Thebes.

2 сот- CO. 467 is for се-, pres. I. Cf. 398 n.

3 As well as аре- (ар- in CO. Ad. 58, ST. 96) Sa'idic texts show а-: Ruth ii 11, Judith xiii 20, *Pistis ed.* Schmidt 297, 10, CSCO. 42, 202 l. 6 &c.; but ате- seems to be new. Cf. те- in pres. I.

4 петпа- Sa'idic in same formula, CO. 148 &c.

5 Cf. †а- in ST. 265, Ryl. 332, BIF. iii 208, BM. Gk. v p. 134 (75): none Theban.

6 *V.* Spiegelberg in *AZ.* 1924, 161. Of this таре- is 2nd

fem. in *Jême* no. 56, 10.

7 мпи- 512, мпег- CO. 128, мпете- Tur. 15, CO. 381, seem to have a future sense (cf. мпаते- &c., which in ST. 227, 16 is almost "lest he").

8 Cf. Achm. прр- Hos. iv 15.

9 Hence one might question the commoner reading: мн ληποτ &c., did not the parallel Greek formula confirm it.

10 Likewise in BM. 1224. Cf. Röscher *Vorbem.* p. 167.

11 Two of the forms there cited are to be cancelled: маеипа- 381 should be маеипаотгт and мпра- 254 should be мпрабщк.

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Of suffixed pronouns we find only 1st sing. *κοι, και* to note. *V.* 248 n. and Part II Addenda *ad loc.*

An enclitic *-τε* has been commented upon in 338 n. To which, if to any of those cited that—apparently explicative—is related in the glossary *CO.* 434¹ remains to be decided. It is remarkable that, irrespective of gender, *-πε* varies (on *verso*) with *-τε* in this last text.

Finally note may be taken here of aberrations of gender in one or two words, though we will not claim these as exclusively Theban: *εἰρη*, when with *σωσε* and presumably regarded as a single word, is feminine,² 86, 277, *CO.* 303 &c. *ηρη* seems to be feminine in Bodl. Copt. ostr. 433 (*τηρη*), Cairo ostr. 47400 (*τειρομη ηρη*), though here again some unexpressed feminine word—a measure, for instance—may be understood. A feminine *ωπε* occurs obscurely in MMA. 24.6.5 (*αιχαριζε παρ ητερωπε*) and *BP.* 4982 (*αιτ τερωπε*) and might recall *τωπε* = *ρόμβος* in the glossary, BM. P. 1724 l. 164.³ *ειρε* as a feminine of *ειρ* (*v.* 547 n.) and *ειρε* perhaps of *ειρ* (*v.* above, p. 247) may here be added, although the latter of these is not found independently. Among the Greek words used the gender varies in the case of *κεράτιον* (280 n.), *πάσχα* (245 n.) and *πλάξ* (above, p. 189 n.).

III. Syntax

Syntactically these texts exhibit a certain number of noteworthy features, some of them to be found again in Achmîmic. Among the latter is the marked tendency to use the absolute where Sa'idic would prefer the construct forms of verbs,⁴ *e.g.*

<i>εωκ ST.</i> 116	<i>ταμειο 299</i>	<i>ωψ 298</i>
<i>κω 256, 433, 516</i>	<i>τατο 503</i>	<i>ψωπ ST.</i> 201
<i>μοτρ, μωρ 163, CO.</i> 197,	<i>οτωρ 182, 516</i>	<i>ψωτ CO.</i> 314 ⁵
<i>199, 335 et saepe</i>	<i>οτωψ 431</i>	<i>ζωκ v.</i> above, p. 19
<i>ποτ Jême no.</i> 85, 11	<i>οτωρμ Jême no.</i> 21, 58	<i>κποτ 302</i>
<i>ταλο Jême no.</i> 84, 37	<i>ωπ ST.</i> 388	<i>σωπ 278</i>
<i>ταμο v.</i> above, p. 19	<i>ωρη CO.</i> 116	

A like phenomenon can also be observed in one or two substantives: *κωτ- 298, 523, 535, Tor.* 12, *Leyden Catal.* 1900, no. 157⁶; *ειωπε- 85, ειωρ(ε)- 85, Jême no.* 1, 50, no. 43, 31 &c.

Other verbal forms are now and then found unexpectedly: *μαψτ (μοψτ)* for *μοψτ 264*; *σεπσωπ* for *σεπσеп CO.* 271, MMA. 14.1.145 (discarded), prob. 162, 17; *сотωп* for *сотп- 46⁷*; *отпн* for *отωп 247*; *срди* for *снз Jême no.* 42, 41; *μοτρ* for *μερ- 400, CO.* Ad. 44. These however may well be mere careless or ignorant errors.

The conjunctive is often used with an apparently future sense; *v.* Part II Index p. 373,

¹ Better republished by Pellegrini in *Sphinx* x 152.
² As in Demotic; *v. Tor. Demot.* p. 57.
³ Published in *Aegyptus* vi. That the measure (?) *ωπε* is not in question is evident, since that is masc.: 364, *CO.* Ad. 53, Hall p. 60.

⁴ Stern in *ÄZ.* 1886, 132; Steindorff *Elias Apok.* p. 30 (10).
⁵ *Leg.* *ψωτ εαντε.*
⁶ Whereas *κωτ = κωτωτ* in BM. 1211 A.
⁷ But this is a literary text, scarcely adducible here.

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adding to the cases there cited: 333, 7, 389, 5, *ST.* 40, 17, *ib.* 292, 7, 8, *ib.* 347, 6, *ib.* 351, 9, *CO.* 172, 10, *ib.* 182, 9, *ib.* 362, 9, Hall p. 106 *supra* 6, *BKU.* 308, 6. It will be noticed that the verb is here always in the 1st person—whether more than an accidental circumstance may be questioned. The prefix here (та-, нта-) cannot be explained as a causative infinitive.¹

Conditional clauses are often introduced by е-, ек-, ег- alone, as if by pres. 11²: *e.g.* 262, 302 *fin.*, Hall p. 83 *inf.*, *CO.* 94=122, 338, Ad. 40 *vo.* е- stands for ере- in 232, *CO.* 57=63 (*cf.* 84), 129, 8, 224, 340 *vo.* Similarly the negative verb мп-, мпт- &c. has in many phrases a conditional sense: 256, 302 *n.*, *CO.* 182, 236, 360, Ad. 52, *ST.* 447, Hall p. 127 *inf.* Elsewhere it forms a negative final clause: 238 *n.*, 384, *CO.* 176, 188,³ 314, 373, *ST.* 243, *Jême* no. 76, 76, Hall pp. 79 (26886), 127 (мптотеи), Cairo 44674, 49 (discarded, мптеосе шопе). Sometimes μήπως or μήποτε precede: 335, *Jême* no. 67, 89, Hall p. 74 (мпоте... мптеп-).⁴

That a writer should, in narrative, show a preference for the conjunctive participle еа- over indicative а- cannot be supposed a particularly Theban characteristic. *V.* 260 *n.*, also *RE.* 1.

The past relative prefix аг-, аш-, which occurs often, is identical with that found in pure Achmîmic, but not in Sub-achmîmic texts. *V.* 544 *n.*

Several elliptical constructions are to be recognized; the most frequent and the most curious is that of the verb "give, pay," described in 532 *n.* Introductory verbs are to be likewise supplied before those with the prefixes нс- in 295, тарек- in 314, хе- in 455.

Constructions with the help of нсї are all but unknown to these non-literary texts: *v.* 162 *n.*, 258 *n.* In 114, 143 the phrases wherein it probably occurs are literary; in 177 and *ST.* 325 biblical.⁵ The language of the *Jême* deeds is almost as sparing in its use.⁶

Some uses of privative ат-, referred to elsewhere⁷ as characteristic here, are in truth hardly to be so regarded; such, for example, as in 437, *CO.* 83, 367, Ad. 38, *ST.* 341, *Jême* no. 23, 19, no. 66, 32, *BKU.* 313.

An adverbial н-, prefixed to various particles, is, if not unknown elsewhere,⁸ yet more often to be found in Theban than in other Sa'idic texts: нарит 392; нахп- (ехп-) *CO.* 170;

¹ Rösch *Vorbem.* § 147.

² Noted by Stern in *ÄZ.* 1886, 132.

³ With this *cf.* *BP.* 4993 мптепаеиот еи пгѣн аrike.

⁴ In *CO.* 48 мапта- should probably be otherwise divided: ерне ехема (*Jême*) нта-: *cf.* Sethe *Burgschafts-urk.* p. 510. In *ST.* 115, 6 мп- is? 1st plur. neg. aorist.

⁵ With the latter *cf.* that in *ib.* 286, likewise biblical (*Ps.* xvii 46, *Job* xxvii 2). Even where the phraseology is literary and one might expect it, as in 111, 4, нсї is not

employed. The formality of an epitaph now and then allows of it: Alexandria stele 285.

⁶ From no. 65, 34 one might presume it unfamiliar.

⁷ *CO.* p. xxi.

⁸ Stern § 513. In Achm., Haggai i 1, ii 11 прї-. In other Sa'id. texts, прїон *Pistis ed.* Schmidt 355, потн- *ib.* 149, 17, 283, 13, пша- Ryl. 314, мпрос a Balaizah fragment, нсе Stern p. 344. In Bohairic, нтопω *Mus. Guim.* xvii 103.

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πτηνον, πτενον 478, CO. 160, 254, 385, ST. 240, BKU. 286, 5 (?).¹ Prefixed to Greek prepositions &c. it is not uncommon: πραπαζ BKU. 259; πκατα ib. 262; μπαπα 463, CO. 405, Ad. 15, Ad. 60; πταχι(?) 229. The πταρ, πταε, familiar in Achm. and in early Sa'idic texts, are absent here.

The verb σινε is remarkably employed in certain phrases (v. 173 n., 362), with a meaning, it would seem, equivalent to "supposing, assuming that."

Exclusively found hitherto in these Theban texts is the auxiliary στα-, on which v. CO. 122 n. and for further instances, Part II and ST. Indexes s.v.²

In the Theban idiom it appears to be not yet obligatory to designate the neuter object by the feminine pronoun -ε only; frequently, though always, it is true, where ω is the verb, this suffix is -ι.³ Examples out of many are 145, 307, 336, 358, 456, 474, 502, ST. 60, 194, 218, 249, CO. 81, 128, 181, 227 vo., 253, 290, 362, Ad. 35, RE. 30, 38,⁴ Jême no. 15, 92, no. 48, 58, no. 67 *passim*, no. 88, 10. Apparently no difference in meaning is recognized between αιχοοc and αιχοοι; indeed both genders are often used side by side: 348, 455, ST. 250, CO. 82, 185, 376, Jême no. 71, 12, 13. Disconcertingly ungrammatical is the frequent phrase κατα (or π-) θε πταιχοοι: 167, 329, 434, ST. 175, CO. 185, Ad. 53, Jême no. 68, 53, no. 76, 77, no. 97, 12. πταιχοοc, usual here, is of course common: CO. 185, Jême no. 65, 17, no. 75, 75, no. 106, 59. Cf. further ερψαντεχρεα σωπε... εκχοοι παι CO. 376. Whether this usage—too often found to be disregarded as mere error—be due to mistaken analogy from e.g. the biblical εχρηz γέγραπται, or is reminiscent of an ancient uncertainty as to gender, must be left to future enquiry.

IV. Vocabulary

When we turn to inspect the vocabulary of our Theban material we find that the dictionaries at present available offer a by no means exhaustive review of it.⁵ If, drawing upon the ostraca (the present work, CO., ST., BKU., Hall's book) and papyri (Jême, RE.), we count up the words to be found only in this material—unknown, that is, both to the similar documents from other districts and to the literature—we reach a total of about one hundred, seemingly authentic, which may, with some assurance, be claimed as Theban: that is to say, in use thereabouts, if not necessarily peculiar to the Theban *patois* alone. This list, too long to be reproduced here, will doubtless be increased as more texts come to light and some among the many still questionable forms substantiate their claims. As it is, although often in outward aspect specious enough, a large proportion of these accepted words remains as yet unintelligible. In most cases the new words refer evidently to the

¹ Peyron's instance, p. 121 *ult.*, is a misreading for πτενον. In Shenoute it is sometimes found: Amélineau *Oeuv. de Sch.* i 262.

² The Jême texts do not know it, unless no. 73, 5, 6 *ἄι-* be an instance.

³ A rare instance contrasts in the *Pistis* (146, 7) with the

usual formula πτασε...χοοι.

⁴ In l. 6 *leg.* πταιχοοι πακ.

⁵ The latest, Spiegelberg's *Handwörterbuch*, was issued before the appearance of ST. Moreover many texts still unpublished have been utilized for the present work.

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material objects and practical activities of every-day life and meanings for these can at most be inferred.¹

Besides the non-literary words, known as yet exclusively from texts such as these, there are others whereof either the meanings here are not those ascertained elsewhere, or of which other occurrences are notably scarce. Among these the following are conspicuous:

αλωτ <i>v.</i> above, p. 7	νοτρε <i>vb.</i> , 307 n.
εδειτ, εοειт 446 n.	сир <i>v.</i> above, p. 147
εωκ <i>transit.</i> , <i>passim</i>	та- "part," <i>v.</i> Part II Addenda <i>ad</i> 102
ειτη <i>Jême</i> &c.	отωρε 182 n.
κωρ 535 n.	отωщ <i>nn.</i> , 284 n.
λαατ <i>nn.</i> , 351 n.	ωπε <i>fem.</i> , <i>v.</i> above, p. 250
μα <i>prepositional</i> , CO. 48 n.	щта, щто ST. 122, 439
μοειт as in Boh., 472, ST. 286	щωγт 227 n.
μπт 531 n.	земпторп ST. 311 &c.
μρωρε, μρωще 549 n.	жак 364 n.
πнсе <i>Jême</i> no. 43, 25	

To resume: the idiom in daily use by Theban Copts, at the close of the Byzantine period, is substantially the normal Sa'idic, differing not perceptibly from the standard literary dialect. This a large majority of the extant texts exhibit in entire purity. Side by side however with these we see a considerable number of writers whose command of this standardized idiom is still uncertain; who are prone to the dialectal aberrations described above, which we may regard either as archaisms—provincial survivals from an earlier epoch—or as irregularities due to contagion with still vigorous neighboring *patois*. Decision between these alternative explanations is not easy and will be influenced primarily by two considerations: (1) that the mss. of literary texts, whereof the dialectal peculiarities approximate to those observable among our Theban documents (*i.e.* the Achmîmic and Sub-achmîmic texts), are, without exception, considerably older than this Theban material and that that group of dialects may therefore be assumed to have died out of popular use before our period; and (2) that our knowledge of the contiguous *patois*—more especially of those upon the south—is at present all but *nil*, so that we lack bases for an estimate as to how far the salient features noted at Thebes were characteristic also of contemporary speech in the adjacent districts. Summary

Presumably the language of these letters would be nearly identical with the spoken idiom of that day at Thebes—as near so as, in antiquity, writing ever came to speech. It is evident that most letters consist of two elements: the conventional formulas of greeting and compliment at beginning and end (which still await classification) and the intervening, often far less extensive subject-matter. The tale the writer attempts to tell or the request

¹ Here we may hope for future help from the demotic documents from the south.

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or complaint he has to make would be worded in a natural idiom, relatively exempt from literary influences, and should give us, within obvious limits, an idea of his everyday speech. Of this however the phraseology is not seldom so uncouth or inaccurate and to us as yet so unfamiliar, that the intended meaning remains but vaguely intelligible.

Yet it may be questioned whether marked departures from the Sa'idic standard could be collected in sufficient quantity from these non-literary texts to justify the description of the idiom wherein they occur as the Theban "dialect"—a term whereof the right application will always be controversial. Among the features which, at present, may be regarded as peculiar to the locality the most significant are: the words **τα-** (v. p. 253), **οτα-** (252), **οτωπε** (253); the uses of **μα** (*ib.*), **ειτη** (*ib.*) and of the negative **μητε-** (251); the dative **να-** (248); the pronominal forms of **†** (246); the construct of **ειωτ** (248); the ellipse of certain verbs (251). Other forms, such as **ροτ-** (238), **νη-** (*ib.*), although very common here, are not entirely unknown elsewhere.

Greek

Something as to the use of Greek at Christian Thebes was to have been said here by Evelyn-White. His death has deprived us of this and we, in his place, can do no more than offer a few superficial observations: scarcely more than an amplified repetition of what has already been said elsewhere.¹

as an ecclesiastical language

Among the Theban monasteries and hermitages at this period it is almost solely as an ecclesiastical language that Greek—the "Hellenic," or "Alexandrian" tongue, as it was here termed²—had maintained itself.³ Remnants of both biblical and liturgical mss. from Western Thebes show that, to some extent, Greek was still employed among the hermits.⁴ If use was found for such mss., we must assume that divine service was in part still recited in Greek; on the other hand, for private prayer the native speech would naturally suffice.⁵ That Greek, long after our period, might be heard in church not far from Thebes is evident from the presence of liturgical lessons in an Esne ms. of the late 10th century,⁶ although there the parallel Coptic version shows that translation into the native tongue was by then a necessity. Indeed there exists a far older fragment, brought from Thebes itself, of a bilingual lectionary, probably contemporary with the bulk of our material and testifying to a similar persistence of the Greek scriptures in the local liturgy.⁷ And further south still we are told that the use of Greek for such purposes was prolonged far into the Middle Ages: in the 11th century it was reputed to be the language of both lessons and prayers in the church of Nubia,⁸ while in the next century epitaphs were still being written there in

¹ *CO.* p. xxi. *V.* also the Subject Index here *s.v.* Greek.

² *Vita Pachom.* § 60, Budge *Mart.* 100 respectively. **ερωμαικον** is used in a fragt. of *Acta*, in BM. Or. 7561 (66) and in Paris 44 f. 31.

³ The soldier with whom Pesenthius talks through an interpreter (Budge *Apoc.* 121, *MIE.* ii 394) is a foreigner

(**πτεχωρα ηβολ**, *i.e.* ἡ ἐξω χώρα), presumably a European legionary; so Greek is not necessarily in question here.

⁴ *V.* above, pp. 198, 199 and Part II p. 299 ff.

⁵ Above, p. 199.

⁶ Budge *Misc.* 249 ff.

⁷ *Sphinx* x 153.

⁸ Musabbiḥī, quoted in *ÄZ.* 1885, 153; Abū Ṣāliḥ f. 99 a.

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Greek¹ and even Makrizi knows of Greek books being read there and translated into Nubian.²

Although remnants of Greek prayers, and yet more of hymns, have come plentifully from Thebes, and, side by side with those found in Coptic, testify to the persistent duality of ecclesiastical language there, we have, in the parallel Coptic translations in our hymn-book (592) good evidence of the small acquaintance with Greek that now survived.³ And yet contemporary texts, wholly Greek, are there, such as the papyrus Psalter (578) and the Gospel ms. of which we have a remnant (584), to show that, among the dwellers in these hermitages, there were some who could still use the traditional language of the church.

To this moreover the long homiletic texts bear witness, which once covered the walls of these cells; for beside those in Coptic were several in the original Greek.⁴ What here guided the transcriber's choice between originals and translations it is difficult to imagine. Of Cyril's works, for instance, we have both Greek and Coptic extracts, side by side.⁵ The question as to how translation of such texts and of the occasional ecclesiastical documents sent southward⁶ was provided has not so far been investigated. In an earlier age (*ca.* 450), at the White Monastery, we find the monastic authorities charged with the duty of themselves issuing a translation of a patriarchal rescript.⁷

Greek is the language of many epitaphs from the Theban cemeteries.⁸ Among them several are decorated in a style which points to a period probably later than ours, for the type exhibited by the four whereon a monastery of Pesenthus is named⁹ was obviously in fashion at some period posterior to that saint's death, though for how long before, as well as after that event we cannot tell.

Many Greek graffiti again are interspersed among the Coptic in the Daga tomb and its surroundings.¹⁰

The survival of Greek for all these uses seems only explicable as the result of a conservative sentiment, comparable to that which has preserved Latin for similar purposes in the Roman church and which today in Egypt itself maintains Coptic in its turn, in the liturgy of an Arabic-speaking community.

¹ Lefebvre *Recueil* p. xxv. On this and the related questions v. Junker in *ÄZ.* 1925, 111 ff.

² *Ed.* Wiet, *MIF.* 46, 263. It may be that the Greek ms. containing the Miracles of Cosmas and Damianus, which came, together with Coptic and Nubian books, from Edfu, had been used thus by Greek-reading Nubians (Rustafjaell *Light of Egypt* 89).

³ That interpretation of the liturgy was needed we gather from *ST.* 16, though from what sort of book this may be an extract it is hard to say. At the White Monastery bilingual service books were common in the 9th–10th centuries, e.g. Leyden pp. 127, 259; also the Psalms, *ib.* 229 and BM. 973 (*provenance?*), the latter in full in Rahlfs's *Septuaginta-Studien* 2, 241 ff. In these two last the successive sections

of the Greek are prefaced by Coptic versions of the initial words, presumably as a guide to the officiant priest, more familiar with the latter than with the former text.

⁴ 585–588.

⁵ 586 and Part II Appendix I I and K.

⁶ E.g. those referred to in 131, *RE.* 10, *CO.* Ad. 59 and BM. 464. The Greek text on *recto* of *ST.* 176+*RE.* 52 might be that of some such episcopal letter.

⁷ H. Thompson in *Rec.* . . *Champollion* 374. For a still earlier generation v. *Mus. Guim.* xvii 241 (Theodore having a letter from Athanasius translated).

⁸ Lefebvre nos. 364–528.

⁹ *V.* above, p. 231.

¹⁰ 676 ff.

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Profane works

Of profane literature we can hardly expect to find much trace in such surroundings; at most some reminiscences of Homer and of Menander,¹ or a line from the *Anthology*.² No Greek literary ms. of importance, other than Christian, appears to be traceable to Thebes.³

Greek in daily life

That Greek was still being taught there is to be gathered from the alphabets, syllabaries and paradigms found among our ostraca,⁴ as well as from the above-mentioned extracts from the classics, destined, it is assumed, for school use. But in daily life it seems scarcely to have been written at all⁵; for such rare fragments of private letters or of documents in Greek as have come to light in these Christian settlements are mostly upon the *rectos* of papyri which later on were used for Coptic texts—they had come, in short, to our hermits from without, in some cases from a considerable distance,⁶ and they belong perhaps to an earlier generation. Only rarely are such fragments without a subsequent Coptic text and they seldom have the appearance of contemporary documents.⁷

In legal documents

As the legal language Greek or Coptic would seem to have been indiscriminately accepted. We see at Edfû deeds from our period drawn up by a single group of persons in either tongue⁸; the same at Aswân.⁹ Although here, as at Aphrodito, a wholly Greek document is occasionally to be met with issued by the Muslim authorities, half a century after the conquest,¹⁰ Coptic had long before that become the prevailing language of ordinary legal business and when, in a Jême deed, a witness still prefers to sign in Greek, this can, in such surroundings, be hardly more than an affectation,¹¹ though in the preliminary formulas and final subscription the scribe will often adhere to the language of Byzantine law. The choice of language for the text itself cannot have depended upon a knowledge of Greek on the part of those concerned, for where that language is chosen, the purport has often to be made clear to them by oral translation into Coptic.¹² If among those thus restricted to Coptic alone we meet a bishop, we may conclude that the rank and file of Theban clerics and religious at the time were not bilingual¹³ and we may assume that their comprehension of the Greek still used in the church offices would be somewhat vague. In the 8th century there are however still notaries to be found ready to draw up documents in either language, as, for instance, certain tax-receipts in the hand of Aristophanes, son of John,¹⁴ and of Psate, son of Pisrael¹⁵; while the writer of a graffito in Coptic will occasionally immortalize himself in a Greek version of the same.¹⁶

Often not understood

1 611–615, CO. 523–525, ST. 403 (cf. p. viii). 2 616.

3 C. H. Oldfather's *Greek Lit. Texts from Eg.*, 1923 (to which H. I. Bell refers me), p. 102, counts only 18 mss. from Thebes.

4 V. above, p. 192, and Hall Pl. 31.

5 Though the occasional introduction of a Greek phrase into a Coptic letter may be significant: e.g. in 140, 164, 216, 460, 461.

6 624 probably.

7 626–629.

8 BM. 445, ST. 48, *Journ. Philol.* xxii 268 ff.

9 ST. 96, 181, BM. Gk. v 1724 &c.

10 E.g. MMA. 24.2.4. This again is a letter sent to a Theban monastery from a distance—from the residence of

the high official presumably, who is its author.

11 BM. Or. 9525 (1) l. 159, for instance, which reads Ἰακὼβ υἱὸς Ἰσαὰκ πραγματευτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουστινιάνης πόλεως τῆς κάτω (sic) χώρας μαρτηρῶ. Cf. above, p. 104 n.

12 E.g. in the will of bishop Abraham, l. 69, or in P. Monac. 13, 71.

13 Coptic bishops of an earlier age had been not less ignorant: those at Chalcedon knew no Greek (Mansi vi 856, 923).

14 Louvre ostr. E. 6262.

15 ST. 65, Cairo 8295, Turin Mus. 1448 (both unpublished).

16 E.g. Paul, son of Theophilus, wrote L. D. vi 102 no. 26 in Coptic, *Ann. du S.* xiii 24 in Greek.

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PLATES

PLATE I

Map of Western Thebes in the 6th and 7th centuries A. D. Scale 1 : 20,000.
The area within the rectangle is shown in Plate II. See Chapter I.



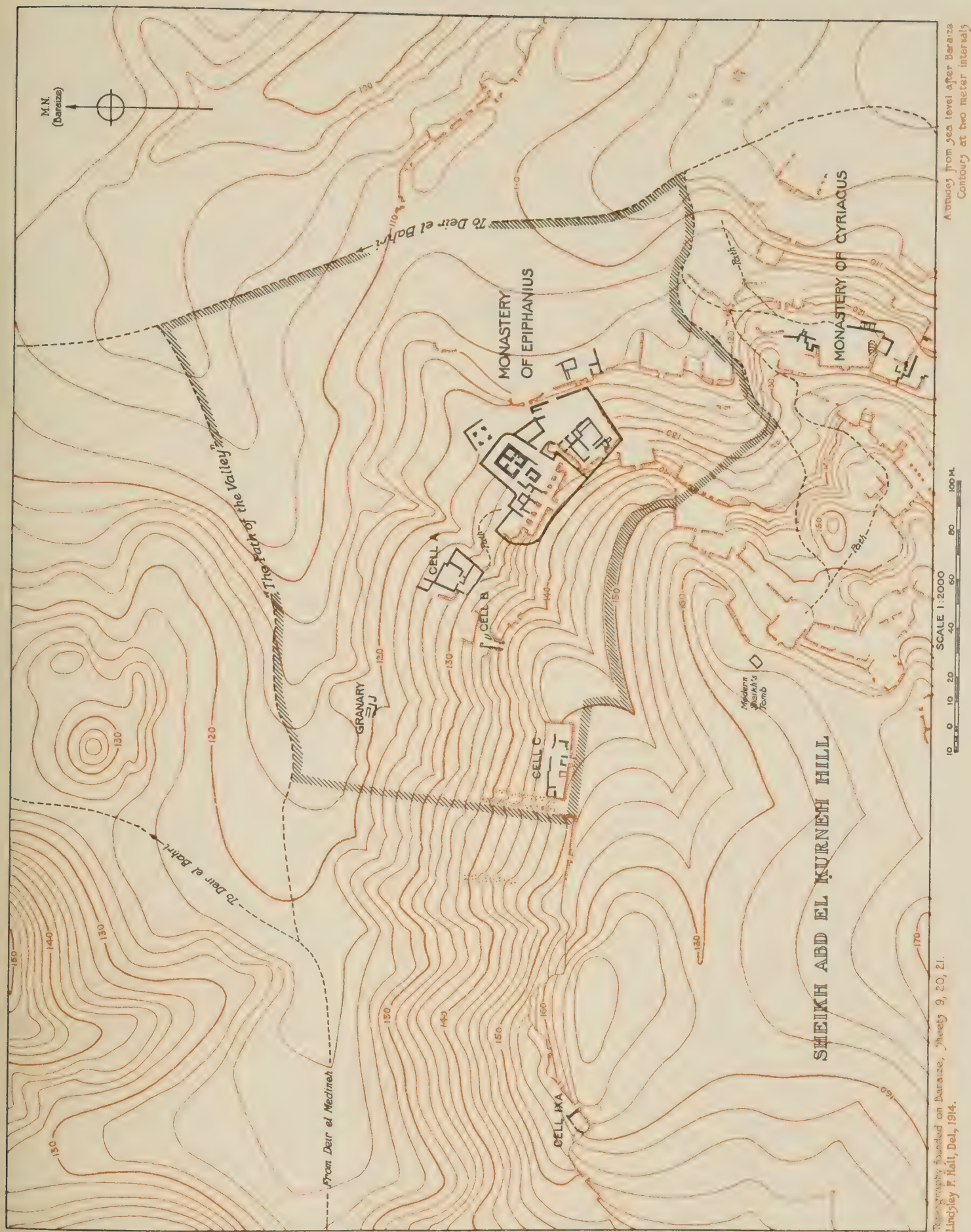
Topography after Wilkinson and Schweinfurth

SCALE 1:20000
100 0 200 400 600 800 1000 M.

Lindley F. Hall, Del., 1914.

PLATE II

The Monastery of Epiphanius and its environs, showing the limits of the property as bequeathed by Epiphanius to his successors. Scale 1:2,000. See pp. 27-8.



Altitudes from sea level after Baraiza
Contours at two meter intervals

SCALE 1:2000
0 10 20 40 60 80 100 M.

Topography based on Baraiza, Sheets 9, 20, 21.
Ludley F. Hall, Del., 1914.

PLATE III

Ground plan of the Monastery of Epiphanius. Scale 1 : 300. See pp. 29 ff.

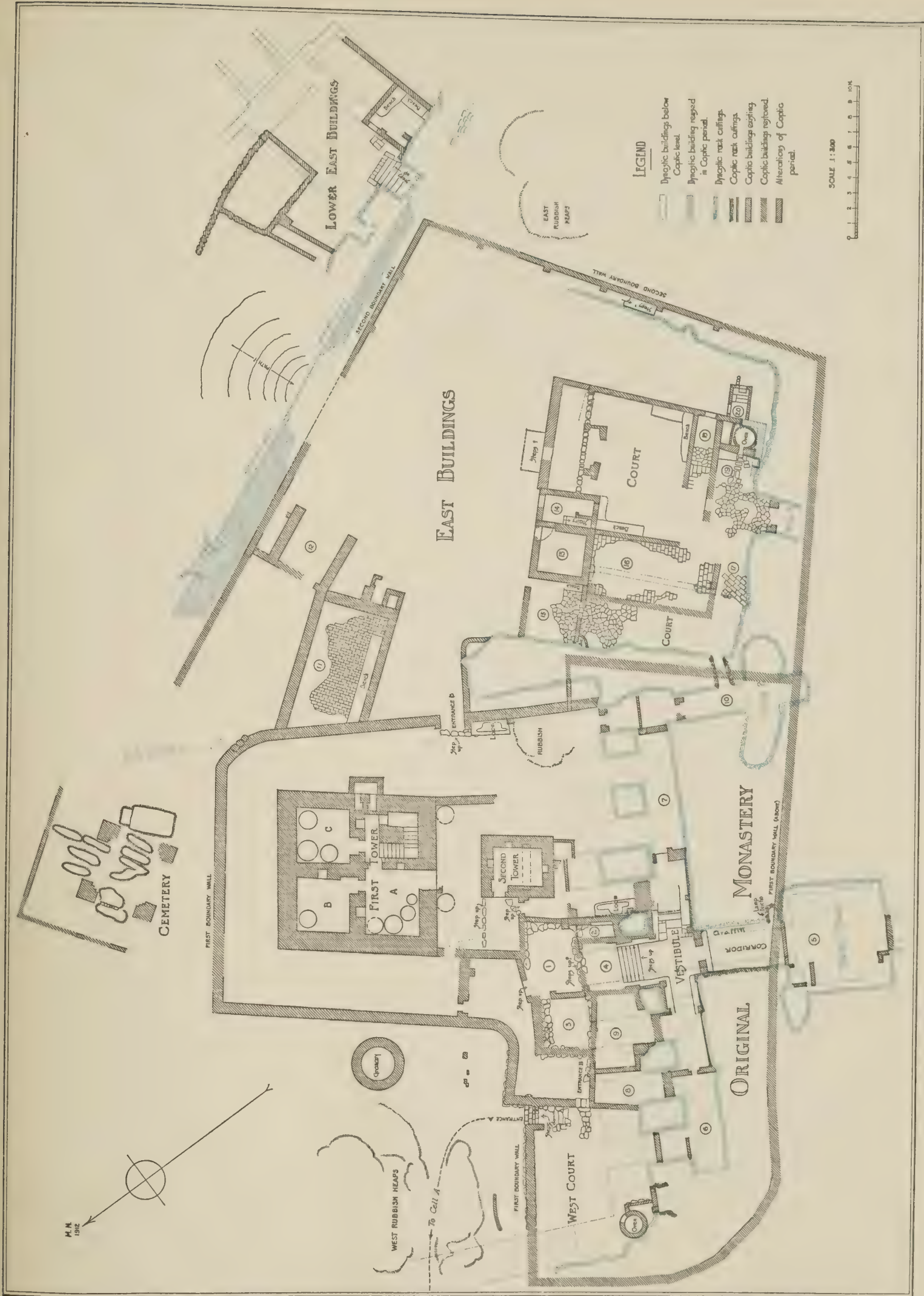


PLATE IV

Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh Hill from the North, showing the site of the Monastery of Epiphanius, the outlying Cells, the road to Deir el Bahri and "the Road of the Valley." See p. 27.



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PLATE V

- A. Ruins of the rooms in front of the tomb from the West Court. The man stands in Room 1 below the Coptic floor level. See p. 30.
- B. Pavement and benches in the Vestibule. See p. 30.



A



B

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PLATE VI

Ruins of the Two Towers from the South. See
pp. 32 ff.

A. First Tower on the left, Second on the right.

B. Second Tower on the left, First on the right.



A



B

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PLATE VII

- A. The First Tower; mouths of the flues with side beam of *nôrag* supporting the wall. See pp. 34 and 61 and Pl. XVII B.
- B. The Second Tower: showing broken arch on the right, the spring of a pendentive and two cupboards. See p. 35.



A



B

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PLATE VIII

The East Buildings from the South with Rooms 18-19-20 in the foreground. See pp. 37 ff.



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PLATE IX

- A. Cell A: the Vestibule on the right with the Courtyard in front of it. Above the Vestibule are the ruins of the First Tower, and in the left distance the ruins of the Tomb of Mentuemhat. See p. 41.
- B. Cell A: the Courtyard with the Vestibule on the left and the pits into the Underground Granary on the right. See pp. 41-2.



A



B

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PLATE X

- A. Underground Granary in Cell A: the stairs seen from below. See p. 42.
- B. Underground Granary in Cell A: the pipe and the circular opening for grain. See p. 42.



A



B

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PLATE XI

- A. The Cemetery below the First Tower. Rubbish in the foreground has been cleared away to bed rock, cutting away the upper parts of the graves and exposing Bodies 11 and 8 as they lay at the bottom. See pp. 45 ff.
- B. Body no. 7 lying in the grave, covered with a palm basket and a piece of mat. See p. 50.
- C. Body no. 8 lying in the grave with its mats removed. See p. 50.



A



B



C

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PLATE XII

Stages in the unwrapping of the body from Grave no. 7. See pp. 48-50.

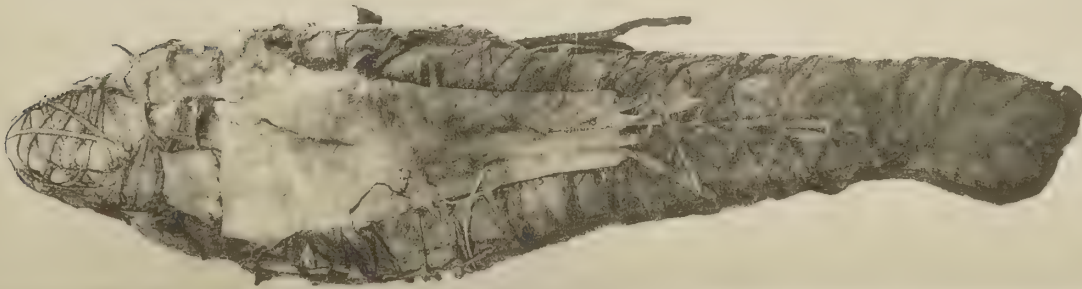
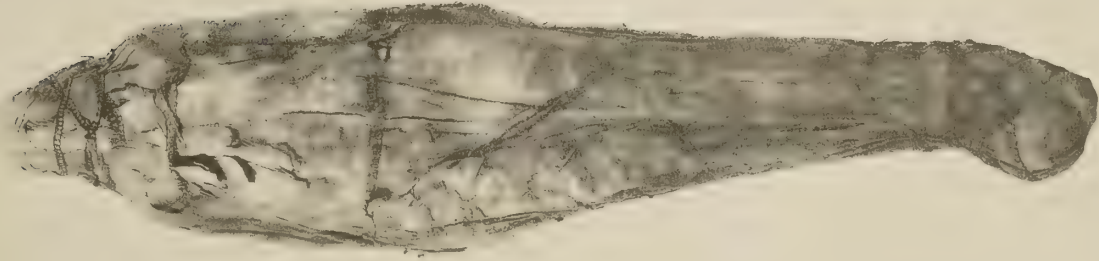
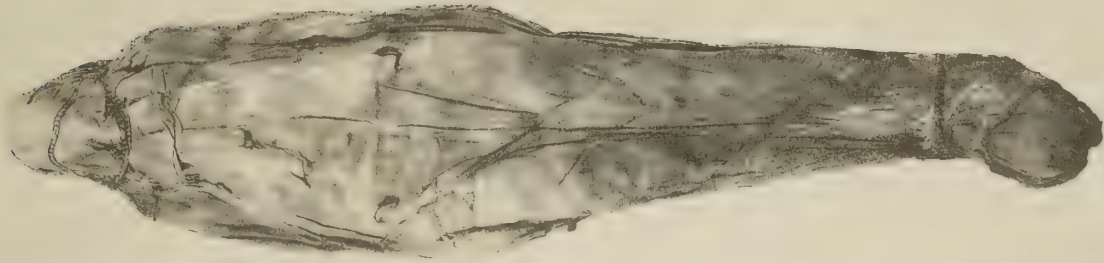
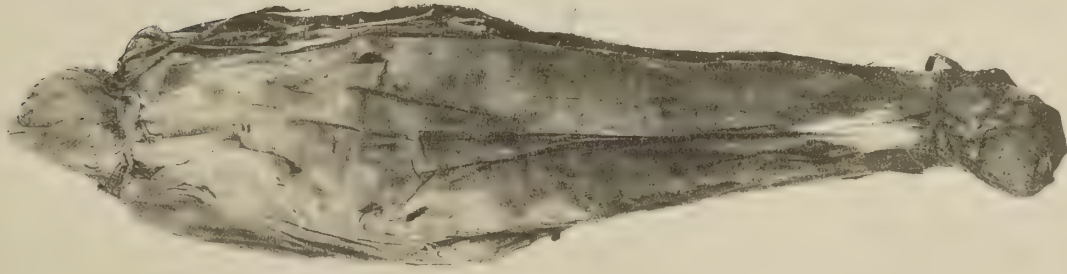
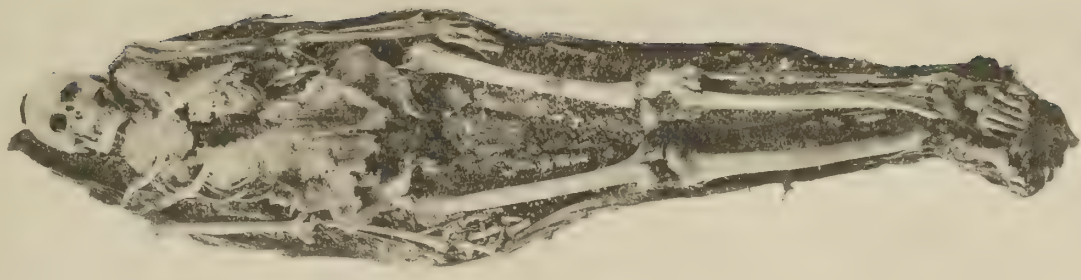


PLATE XIII

A-B. Modern mud bins in Kurneh village.
See p. 51.

C. Ancient mud bins in the Monastery of
Cyriacus. See pp. 52-3.



A



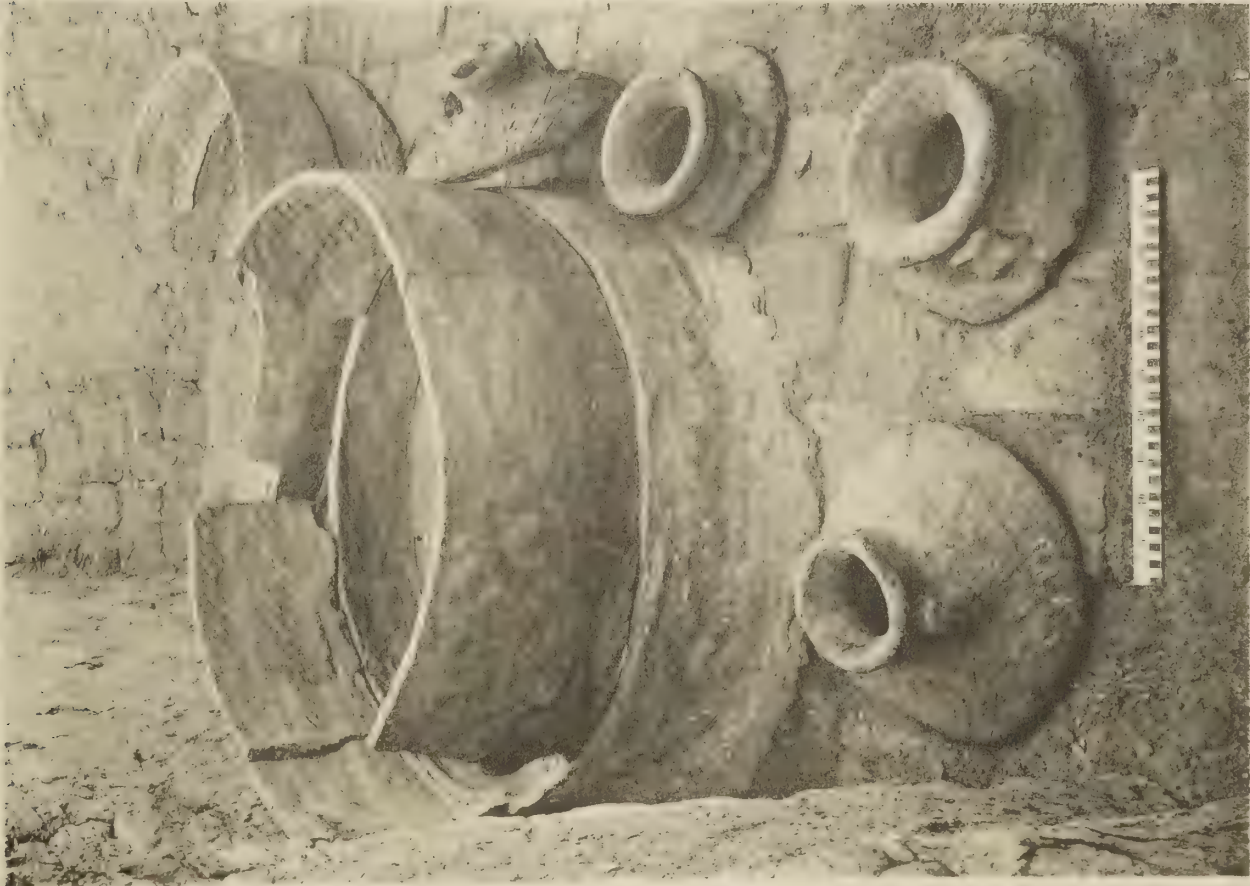
B



C

PLATE XIV

- A. Parts of mud bins in Room C, First Tower. See pp. 52-3.
- B. Bottom ring of mud bin, placed on edge to show its strength, a mud bird house and a mud lid, First Tower. See pp. 52-3.



A



B

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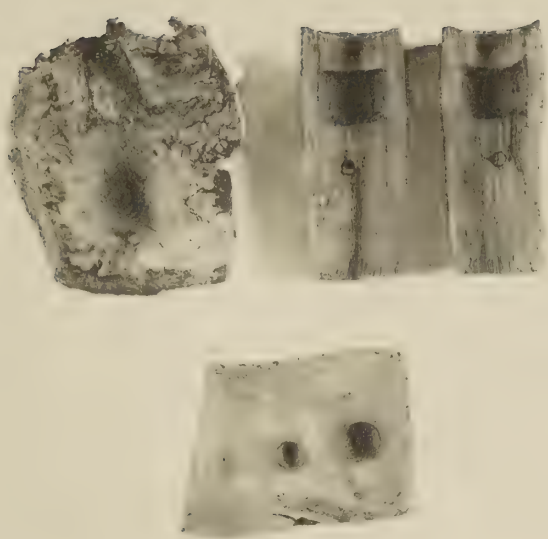
PLATE XV

Wood drilling and turning. See pp. 54 ff.

A. Drill sockets and a fire drill block (?).
Scale 1:3.

B. Turned box, spindle whorls, etc. Scale 3:10.
See also p. 68.

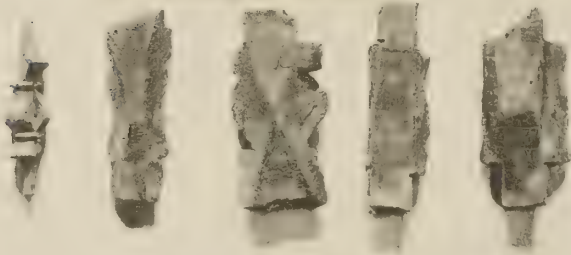
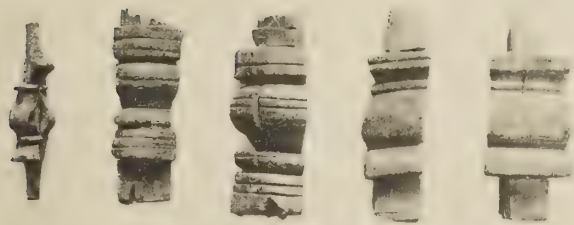
C-D. Wooden balusters from lattice work. Scale
1:3.



A



B



C

D

PLATE XVI

- A. Cross-shaped window light and cupboard door frame. Scale 1:5. See pp. 57, 60.
- B. Lock, key and latch. Scale 1:5. See pp. 57 ff.
- C. *Shadûf* hook and handle (?) and primitive "pulleys." Scale ca. 1:4. See p. 66.



A



B



C

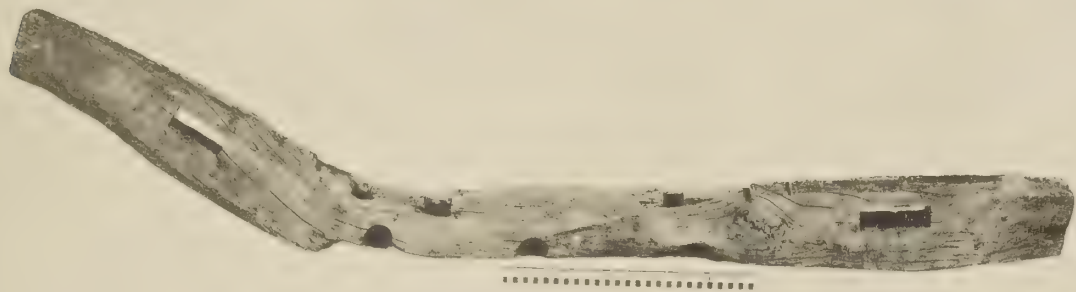
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PLATE XVII

- A. Threshing with the *nôrag* in Kurneh today.
See p. 61.
- B. *Nôrag* beam from the First Tower. Scale 1:15.
See p. 61 and Pl. VII A.
- C. The *sâkiyeh* in use in Kurneh today. See p.
64 and Pl. XVIII.



A



B



C

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PLATE XVIII

- A. Attachment of pottery buckets, *ḵawâdîs*, in endless chain on a modern *sâḵiyeh*. See p. 64.
- B. Types of *ḵawâdîs*, 1-4, 7-8, from the Monastery of Epiphanius, 6, from modern Ḳurneh; 5, a water pot of *ḵâdûs* shape with foot, from the Monastery. Scale 1:7. See pp. 64-5 and 84.



A



B

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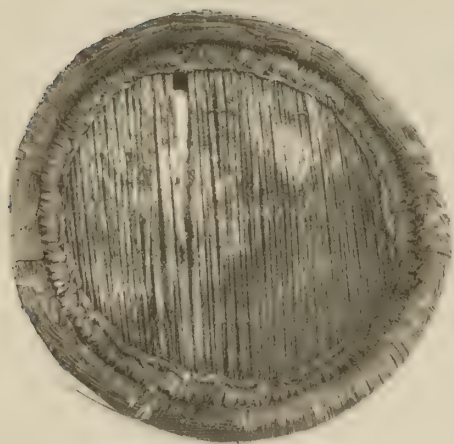
PLATE XIX

A-B. Sieve from Cell A. Scale 2:9. See p. 63.

C. Work basket from Cell B. Scale 1:10. See pp. 67 and 74.

D. Work basket from Grave 7. Scale 1:10. See pp. 67 and 74.

E. Plaited strips of palm leaf for basket making from Cell A. Scale 1:5. See p. 74.



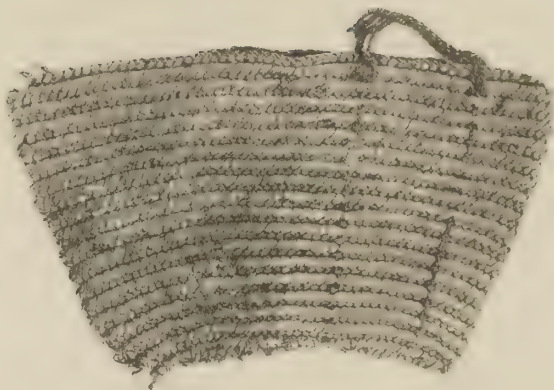
A



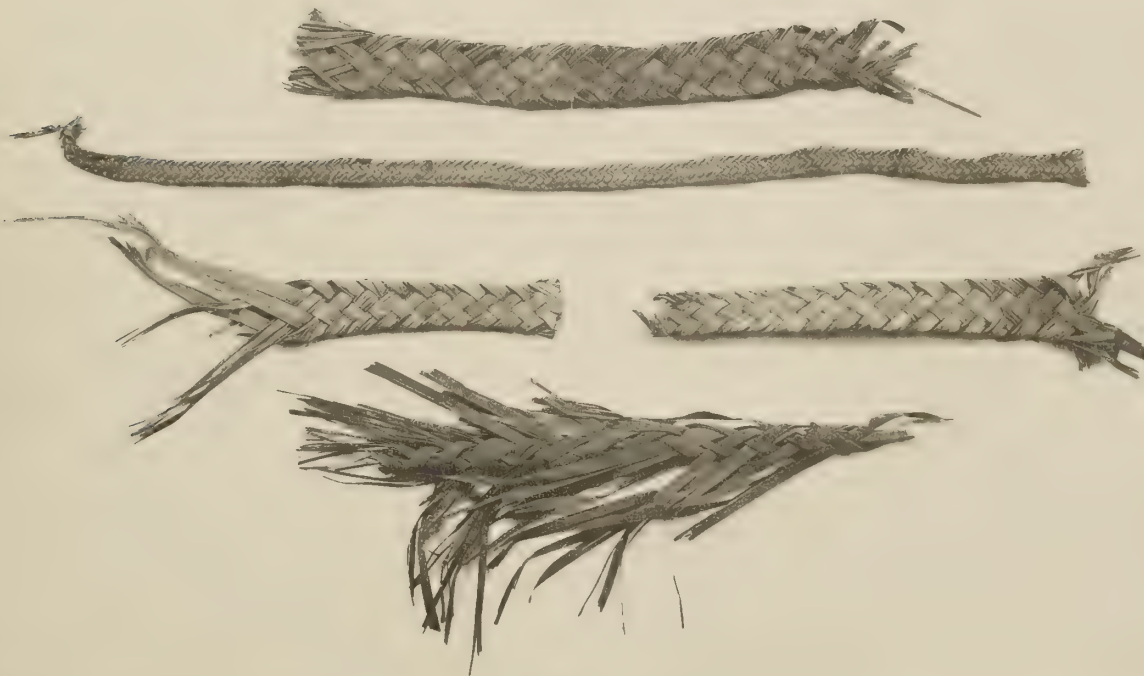
B



C



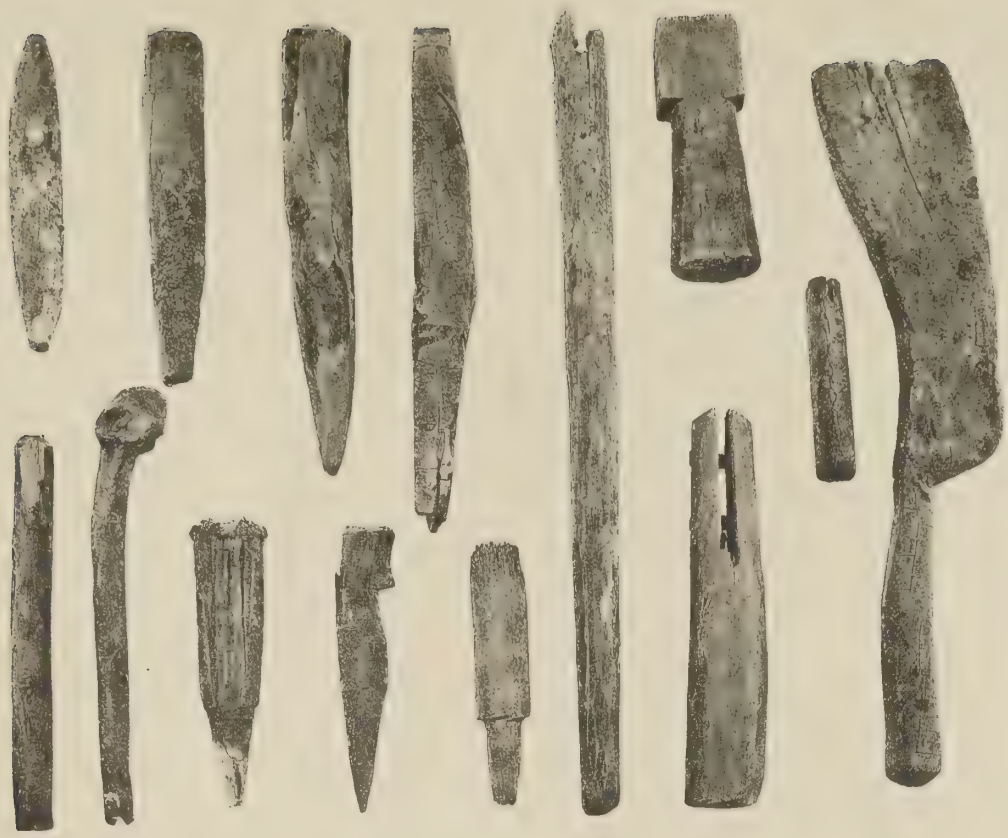
D



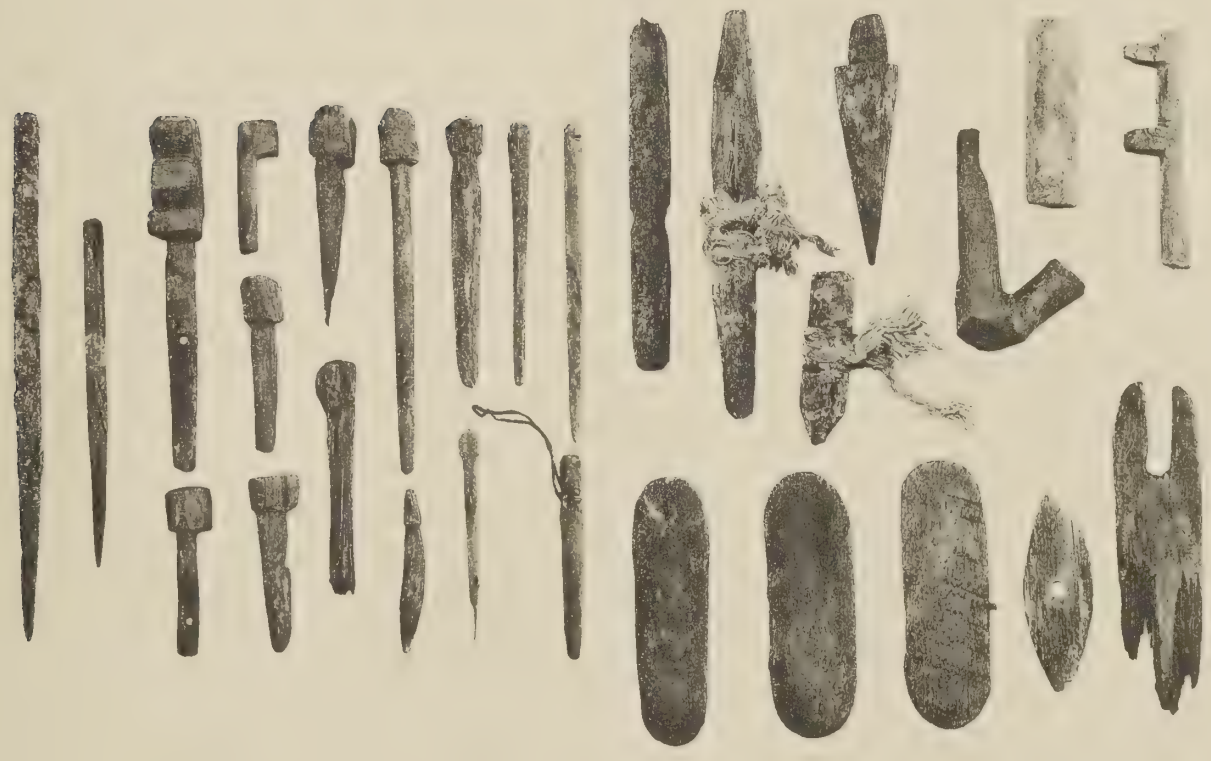
E

PLATE XX

- A. Miscellaneous wooden objects—pegs and winnowing scoops. Scale 1:4. See pp. 63 and 72.
- B. Hand spikes and loom pegs. Scale 1:3. See pp. 70 and 72.
- C. Toggles, shuttles, etc. Scale 1:3. See p. 70.



A



B

C

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PLATE XXI

A. Loom pit in the vestibule of Cell A.

B-C. Loom pit in the portico of the Tomb of
Daga.

(The floor of B-C was at the level of the top
of the brick coping. See pp. 68-9.)



A



B



C

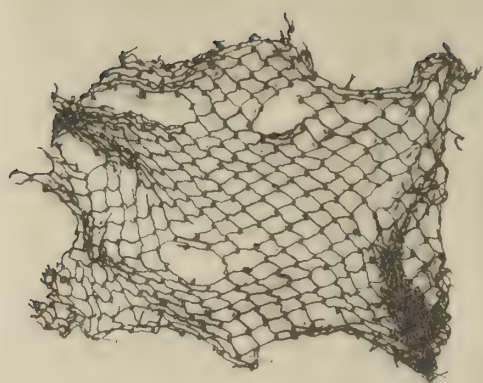
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PLATE XXII

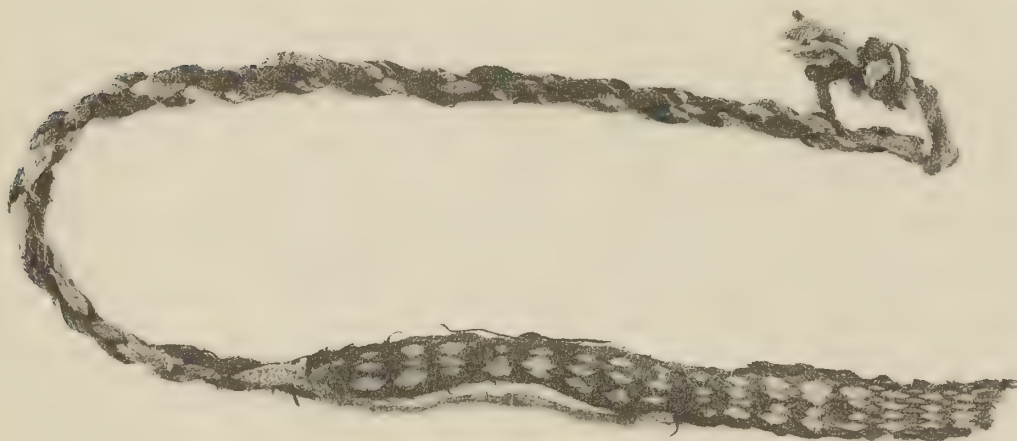
- A. Linen and hair cloth from the Monastery of Cyriacus. Scale 1:4. See p. 71.
- B. Fish nets from the Original Monastery. Scale 3:10. See p. 71.
- C. Shroud tape from Grave 9. Scale 1:2. See p. 71.
- D. Samples of rope, and unspun strands of rope. See p. 72.



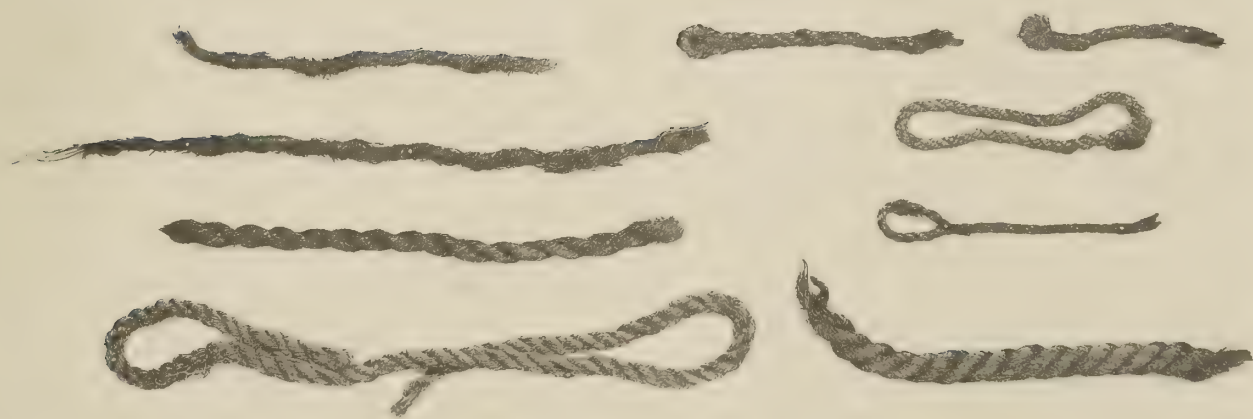
A



B



C



D

PLATE XXIII

- A. Materials for mat and basket weaving. See
p. 72.
- B. Grass and palm leaf brooms and brushes. Scale
1:5. See p. 75.



A

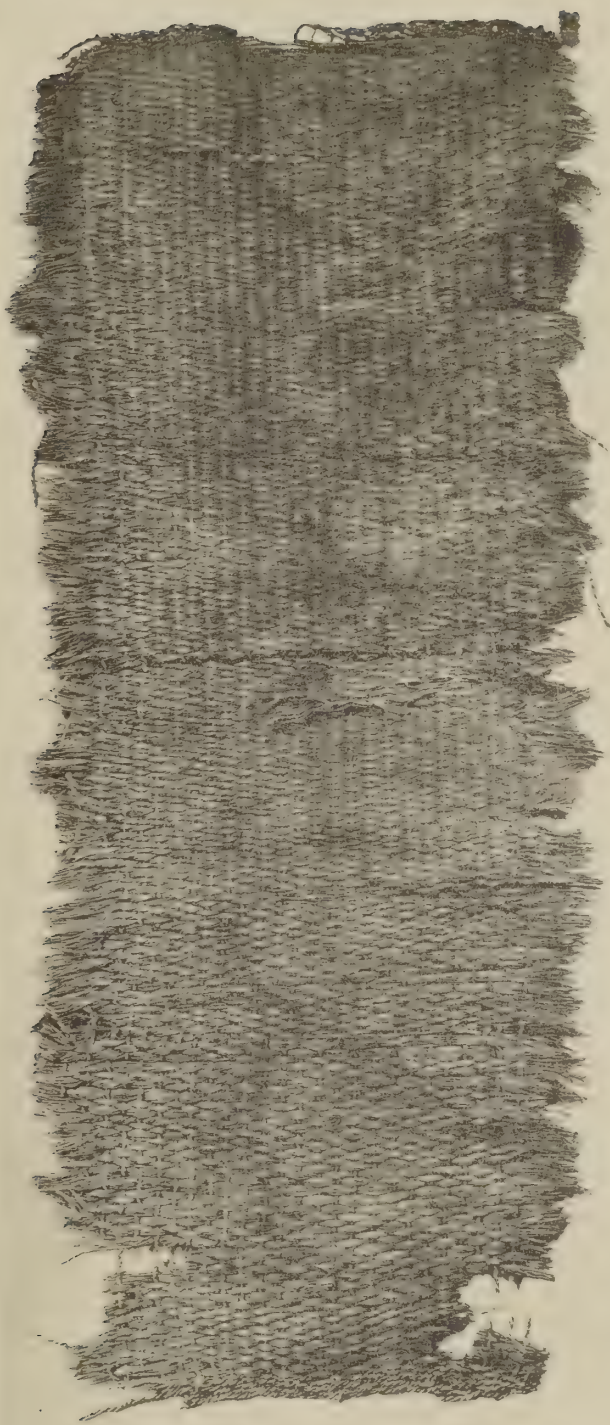


B

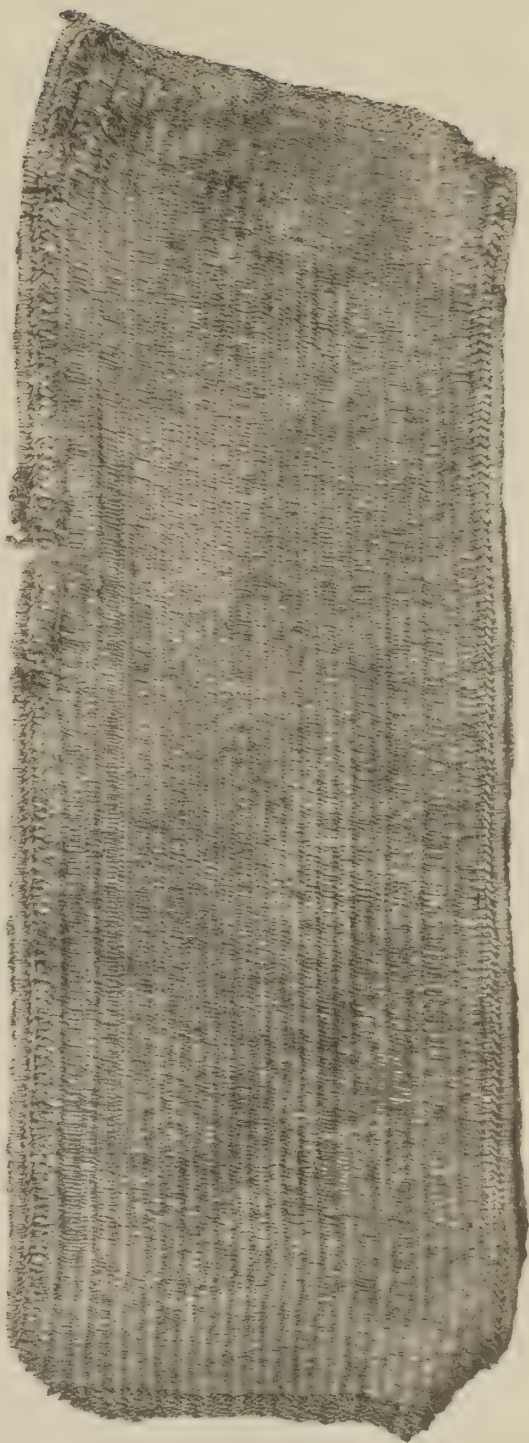
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PLATE XXIV

- A. Grass sleeping mat from Cell A. Scale 3:5.
See p. 72.
- B. Grass sleeping mat from Grave 8. Scale 3:5.
See p. 72 and Pl. XXV, C.



A



B

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PLATE XXV

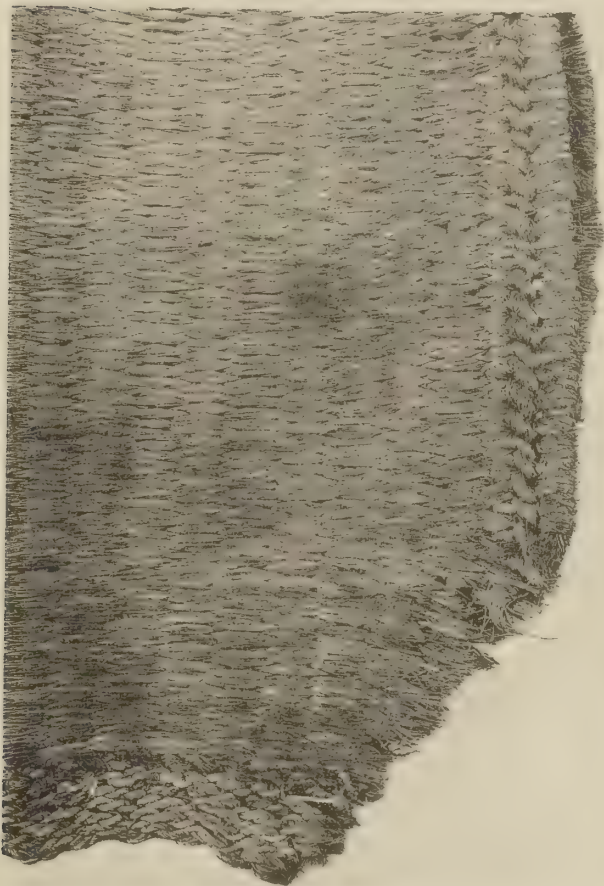
- A. Dynastic type of mat weave from Cell A.
See p. 73.
- B. Coptic type of mat weave from First Tower.
See p. 73.
- C. Selvage and end of mat from Grave 8. Scale
3:10. See p. 73.
- D. Selvage and end of mat from Grave 9. Scale
3:10. See p. 73.



A



B



C



D

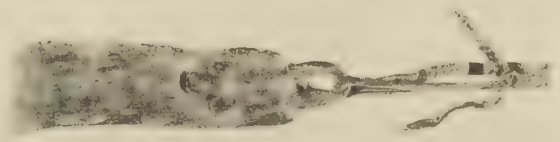
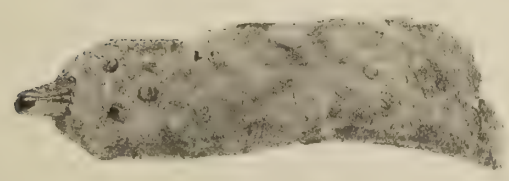
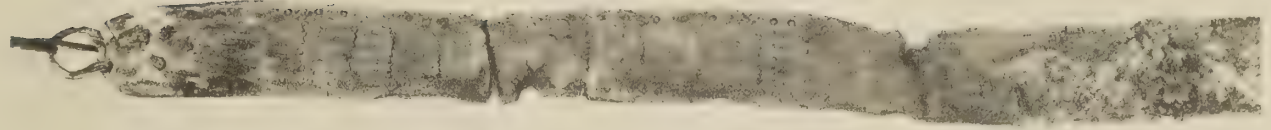
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PLATE XXVI

- A. Leather aprons from Graves 7 and 11. Scale
ca. 1:5. See p. 76 and Pl. XXVII.
- B. Leather belts from Graves 7, 8 and 9. Scale
2:5. See p. 78.



A



B

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PLATE XXVII

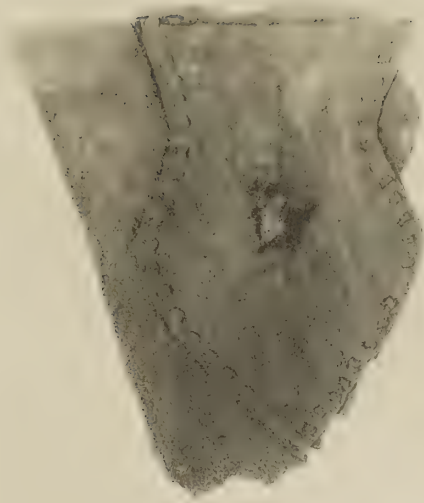
Pockets from leather aprons.

A. Grave 9. Scale 3:5.

B. Grave 8. Scale 3:5.

C. Grave 7. Scale 1:2.

D. Grave 11. Scale 1:2. See p. 76.



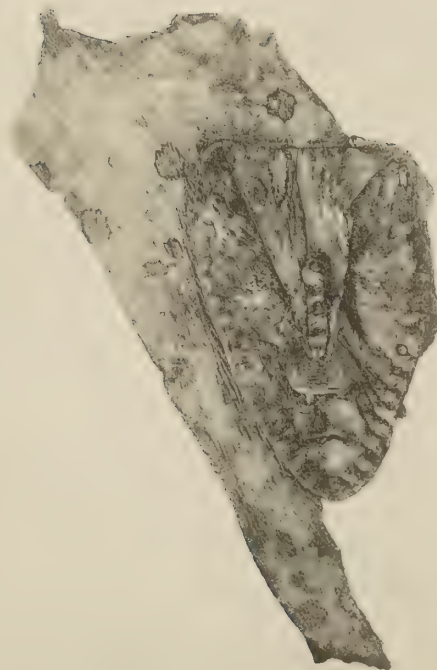
A



B



C



D

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PLATE XXVIII

Types of ribbed amphorae from the Monastery. Scale 1:8. See pp. 78-9.



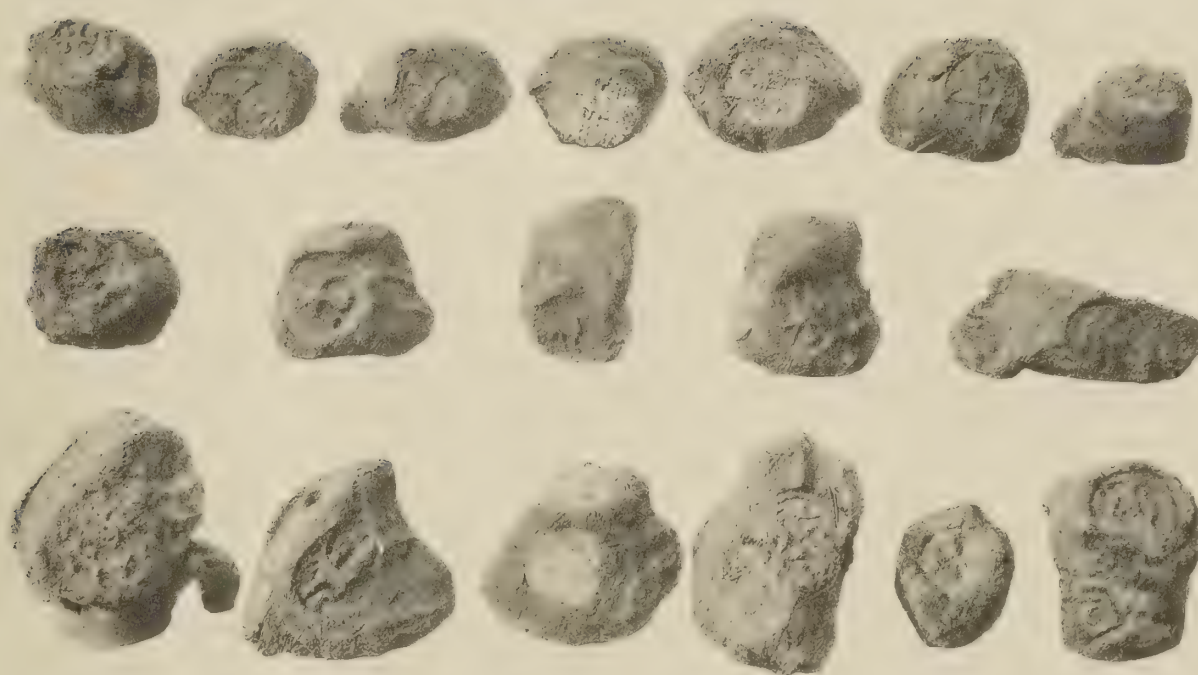
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PLATE XXIX

- A. Necks of ribbed amphorae, with straw plug,
written labels and rope. See pp. 79 and 81.
- B. Stamped mud stoppers of ribbed amphorae.
Scale 1:5. See pp. 79-80.



A



B

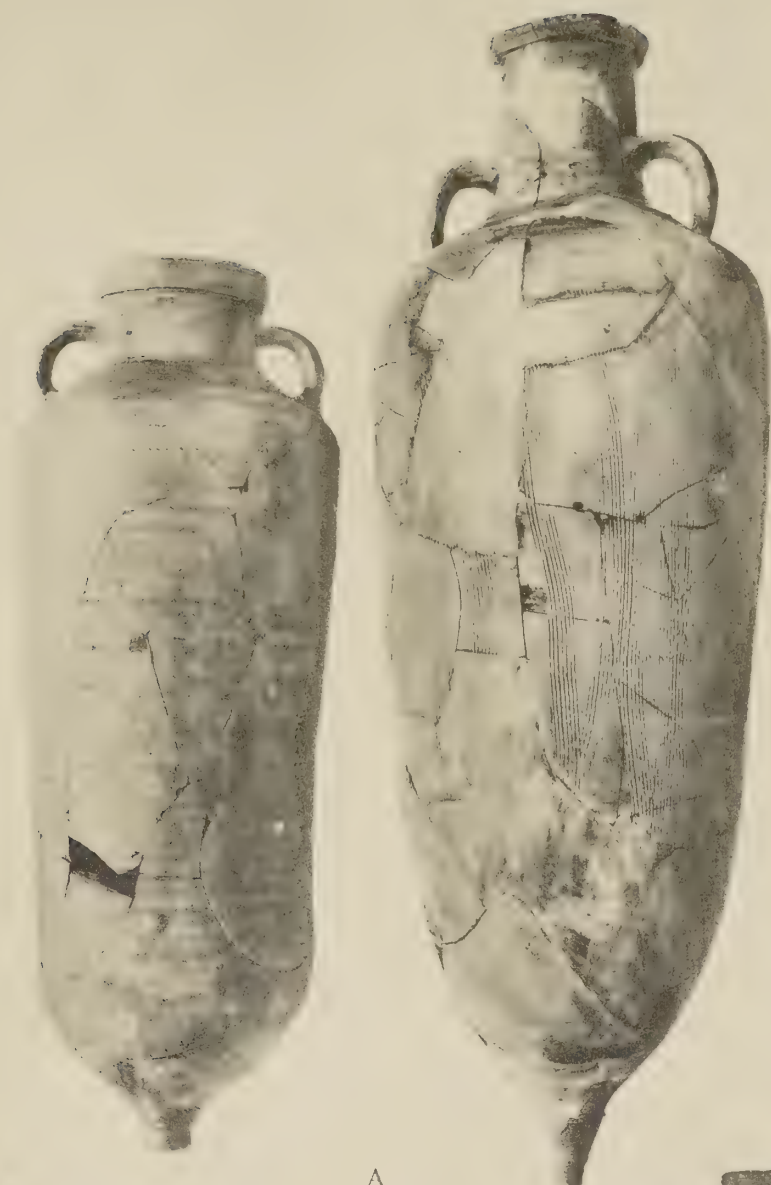
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PLATE XXX

A. Large amphorae (on right partially restored).
Scale 1:7. See p. 82.

B. Terracotta pipes. Scale 1:6. See p. 92.

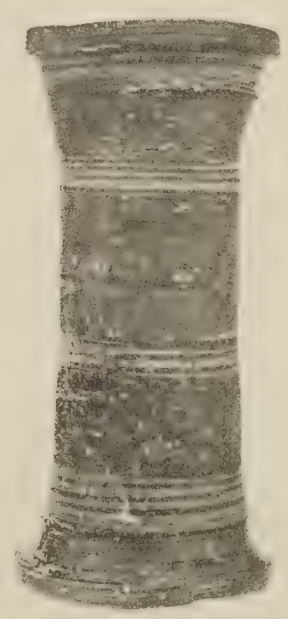
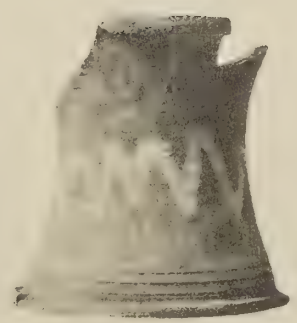
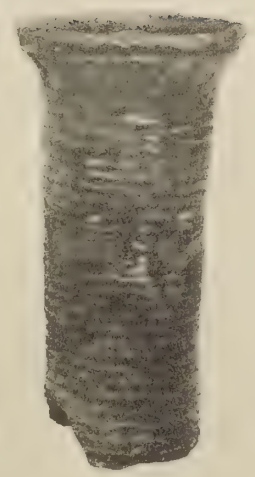
C. Pot stands. Scale 1:6. See p. 92.



A



B



C

Printed in Holland

PLATE XXXI

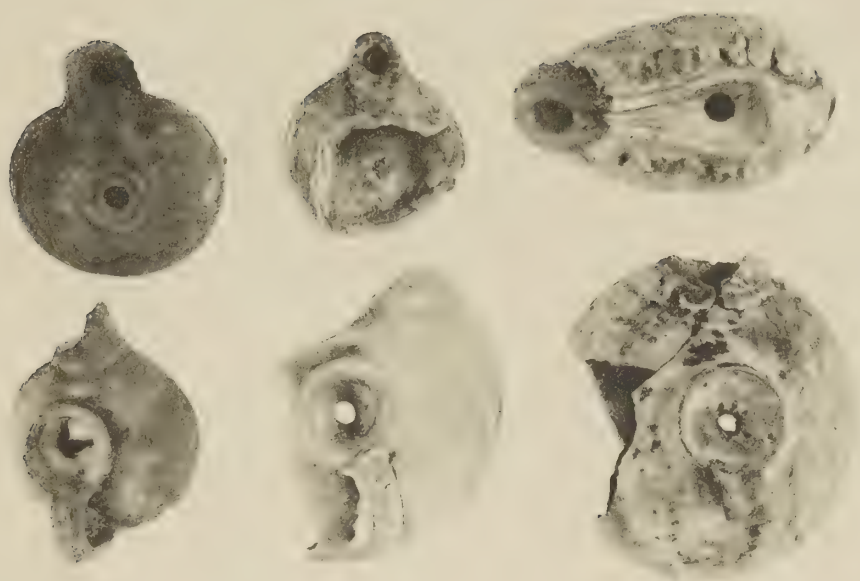
Types of "Samian" cups, dishes and bowls. Scale ca. 1:4. See pp. 86-7.



PLATE XXXII

A. Terracotta lamps. Scale 2:5. See p. 88.

B. The stamps on the bottoms of "Samian"
dishes. Scale 1:5. See p. 85.



A



B

PLATE XXXIII

- A. Compartmented dish from the Monastery of Epiphanius (partially restored). Scale 1:3. See p. 88.
- B. Platter from Site XVIII, Valley of the Kings. Scale ca. 1:4. See pp. 18 and 88.



A



B

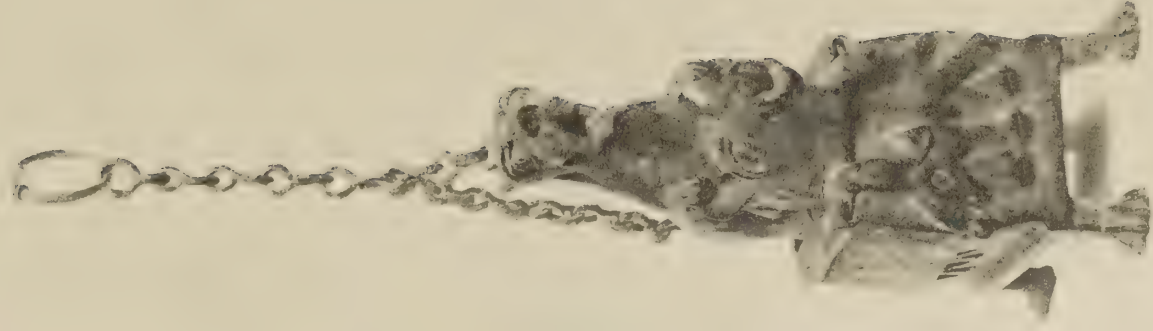
PLATE XXXIV

Miscellaneous pottery types. Scale 1:6. See pp. 88 ff.



PLATE XXXV

Bronze censer. Scale 2:3. See p. 95.





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